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THE
WESTMINSTER
REVIEW

JULY AND OCTOBER,
1873.

"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep"

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß
GÖTTE.

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WESTMINSTER

AND

FOREIGN QUARTERLY

REVIEW.

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JULY 1, 1873.  
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ART. I.—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

1. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Revenues and Management of certain Colleges and Schools.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1864.
2. *Report of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners,* 1868.
3. *Middle Class Education, Endowment or Free Trade.* By the Right Hon. ROBERT LOWE, M.P. London: Bush. 1868.
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A GREATER amount of intelligence displayed by the newspaper press in the discussion of middle-class education was one of the marked results which followed the labours of the Commissioners who inquired, during the years 1861-4, into the condition of our Public Schools. We are not so sanguine as to suppose that this inquiry, though conducted with unusual ability, succeeded in eliciting the whole truth respecting some points, a precise knowledge of which is of very great importance if we would form a just estimate of the character of the training given in these institutions. When it is remembered that the Commissioners were public school men themselves, and that the evidence was necessarily furnished in a very large measure by masters who had passed from the sixth form to the university and returned, on taking their degrees, to become members of the educational staff, these facts may affect our estimate of the value of.

their conclusions without our casting any doubt upon the sincerity of their intentions, or the candour with which they have stated their beliefs. It is impossible to read the pages of the report containing the evidence without feeling considerable respect for most of the witnesses ; an occasional effort to baffle inquiry may indeed be found, and one or two answers might be quoted which seem to border rather closely on equivocation, but such instances are extremely rare, and it may be added that any disingenuous attempt to frustrate the objects of the investigation was promptly repressed by the Commissioners. Our reason then for refusing at once to adopt their conclusions, though ready to accept what is simply statement of fact, is the prejudice which would be very likely to warp the judgment even of those who have received such good mental training as most of the assistant-masters in our great public schools have enjoyed. A Commission of Inquiry into the revenues and efficiency of the Church would scarcely obtain absolute deference to its conclusions if its members had been reared under an exclusively clerical influence and its evidence was collected for the most part from the clergy themselves. It is certain that the tenor of the report which such a body would present would differ widely from that drawn up by another commission, consisting of the Liberation Society's delegates, whose principal witnesses were the Methodists in rural parishes, and the Dissenters in large towns. And yet we might be committing a great injustice if we supposed that on either side there was intentional misrepresentation, or a conscious purpose to arrive at a preconceived conclusion. The differences, however wide, existing in everything beyond the barest statements of fact, might readily be accounted for as due to a bias which results from the whole of one's past history and from which the wisest of us can free himself only by a deliberate act of intelligence and will. It must be conceded then that the opinions expressed in the Report respecting the monitorial system, fagging, punishment, and other matters which form such important elements in the popular conception of a public school, have no claim to receive immediate acceptance as just until the absence of the disturbing element, class-prejudice, is guaranteed.

An adequate guarantee was in this case impossible. The evidence could be given only by those, the majority of whom might be fairly supposed to be wedded to the system under investigation. Provision might have been made, however, in the appointment of Commissioners who should report upon this evidence for the representation of non-public school interests. The result of the Inquiry might not have been different, but it would have been more satisfactory.

But although we are compelled for this reason to hesitate

before concurring in the judgments expressed in the Report, we gladly avail ourselves of the evidence it contains from which to draw our own conclusions. The Commissioners are entitled to our thanks for collecting, digesting, and illustrating with valuable remarks a vast mass of interesting and authentic information respecting some of the oldest and most influential of our foundations. It was desirable that this should be done, if merely to gratify a commendable national curiosity; it was absolutely necessary, if true data were to be furnished on which to base sound opinions as to the character of public school education in England; and it is a matter for congratulation that it has been done on the whole so well. The collection of evidence appears to us by far the most valuable result of the Commissioners' labours; for making this they possessed especial facilities and qualifications. But the evidence once obtained, their especial qualifications ceased; it may be doubted, indeed, as we have already remarked, whether in some respects they were not rather disqualified for an impartial examination of the evidence and subsequent construction of a theory. What is required to enable us to recognise the particular moral type which public school life tends to produce, is, first, a knowledge of the distinctive combinations of causes affecting the character of those under the *régime*, and secondly, the means of calculating their joint action. The special circumstances—*i.e.*, the discipline and customs which are supposed to render public school character something *sui generis*—have been ascertained, so far as it was possible to ascertain them, and published in a Blue Book. To estimate their influence, and to decide what kind of character they will be likely to form, is now a mere matter of calculation—a calculation indeed which may be easy or difficult according as the circumstances are comparatively few or extremely complex, and which may be performed well or ill according to the skill with which they are handled.

The object, then, which we propose to ourselves is an examination of the comparative merits of public and private schools, conducted in the manner now pointed out. The mode in which the comparison is ordinarily made is very different from this. Frequently, indeed, speakers and journalists content themselves with eloquent declamation, expressive of a faith in our public schools which requires no justification at their hands, similar to those fervid outbursts of unreasoned rhetoric which do duty at agricultural dinners on behalf of the Church or the Volunteers. But when reasons are given as well as panegyrics, it must be admitted that the reasons are commonly of a very flimsy description. To select a few distinguished statesmen or authors who received their education at Eton or Harrow, and exhibit them as specimens of

public school training, is very convincing no doubt to a large section of our countrymen, but it is really very unsatisfactory. The causes at work in the formation of character are ordinarily of great complexity, and to assert after mere observation that any particular type is the result of a certain number of these is a very hazardous and unscientific proceeding, common though it is in the region of Sociology. If A is found existing after B, it is so hard to grasp the truth that it has happened not in consequence of B, but in consequence of C, and even in spite of B. It is no rare thing, for example, to meet with amateur economists who prove to their own satisfaction that the National Debt is a boon to the country, because the country is so prosperous under it. If the co-existence of two such opposite facts as debt and prosperity gives rise to the notion that they are connected as cause and effect, it is small matter for surprise if, in the more recondite questions of Ethology, similar fallacies abound.

There is a proper place indeed for the results of observation, but this is *after* a theory has been arrived at, not *before*. To test the conclusions reached by *à priori* inferences these are essential if we are to accept the conclusions with confidence. So far as is practicable within our limits we shall follow this course, and endeavour to verify our deductions by an appeal to facts. An impartial examination of the question we have proposed seems to us greatly needed at the present time. The public schools are held in profound esteem by a large part of the nation, and the daily press is active in the work of intensifying this feeling.* We

* Take, for example, the eminently respectable organ of the middle classes which prides itself on its philosophic Liberalism, and fairly represents the opinions of Trafalgar Square, with a vincer, of course, of academic culture. Seldom does a month elapse without some highly spiced eulogium on our "great public schools" from this unexpected quarter. One instance will suffice as a sample of many. The reader may recollect a correspondence promoted by a "Persecuted Parent" whose boys worried him during the Christmas holidays, and who retaliated (or was supposed to retaliate) by a dismal diatribe in leaded type on the leader page. Letters were written in reply by scores of ingenuous boys who felt aggrieved, and the editor was helped out of his dearth of "copy" by the silliest of all silly gooseberry-season sensations. It is to the leisurely wisdom of the leading article which concluded the whole matter that we would call attention now, in which the writer gravely assured the public that it was only boys from private schools who would be found to annoy their relations in the manner described; that any boy from Eton or Harrow (all newspaper public school boys are at Eton or Harrow, which is rather hard on Rugby, seeing that all head-masters are "of the Arnold type") would be ashamed of such amusements, and so forth. Now the curious reflection upon all this is that, of the readers of the journal in question, probably not one in a thousand was ever at a public school himself or has any wish to send his sons there. An acute observer remarked, at the time of the "tunding scandal," how everybody that one met in the train expressed himself

have alluded to the improvement in intelligence which the newspapers displayed in dealing with educational questions when they came to comment on the Commissioners' Report. Some of its statements gave a shock to the admiration of the most fervent, and, for a time, journalists called for reform in institutions which they had themselves depicted as very nearly approaching perfection. The decay of a healthier tone of criticism so soon after its appearance is a subject for regret, for it is impossible to overlook the fact that the blind superstition about the natural inferiority of every other kind of training to the public school system has again become prevalent. At the same time we must remark in passing that the strong prejudice in favour of endowments entertained by the Commissioners who reported on the Grammar Schools in 1868, together with Mr. Forster's Act of 1870, has given a blow to the cause of free-trade in education which, if the present peril is escaped, will have done immense injury to the national sentiment against government interference in every instance in which no overwhelmingly strong case can be made out in its favour—injury from which it will take many years to recover.

It is fashionable now-a-days to express a keen sense of solicitude for the British parent; he is generally represented as well-intentioned respecting the education of his family, but utterly incapable of deciding for himself on the merits of particular schools to one or other of which he must send his son. To relieve his incompetency various suggestions are offered. Thus, it is urged that a complete list of teachers, with a statement of their degrees, and of the university from which they were obtained, would form a very valuable directory, not only for head-masters in search of assistants, but also for the public. This proposal was a prominent feature in the proceedings of the Conference of head-masters held at Birmingham at the beginning of the year, whose new-born zeal for educational reform is one of the most gratifying results of the Commissioners' inquiries. As we shall have occasion to allude to this society again, we will merely remark in passing, that the suggestion, which was treated by a portion of the press as emanating from wisdom little other than inspired, has been urged for many years past by the College of Preceptors and by the Scholastic Registration Association. If the scheme is carried out into practice in consequence of the Birmingham meeting, we shall

on the point with the obvious intention of conveying the impression that he was a public school man himself, or, if not, that he was prevented by the merest chance from being one; that, at any rate, he belonged to the class for whom public schools are commonly supposed to be designed. Whatever may be the solution of the matter, the fact remains: perhaps it is only a fresh exemplification of the truth so frequently uttered by Thackeray—"We are a nation of snobs."

be quite ready to yield the head-masters a fair share of praise for the realization of an object, to the credit of originating which they can lay no claim.

A second plan has been put forth for the enrolment of all schoolmasters, public or private, as a corporate body, admission to which should be determined by examination, due regard being paid to existing interests. What are to be the special privileges of members, as compared with those without the pale, is not stated with the distinctness that is desirable ; we take it, however, that they are to confer advantages much more tangible than those which are implied in mere fellowship with a respectable society. The language of some of its advocates would lead to the belief that the exercise of the schoolmaster's profession by those not duly enrolled is to be rendered penal by this system ; more moderate reformers will probably be satisfied if the non-certificated schoolmaster is placed in the same position as the lawyer or surgeon who practises without having first obtained the requisite legal or medical recognition of his qualifications, and that though he may be allowed to carry on a school, it shall be rendered impossible for him to recover his fees in a County Court. As permission to teach would thus be accorded to the quack, the justice of the case would appear to be met by enabling his clients to rob him with impunity. We fail to see any necessity for the formation of an educational trade-union with privileges recognised by law. It may be argued that it involves the introduction of no new principle, since the professions of law and medicine possess similarly exclusive privileges. This is not denied, but it must be borne in mind that these monopolies date from a remote period of our history, when the interests of the community were carefully guarded by a paternal government, when every trade formed an exclusive guild, and when the law determined the rate of interest for loans, and the price to be paid by the consumer for commodities. Society may have become so accustomed to the protection thus afforded to its interests as to shrink from dispensing with these antiquated bulwarks against incompetency in those who have the care of our lives and property ; but if such is the case, it only serves to show how the powers of self-helpfulness in the individual are paralysed when government interference is constantly exercised for any length of time. We may not be disposed now to concede to the herbalist the rights of pursuing his calling in the same extent as that to which the duly authorized practitioner enjoys them ; but there can be but little doubt that, had the art of medicine been of modern introduction, we should have drawn no distinction between the two. If it is maintained that the interference is justified by the incapability of the public to decide for themselves, and the paramount importance of their deciding

aright, we reply that they have never yet been placed in a position where they had an opportunity of making the attempt.

The view we have taken of this question—a view for which we anticipate a very small amount of sympathy, from the fact of its running counter to the popularly received doctrine of protectionism wherever protectionism has been long unquestioned—will obtain strong confirmation if we can find any profession, recently introduced, the subject-matter of which is comparatively strange to the public, profoundly affecting the national welfare according as it is conducted well or ill, but in which there is no intervention of a public authority. The example required is afforded by Civil Engineering, most of the practical rules of which cannot claim to have rested on any scientific basis till within a very modern period. The operations with which it deals, such as the drainage and water supply of towns, or the construction of viaducts and bridges, concern the life and health, not of individuals, but of entire communities. At the same time these operations, involving a knowledge of the principles of chemistry, or of physiology, or of hydrostatics, or of all these sciences combined, can be judged of very inadequately, as presented in a design on paper, if they can be judged of at all, even by educated persons, unless much of their education has been strictly technical. Yet sanitary reform occupies a larger share of public attention than at any past time of our history: enormous sums are being expended for the purposes of drainage throughout the country; town councils have to decide on the respective merits of rival systems, and the result frequently appears to be a gigantic failure. But we hear no cry of distress for the interference of the legislature to provide competent engineers, or to furnish a criterion by which their ability may be estimated, or to preserve those who are masters of their art from the competition of charlatans. It cannot be said that there is any special difficulty in applying a test to determine a man's proficiency in engineering; an acquaintance with its principles may be ascertained as well by examination as an acquaintance with the principles of law and medicine, and a student who acquitted himself well in such an examination would be at least as likely to prove a good engineer as a distinguished prizeman at college is to develop into a good doctor. In education, on the other hand, examinations which already exist are quite sufficient to stamp any man as the possessor of a certain amount of scholarship; but quantity of knowledge is only one among several elements which must be united to form a successful schoolmaster. An utterly ignorant man indeed can in no case make a good teacher; but a national schoolmaster may very easily be more patient in listening to tedious repetitions of the multiplication table, more efficient in

keeping order in his class, and more happy in imparting what he knows to a number of little boys, than a senior wrangler.

We may add, that the difficulties which beset any attempt to carry into practice the idea of a compulsory test, which must be satisfied by all who intend to teach, will become apparent on merely endeavouring to draw up a scheme of subjects for examination. These would probably include Greek and Latin, mathematics, French or German, English, and a certain amount of natural science. Is it maintained, then, that no master shall be allowed to teach French who cannot display some familiarity with chemistry, or English unless he can show a knowledge of mathematics? If, on the other hand, the test is applied only in that subject which he intends to teach—in which case there would be but slender guarantee of liberal education—is it to be graduated? and if so, into how many divisions? or, if uniform, is the same certificate of proficiency to serve for a master who will train boys for Open Scholarships at the universities, and for one who proposes as his goal the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations? Or lastly, is it an acquaintance with the farrago of excerpts from psychological treatises, strung together and labelled *Pædagogy* or the *Theory of Education*, that will suffice? We must insist on the solution of such problems as these before we can endorse the proposal for compulsory examinations by authority, and as these problems do not seem to have even presented themselves to the originators of the scheme, there is not much likelihood of our receiving an answer at present. We may add, that the suggestion does not appear to be worth the labour it would cost to carry out its details. The hindrances in the way of realizing the idea have been indicated now, principally because we do not remember to have seen them noticed anywhere before, but were the plan of a remarkably simple and practical nature, we should agree to its adoption only on its being clearly shown to be the remedy for an evil otherwise incurable.

It is probably quite plain to our readers by this time that we conceive the alleged incapacity of the community to decide any educational point for itself to be greatly exaggerated, and that we therefore strongly deprecate the adoption of this so-called reform as an unwarranted interference with the liberties of a large and important class of individuals. To recur to our illustration from civil engineering: a person who has to appoint an engineer, or to select from rival designs, will make use of his own knowledge of the subject, if he has any, and if not he will appeal, if possible, to a competent friend for advice; or conclude that A should be secured in preference to B because A had done something else successfully, while B's work had to be done over again; or supposing both to have acquitted themselves well in

their respective undertakings, because A's had been water-works and B's drainage. The testimony might prove false and the reasoning lead to error, but it is by such means that the great majority of mankind arrive at conclusions, and, on the whole, the means suffice fairly well for the ordinary purposes of life. If the same method is inappropriate only in education, there must be some peculiarity in the case which defeats or obstructs its application, but until this is proved, or at least specified, we may rightly hesitate to open fresh ground to government interference. False inferences may occasionally be very injurious, but a mistaken idea of the logical process entertained by individuals should not require an imposition of legal disabilities on a section of the community.

We pass over, as unworthy of notice, proposals for the extinction of private schools generally, since these suggestions have seldom received such a shape as to entitle them to the name of theories, and turn to a third plan which has been suggested, the last with which we shall deal. Coming from the Schools Inquiry Commissioners we may suppose it to have been adopted after due deliberation and shall examine it with respect. They remark, with truth, that—

“Private schools owe their origin to the operation of the commercial principle of supply and demand applied to education. It is not difficult to see that this principle must necessarily fail in two cases: it fails when the purchasers demand the wrong thing; and it fails, also, when they are incompetent judges of the right thing. . . . The commercial principle rests on the rule of *caveat emptor*, and presupposes that the purchaser is a judge of what he buys. Now it is quite certain that it cannot be said that the majority of parents in the middle classes are really good judges of education.” The conclusion accordingly is, “that while private schools will probably long have a very important part to play in our system of education, and should be encouraged by all proper recognition, yet it would not be right to leave them unaided to supply the deficiency which our endowments have left unfilled, but that at least permissive powers should be given for the general establishment of public secondary schools where they appear to be required.” (Report, vol. i. pp. 306, 308.)

We are thus brought face to face once more with the incapable parent, and find a fresh means proposed for his relief. It must be observed, however, that the incapacity alleged here is of a wholly different character from that with which we have hitherto been engaged. The Commissioners do not assert that middle-class parents are unable to decide for themselves whether they get the article which they ask for, but that they ask for the wrong article; in short, that however well fitted they may be for determining the means to the educational end they have in view,

they are wholly unfit to decide what the end itself shall be. The difficulty indicated here is stated with greater precision and is far more real than any which we have yet discussed. Every one will admit that an ignorant person can form no true idea of education, or an uncultured man of culture. At the same time circumstances have been left out of sight which may lead us to moderate our mingled pity and contempt for the ignorant parent. Merchants and manufacturers no doubt entertain very inadequate notions of the value and object of education; their daily routine brings exclusively before their notice a certain class of actions requiring a dexterity rapidly acquired by office-life, but rarely possessed in a high degree before a boy has exchanged the school-room for the counting-house. To write a legible hand, to post a ledger with accuracy, and to spell correctly the very limited vocabulary which suffices for the transaction of business, are operations which may be performed by individuals of very small mental endowment. A clerk who was a proficient merely in these might be a useful machine to his employer, but he could scarcely be called a cultivated man. Now a merchant who puts his son, on leaving college, into the counting-house, is very likely to find that he contrasts unfavourably with the washerwoman's boy who received his education at the National School and has risen from being office-sweeper to a place at the desk. The discovery is exasperating, and it is only natural that the parent, in lamenting the absence of acquirements of whose importance he is fully conscious, should disparage knowledge which he has no means of appreciating. As a consequence, spelling, writing, and book-keeping form the modern *trivium* of mercantile education, and everything beyond these, if tolerated at all, is regarded with suspicion.

We shall hardly be charged with understating the facts which fill the Commissioners with alarm, nor do we care to discuss the extent to which they prevail: we would call attention, however, to one circumstance which goes some way in excusing the opinions as they have been described. In deploring this limited view of the end of education, in which the ability to draw out an invoice forms the horizon, writers are apt to express themselves as if we were in full possession of a theory of liberal education endorsed by the great majority of thinkers. The supposition is wholly erroneous; we know that the commercial theory is wrong, but we have no systematic statement of educational principles which will be generally received as right. If the reader doubts the truth of this assertion, we would remind him of the sensation produced by the appearance of the *Essays on a Liberal Education*, and of the adverse criticism with which that book was very commonly received. We do not care to inquire whether the

essayists or the reviewers had the best of the argument ; it is sufficient to note that the conclusions arrived at by a number of university men, some of whom enjoyed a high reputation for ability, respecting the nature of the training which they had themselves received, were vigorously assailed. The chief defect of recent contributions to a theory of education, appears to us to consist in the desire to set up some particular kind of training which is useful in certain cases, as the form which should be employed exclusively in all. Those who are true to things as they have been, maintain the all-sufficiency of Greek and Latin, against reformers who wish to convert our schools into vast laboratories. Meanwhile, those are comparatively few who adopt what is to our thinking the judicious mean expressed by the late Professor Connington :—

“The prejudice,” he says, “of which we require to be disabused is not faith in classics as an exclusive training, but faith in any training whatever as exclusive. It is the growth of free opinion which is undermining the supremacy of the present system ; it is only by the suppression of free opinion that any other system claiming to be universal can be established.”

Moderation should therefore be exercised in condemning those who hold the lowest form of the “mercantile theory,” though not in condemning the theory itself. They differ from the philosophers principally in this : they have a theory, but a bad one ; the philosophers have no theory at all. Both set utility before them as the end of education, but the conception of utility entertained by the former is low, though that of the means by which it is to be reached is definite, while the conception of utility entertained by the latter is exalted, though that of the means by which it is to be reached is vague.

What has been accomplished towards a settlement of the question is as yet chiefly of a destructive character ; the ground has been covered with the *débris* of shattered systems ; but at present there is nothing besides free scope for those who are prepared to enter on the work of reconstruction. For our own part, we feel no apprehension respecting the ultimate enlightenment of the incapable parent when the doctrine of education comes to be stated with as much precision as the doctrine of free-trade.

But supposing we admit “the failure of the commercial principle” in all the extent assumed by the Commissioners, and without drawing the very necessary distinction, just pointed out, between a knowledge of means and a knowledge of ends, we cannot see how matters would be improved by the proposed concession of “at least permissive powers for the general establish-

ment of public secondary schools." If the public are unwilling to make use of opportunities for higher education already afforded by existing schools, it is difficult to understand how their demand can be developed by increasing the supply. In the time of the French wars it might have appeared to our statesmen a desirable object to cultivate a national taste for British wines, which should diminish the consumption of Champagne and Bordeaux, thereby stimulating the home production and inflicting an injury on an enemy's trade ; but they would scarcely have expected to accomplish this by opening fresh shops for the sale of the article unless they first prohibited the introduction of the foreign commodities altogether, or introduced them under overwhelming disadvantages. In the same way, the multiplication of means of meeting any other demand, which does not as yet exist, could be recommended with any show of reason only when it is maintained that an excessive supply would create the demand (which, in the present case, there is not the slightest ground for believing), or when it is proposed that persons should be compelled to avail themselves of the opportunities thus presented, although they may strongly prefer judging for themselves what commodity they will buy and where they will buy it. Unless, therefore, the Commissioners intend that parents shall be forced to send their children to the endowed instead of to the private school, which is preferred, the scheme of gigantic complexity which they present would leave untouched the very evil which it was devised to remedy ; yet it is scarcely credible that the suggestion is one which they would venture to make.

Nor must it be overlooked that the inevitable consequence of this system would be the extinction of the private schoolmaster, if the new schools, supported by public funds, competed with only a moderate degree of activity. The fact that private enterprise can flourish at the same time with so many richly-endowed grammar schools, is explicable only on the supposition that the public schoolmaster does much less than his duty, or the private schoolmaster much more ; or that, through some defect in their administration, endowed schools fail to meet the general wants. That such should be the results where endowments exist is only in accordance with what *à priori* reasoning would lead us to anticipate, and with what experience in other subjects confirms. If two people really produce the same thing, and one receives a bounty for doing it while the other goes without, nothing can prevent the latter from being permanently undersold, and sooner or later driven out of the market.*

* It has been said that the endowments at the present time existing in the country are sufficient, if properly applied, to furnish a gratuitous education to

We have now given a somewhat longer discussion than we intended to a series of proposals which meet with plenty of support at the present day, and some of which have received the approval of those whose position lends to their opinions considerable weight. The aim of the last two suggestions is the same—viz., to extend the operation of endowments and to depress the action of free-trade; in other words, to increase the number of public schools and by their means to subject private enterprise to a competition so fierce and so unequal that it will be rendered impossible for it to play “the very important part in our system of education” which the Commissioners concede to it; and to establish in its place a system which will be not only a monopoly, but a monopoly richly endowed.

We now pass to an examination of the most important features of the public school system, and, at starting, some answer must be given to the question, What is a Public School?

One of the most striking properties of a public school is its continuity of life amidst successive changes. A private school loses its identity with the loss of its head-master. It would be fanciful indeed to speak of the demise rather than of the death of the head-master of Eton or Westminster, but the language might be justified by considerations similar to those which lead lawyers to make a distinction between the terms in their application to the sovereign. It is true that a private school may remain in the same family for more than one generation, though such is rarely the case, while the improbability of its continuing longer is very great. On the death of the proprietor the natural course of events is for the estate to be sold, a certain amount being paid for the good-will, according to the number of pupils who pass, like the *adscripti glebe* of feudalism, into the hands of a successor. By this process the identity of the school is destroyed; traditions, which might have retained their force while the property remained in one family, are lost, and the school is no longer the same as that which previously existed, but a new school carried on in the same premises. In a public institution, on the contrary, the death of the head-master does

every child who requires it and to meet the demands of school boards without the imposition of additional taxation to the extent of a single penny. The estimate may be exaggerated, though the statements of the author of the recent work entitled “Contrasts” go far to corroborate it, at any rate in the case of the metropolis. That private schools for the poor should be reckoned by thousands, flourishing in the face of these fat endowments, would be impossible but for two facts. First, as we have stated above, it is the interest of those who take the money to do as little in exchange as possible; secondly, the administration is principally clerical, and it is the interest of the clergy to keep the people in the dark. Where ecclesiasticism has reached its zenith, popular education is usually at its nadir.

not break its thread of life, but merely becomes an incident of its history ; the successor may raise or lower the reputation of the school, but the school remains the same.

The reason for this difference is obvious : it lies in the endowments. No private school is endowed ; if it were, it would, *ipso facto*, become public. On the other hand, every public school is from its nature in possession of some endowments ; to the extent of its buildings, if no further. But this implies provision for the due administration of the property in the future, that is, that the management shall be in the hands of a body of trustees, or governors, and not in those of the head-master. We may therefore provisionally define a public school as one possessing endowments, the administration of which is vested in trustees, with whom supreme authority ultimately rests, and by whom it is delegated to the head-master at discretion ; consequently enjoying continuity of life amidst successive changes of state. We do not regard this definition of a term commonly used with no very clear idea of its connotation, as beyond the reach of criticism ; it is sufficient if it answers for the present purpose.

The obvious remark to make on the account just given, is that it expresses something very different from the conception of a public school which excites in many minds so ardent an enthusiasm. To the historical element in the idea, no doubt, this feeling is in part due. It causes a pang in some minds to part even with abuses, provided they are of old standing : what is merely ancient is regarded as venerable. Institutions, therefore, which refer their foundation to a period long previous to the revival of learning, and which unite many excellences with the failings inseparable from all endowments, are likely to receive a large share of the national regard for the antique. Their connexion with former scholars who became great statesmen, or poets, or soldiers, exercises a pleasing and powerful influence on the imagination. Much of the sentiment would perish, indeed, with change of place : associations of such a kind will not bear transplantation. Old Carthusians will miss the *genius loci* at Guildford, and will recur in thought to the Charterhouse of the City. But the sentiment, in circumstances the most favourable to its growth, is still too weak by itself to account for the intense admiration to which we allude. There must be other qualities of the object than which, if not belonging to its essence, may at any rate form an important part of its accidents, and these we shall in due course enumerate and briefly discuss.

We have, however, first to consider the advantages and drawbacks involved in such institutions as we have now defined. To do this fully would be to state the advantages and drawbacks of

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joint-stock enterprise, as compared with individual management : assuming that the reader is familiar with these, we shall call attention only to those points which have an exceptional bearing on the present case.

The chief disadvantage under which such schools must labour is, of course, the want of interest in the managers in the success of their undertaking. The Reports of the Commissioners form one vast commentary on the results which have followed from the absence of motives to personal zeal. It is contrary to all experience that men, in the enjoyment of an income permanently secured to them, should work with the same unflagging energy as those whose livelihood is entirely dependent on the success of their efforts. It may be true that a higher conception of duty is entertained by men of culture than would ordinarily be found existing lower in the social scale, but when every allowance has been made, there remain motives of very different degrees of strength, which cannot fail to produce very different courses of action. Hence it happens that private schools have taken the lead in adopting educational reforms, when these have been generally desired. They were the first to discontinue the cultivation of Greek and Latin verse composition ; the first to make the study of physical science a part of their programme. In all this it is unnecessary to claim for their proprietors extraordinary foresight ; a schoolmaster here and there may have introduced a new *régime* from a conviction of its intrinsic excellence, but a schoolmaster keenly alive to the necessity of keeping pace with the popular demand, would have done precisely the same thing from the fear of being superseded. The Commissioners represent the parents as the chief obstacles to improvement in private schools, but we have already shown that it is impossible for education, under any system, to be far in advance of the parents' wishes, unless compulsion by the State is called in.

“ It is justly said against private schools,” remarks Mr. Lowe, in his valuable pamphlet entitled “ Endowment or Free Trade,” “ that they are too sensitive to the opinions and wishes of parents : but it is said with at least equal justice of endowed schools, that from a systematic disregard for the wishes of parents, from teaching what they do not want, and not teaching what they do want, they have lost the confidence of the classes for whom they were designed, and fallen into a state which would be shameful were it not the natural and inevitable result of the inherent vices of their constitution. If private schools are, as it is said, too modern and new-fangled, endowed schools are infinitely too rigid, antique, and old fashioned. If private schools seldom rise to a point of instruction much superior to the demands and ideas of the parents, endowed schools have very generally fallen below the wishes and intentions of their founders. Between these two states

there is this important difference, that the founder can only influence the destinies of his foundation by his will, placed in the hands of indifferent and careless administrators; while in a private school negligence and incapacity are sure to be visited by immediate desertion and destruction."

Leaving out of sight the obstruction caused by the parents, it is hard to understand that a private schoolmaster should find as much difficulty in making changes in his curriculum, seeing that he has no one to consult but himself, as his public colleague who must gain the consent of his committee (consisting probably of parents) before he can stir a step from the beaten track. The Commissioners occasionally allude to the perpetuation of practices at the great public schools, after their objectionable character has been admitted, and in spite of the desire of the school authorities for their removal, in consequence of the shock which tradition would receive if they were abolished.

The only corrective for the apathy of *employés* is to identify their interest with the success of the undertaking, and this is frequently done by allowing a payment of head-money, in addition to the fixed salary, for every additional pupil above a certain minimum. By this means the requisite motive is to a considerable extent supplied, and the only distinction to be drawn between the public and the private schoolmaster from this point of view, is that the one has a competency secured to him which he may indefinitely increase by his own exertions, while the other relies for his entire support on his own exertions alone. To this general consideration one of a special character must be added. A person who embarks in school-keeping as a private enterprise, does so with the intention of continuing in it through life, or at any rate until he has obtained a fortune on which to retire; it is therefore likely that he will give his whole attention to the performance of his duties in order to make his speculation as successful as possible. A head-master in one of our larger public schools, on the other hand, seldom regards his position as final: he has ulterior views to the Church, and, as has been said with some exaggeration, if at his leisure he has cleared up some fresh *doubles entendres* of Aristophanes and voted consistently with the political party in office, nothing short of a special providence can prevent his being made a bishop.

We do not ignore the fact that zeal is of little use if misdirected, and that no amount of it can make up for the want of ability. It may be urged that in most public schools it is the custom, and in many it is required by the statutes, that the masters shall all be graduates of Oxford or Cambridge. As a fact they are usually thoroughly competent men so far as scholarship goes, and that this should be certified by a degree is an advantage, both

for the public and for themselves, which large numbers of private schoolmasters do not possess. At the same time, as has been already hinted, scholarship is only one among many essentials of the teacher, while there are others, such as patience, authority, tact, which, for teaching the majority of boys, are of far greater importance. Success, the fact that pupils are taught efficiently, is with most parents the highest certificate of merit, and after all it is the best.

The unsuitability of education for the application of the joint-stock principle is exhibited even more strongly in experience than the foregoing considerations would lead us to infer. Proprietary schools abound, but they have been started from other motives than that of pecuniary profit, and are perhaps the very last form of investment to which a speculator would direct his thoughts. They have commonly been founded in sectarian interests, under cover of protests indeed, possibly believed in, that they were intended to promote the cause of general education. They enjoy, as we shall immediately point out, many extraordinary advantages which should make their success a matter of certainty when they have to compete with private establishments, and yet they not unfrequently prove utter failures and are handed over, at a merely nominal rent, to the management of a head-master under whom they become, to all intents and purposes, private schools.

A second consequence of the joint-stock principle, the incident of publicity, cannot fail, except in the very worst cases of mismanagement, to prove of immense advantage to the concern. Speech Day, the Distribution of Prizes, the Commemoration of Benefactors, and similar festivals are so many opportunities for advertisement, and for advertisement in its most effective form. On such occasions the patrons assemble, an ornamental if not particularly useful body; local Members of Parliament will probably avail themselves of opportunities so favourable for ingratiating themselves with the *élite* of their constituents; the clergy are sure to muster in strong force and probably a bishop, at any rate a Colonial one, may give the proceedings the high sanction of his presence. All this is of itself imposing, but the effect reaches a larger section of the public than that contained within the building. Representatives of the county or denominational press are there who, under the genial influence of the dinner, the speeches, and "the strolls about the lovely grounds," furnish a report which must move the most exacting of committee-men to thankfulness. It is this feature of the public system which places it at such an advantage in the struggle with private enterprise. It is true that private schoolmasters also can advertise, but it is the fashion to ridicule their advertisements as

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puffs—a charge which unfortunately is not always undeserved. Still it must be remembered that the private schoolmaster may find some difficulty in accepting the truth of the theory that what is in himself the rankest puffing is in his proprietary antagonist only “a very gratifying report.” It is a good sign that the advertisements of “unlimited diet,” “separate beds,” “Christian influence,” and “no Christmas holidays,” though common twenty years ago, are now rarely to be met with except in the pages of second-rate writers of fiction, especially as the change has taken place in spite of an increasing perversion of the newspapers to the illegitimate purposes which have been pointed out.

If then we find schools started by voluntary contributions and therefore free from rent-charge, with an influential body of patrons, and effectually advertised at no cost to themselves, failing in the competition to which they are exposed with rivals who start with none of these advantages, but solely with the great motive of personal interest to stimulate them in the struggle, we may conclude that, if the education of the future is to be conducted on a single principle, and all schools are to be cast in a single mould, it is not the principle of joint-stock management that will be adopted.

This statement must be accepted as containing what are, to our thinking, the most important points in which the two systems differ. A comparison which involved distinctive features other than those enumerated above would be found inapplicable to many schools included in the definition. The circumstances, on which stress has been laid here, are not only those which belong to all public schools from the nature of their constitution, but are also the only ones which belong to them universally. It must be admitted, however, that the idea of public schools popularly entertained, vague though it is, has very few points of similarity with that which has been just developed. It is not of endowments, nor of trustees, nor of commemoration days that those are thinking who demand our admiration for the English public schools, but rather of their peculiar mode of internal administration called the monitorial system—the government of the boys by themselves as it is sometimes expressed, or, to state what is really the fact more accurately, that of one part of the boys by the remainder. It is clear that this system may exist without the institution of fagging, though the two are found together almost invariably where either is indigenous. It is clear, too, that a discipline of morals, in some respects very rigid, might in this way be maintained, though the reverse is ordinarily the case, the absence of surveillance being regarded with satisfaction. Neither the monitorial system, however, nor fagging can be considered necessary properties of public schools; not only are they absent

in the vast majority, but there is nothing to prevent the adoption of either or of both in any school, whether public or private, in the country. They have been transplanted together to a few large proprietary schools, and appear to have taken root; more frequently the monitorial system has been introduced to the exclusion of fagging; but to see either in its full development we must look to one of the great public schools where it is working with the traditions of centuries.

In future then we would be understood to mean by the term public schools, institutions of which either Eton or Westminster may be taken as the type. They are separated from the rest on no other grounds than their acknowledged pre-eminence: no sound principle of classification such as their date, their origin, their mode of government, or their size would afford, regulates the selection. The entire list does not include a dozen names, but it would be invidious to draw a line, whether we did so at the number six or at ten: the distinction being from its nature vague we prefer to leave it so. Its ambiguous character must not be lost sight of however, as it readily lends itself to a good deal of shuffling on the part of advocates. Thus the erection of new proprietary schools is sometimes recommended on the ground that the public school system is the best adapted for the formation of a fine moral feeling. Now the moral tone in a school is determined partly by the character of the head-master, and partly by the character of the boys who have the duty of supervision entrusted to them, where the monitorial system is in operation. By the application of the term "public" to the school *in futuro*, the idea is suggested that in its internal administration it will resemble Harrow or Winchester, and a large amount of sympathy is thereby secured, though the question of government by monitors may have been already decided in the negative. On the other hand, if an opponent cites the results of the Commissioners' Inquiry as showing an unsatisfactory degree of efficiency in the middle and lower parts of the great public schools, full use is made of the elasticity of the term, and the City of London or University College School is referred to in proof of their zeal and success.

The merits of public schools, in the restricted sense to which popular usage, according to its convenience, confines the term, may be tested by experience and by deductive or *à priori* reasoning. We propose to touch very slightly on the considerations adduced under the former head, since they are so frequently urged by one or other of the contending parties as to render a detailed enumeration unnecessary; in this department we shall rather confine ourselves to the task of calling attention to the points in which experience is appealed to improperly, owing to

the non-observation of important circumstances or to the entire absence of evidence on which a conclusion can be based. In doing this we shall invert the natural order of the two processes, ascertaining what is established by observation before we arrive at *à priori* conclusions. We do not, however, propose to attempt the work of verification here to any great extent, but merely to show where it has been wrongly supposed to have been performed and where it should be looked for. The establishment of conclusions by deduction is our chief present object, and, as the discussion of the value of some of the alleged results of observation will require the employment of this method, the convenience of grouping together all its applications will more than compensate for the disturbance of its ordinary position.

The evidence in favour of the public school system, as furnished by experience, is partly vague and partly definite, and is brought forward in support of its moral or of its intellectual tendencies. Intellectual attainments we can estimate with approximate accuracy by actual experiment, in the form of examinations. This test, however, though fitted within certain limits for deciding the degree of cultivation which the head has received, is incompetent to determine that of the heart, and there are many qualities possessing both an intellectual and an ethical side, for the estimation of which it is very inadequate: it is an instrument which works inaccurately whenever the phenomena cease to be simple.

Evidence of the vaguer sort is frequently appealed to in defence of the system. Public school training is said to produce in boys feelings of self-reliance, independence, heroism, and at the same time to render them modest and chivalrous. Falsehood and oppression they look upon with scorn. The disabilities under which the lower boys labour teach them the lesson of submission to duly constituted authority. The responsibility of their seniors shows them that government has its duties as well as its rights. Thus the character is gradually developed till it becomes that of Aristotle's man of perfect self-control.

To refute this may be impossible, though as each individual can speak with authority only of the particular school to which he belonged, during the few years that he remained in it, there is an equal impossibility in our accepting the statement as representing a condition of things which may be regarded as universal, unless we find these isolated testimonies corroborated by *à priori* inferences. Observation, however, from which the results described above are professedly obtained, also enables us to test these conclusions. If the moral character is such as is commonly depicted in the boy at school, it ought to be conspicuous at two

successive stages of his life—in the youth at college, and in the man in the world. Whether these qualities are noticeable in the young man at the University we shall not discuss, as those who could appeal to their own recollections to decide the question are comparatively few. As regards the man in the world, however, each one may make use of his own experience, which has probably been fairly extensive, and which possesses this further advantage, that the objects of it were not all educated at one school so as to present the same excellences and the same defects.

We are asked then whether those who have come from public schools exhibit in manhood the qualities which are so commonly referred to as their peculiar possession when boys. To answer the question fairly it is not sufficient to point to our statesmen and legislators, with whom the public schools must be credited, without adding one or two qualifications. In the first place, the members of the Upper House belong entirely, and the members of the Lower House in a very great degree, to that class of society whose sons go to a public school as a matter of course. Expense still forms an insuperable obstacle to most aspirants to parliamentary honours whose means are only moderate. Few of those who receive their training at a private school have the wealth or the influence to provide them with a seat in Parliament, which affords to genius its fairest field for display. Considering how small is the total number of representatives who come from private schools, it must be admitted that a very fair amount of ability may be found amongst them. The names of Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Bright, Mr. Forster, Mr. Miall, Mr. Baines, Mr. Henry Richard, Mr. Morley, and Mr. Winterbotham readily occur as instances in point. If it is objected that the list contains but two men of first-class talent, we may reply that when these are absent from the House the men of first-class talent are not three in number. The others are at least favourable specimens of the second grade of parliamentary ability. Due weight should be allowed to the same consideration when stress is laid on the fact that the leading members of the Bar are of public school education. With some important exceptions the remark is probably well founded; and as a very large amount of work for the press is done by barristers whose time is not fully occupied, it helps us to account for the strength of feeling displayed whenever the question before us is discussed in the newspapers. Examples of success at the Bar of these who have no friends among attorneys to provide them with work are rare; the profession is therefore seldom adopted, save by sons of men of independent fortune, to many of whom it affords a shelter under which they can creditably pass their time in doing nothing.

Few parents in these circumstances belong to the middle-classes, and those who do will certainly be unwilling that their children should rise no higher. A public school, the university, the Bar, and a seat in Parliament are the steps by which young millionnaires must hope to reach "society." Hence we are justified in concluding that the causes which tend to restrict the competition in Parliament and at the Bar to those who possess independent incomes, prevent our allowing much weight to the fact that so many of our statesmen and lawyers have been educated at the great public schools; but that there is nothing in private training inconsistent with the highest success in either career, numerous instances sufficiently prove.

This view of the matter is confirmed by the fact that very few of those who have shed a lustre on our country by their discoveries in natural science have been public school men. The same remark is applicable to the medical profession. It would probably be stated, by way of explanation, that until quite recently a scientific training was no part of a public school curriculum: two considerations, however, render this explanation worthless. In the first place it must be remembered that, though the best private schools led the way in the introduction of the study of physical science, twenty years ago science was scarcely taught at all outside of hospital lecture-rooms. The anticipation of a reform, therefore, by twelve or fifteen years cannot account for the training of men, several of whom were prosecuting their researches before the reform was even suggested. In the second place, a boy does not become a scientific discoverer because he attends lectures on chemistry or on physiology at school; indeed he is far more likely to study science there because he is to become a doctor, than he is to become a doctor because, as a boy, he studied science. The solution we would offer of the matter is this:—The medical profession contains grades of honour which merge into one another imperceptibly. A student may begin with high aspirations for a consulting practice in town, and have to rest satisfied with the humble calling of a country surgeon; but the training which he undergoes for the one will be serviceable for the other, and he is not called upon to make an irrevocable choice at starting. A lawyer, on the other hand, must decide whether he will follow the higher or the lower branch of his profession, and cannot pass from one to the other without a special course of preparation. Hence, affluence is no more a prerequisite for the medical man than for the solicitor; he can at any rate secure a livelihood, though not perhaps in the form most agreeable to his ambition. The profession being thus within the reach of the middle-classes, it is natural that the public school element should appear much

less strongly than at the Bar; and as many scientific discoveries are the work of physicians in actual practice, and many more the work of *savans* whose attention has been diverted from the study of medicine to that of some particular class of phenomena, for dealing with which they found they possessed a special genius, there is no difficulty in understanding how it is that for producing pioneers in the regions of science, no one educational system can lay claim to a monopoly.

Turning next to the evidence of a strictly definite character, we find that there is unfortunately a very small amount available. Examinations furnish an invaluable means of estimating certain kinds of proficiency, if the results are rightly interpreted. The success of a pupil occasionally in the competition for Open Scholarships at the universities, shows that the teachers are capable of carrying on their pupils' studies to an advanced point. If the achievement is repeated with regularity, it shows further, that at least the clever boys receive attention while in the lower classes, since they would not otherwise be fit for the special training of the last year, which is to prepare them for College. But no examination can be regarded as satisfactory which does not include the entire school, and touch the whole of school work. When the fullest allowance is made for the fact that university distinctions are gained annually, and by several boys, the objection still retains its force, that these form but a very small proportion of the whole number, and that their success, however brilliant, gives no idea of the state of the lower pupils, who are not intended for a College career. Private schools have availed themselves largely of the Middle Class Examinations, and with the best results; a few send to the Matriculation Examination of the University of London, but for most this is too severe a test, not because the standard is unreasonably high in each subject, but on account of the large number of subjects demanded. If the test of proficiency supplied by these examinations cannot enter into comparison with that which competition for Open Scholarships affords, it has an advantage in this respect, that it extends over a far larger area in each school. We deem it a matter for regret that the public schools have systematically refrained from sending candidates to every examination of this kind. That of the 840 boys at Eton, half a dozen should obtain exhibitions at the universities in the course of the year, is to be expected. The pecuniary advantages which a public school can offer are likely to entice clever boys, who are anxious to get on and have acquired habits of industry: that these should turn out good scholars is natural, since a master with no motive for pushing on his willing and unwilling pupils alike, will give his time to the former, and leave the rest to their own devices. Yet

it is the condition of the school as a whole that should guide us in pronouncing on its merits, while to discover this condition seems impossible.

It might be supposed that, just as the Honour-men at the universities may be taken as representing the scholarship attained in the higher parts of public schools, so those who have to content themselves with an Ordinary Degree supply an index to the proficiency of the lower. The test is open, however, to several fatal objections. Its application is extremely indirect, as three years intervene before graduation, during which any rational being may fairly be supposed capable of acquiring the very limited amount of information expected of Pass-men. Secondly, the number of men who leave the public schools so utterly uneducated as to be unfit for matriculation, and for the elementary examination which follows it, is enormous. Could we ascertain how many are reading with country clergymen, and how many with a tutor at the universities for a year before entrance at college, the statistics would probably be very startling. Lastly, since a great many public schoolboys never proceed to Oxford or Cambridge at all, and are therefore presumably of inferior attainments to those who do, the test lacks that universality which is essential.

By the University of Cambridge, a scheme has been carried out to provide for the examination of an entire school, in most of its branches of study, by a competent and impartial authority. An examiner is appointed to visit any school which applies for that purpose to the Syndics, whose duty it is to ascertain by means of written and oral questions the progress which has been made in every subject. His report is addressed to the Syndicate, and a copy is forwarded to the head-master—in neither case necessarily for publication. Its character is sure to be determined rather by the average attainments of each class than by the extraordinary abilities of a few pupils. We have no hesitation in saying that, if it should become customary for all schools to subject themselves to an inspection of this kind, impostors, whether public or private, would be driven off the field. Unfortunately, though the system has been in operation for many years, it is still comparatively unknown; only 25 schools availed themselves of its advantages in 1872. It is true, that in public schools an examiner is occasionally called in from without, when scholarships are to be adjudged; but his examination rarely extends throughout the different classes. Even if it does, there can be no question as to the vastly inferior value of a report presented at the request of the committee, or the head-master, compared with one addressed to an independent body, from whom the examiner received his appointment. In the former

we may expect some *suppressio veri*, if not the *suggestio falsi*; in the latter we possess as sure a guarantee of impartiality as can be had. The head-masters appear to have expressed a strong opinion, at the Birmingham Conference, in favour of a system of "leaving-certificates." It is quite possible that we have obtained a false impression of the nature of their proposals, as their proceedings were conducted with profound secrecy. Judging from the meagre outline furnished by the newspapers, we should say that the most striking feature of their resolutions is their utter want of harmony with the undoubted tendencies of modern educational movements. That the benefits anticipated from their reforms should be claimed for all public schools, and restricted to certain first-grade private schools, to be determined by election, might have been expected: those who already possess the privileges of a class will generally be found eager to increase them. But that certificates, which are intended to do away the obligation, on the part of those who hold them, to pass the Cambridge Little-go, or Oxford Responsions, should be conferred on the result of examinations in which the chief part is played by schoolmasters who have had the preparation of the candidates, is a suggestion so cool and so ridiculous as to seem barely credible. When we are told that the low standard required of Pass-men at Oxford and Cambridge is due to the fact that tutor and examiner are the same person: when our approval is challenged for the University of London because it entirely separates the two functions—we are hardly prepared for a demand from masters of endowed schools, who can scarcely have recovered from their severe handling by the Commissioners, that the universities shall waive their ordinary "right of search," and accept in its place an assurance from themselves of the proficiency of their pupils.

It remains for us now to point out very briefly the conclusions to which an inquiry into the principles of government, adopted at the public schools, conducted according to the deductive method, would lead. We shall deal first with the monitorial system and with fagging, which is commonly one of its incidents, and then consider whether the amount of individual freedom ordinarily allowed is excessive.

It must be confessed that the ideal, as it may be conceived, though not as it is always represented, is a fine one. A head-master, with a keen power of discerning the character of those amongst whom he lives, acting consistently on a determination never to let power fall into the hands of those unfit to wield it, and constantly associating and co-operating with his sixth form, might succeed in giving a high moral tone to his scholars, which it should be the supreme end of every schoolmaster to produce.

On the other hand, if the head-mastership were occupied by a man utterly destitute of all tact in management, and surrounded by a corrupt body of monitors, it would be difficult to exaggerate the depths of tyranny and iniquity to which a school so situated would soon be brought. Most boys, as well as most men, are neither prodigies of virtue nor monsters of vice, but combine virtuous and vicious qualities in varying proportions. It is commonly assumed that the system in question tends to produce characters of the first kind. Further consideration, however, may lead us to doubt if such is the case, and to conclude that with boys of average virtue, it may be expected to work moderately well.

There can be no question that a government by intelligence is better than a government by ignorance, or by wealth, or by brute strength ; at the same time we must know the extent of the power entrusted to the rulers, and the kind of intelligence required of them, before we can pronounce it really good. That the monitorial system may be the best for the public schools is quite possible, since the alternative for them is not between government by boys and government by masters, but between government by boys and none at all. Few despotisms are so bad as to make anarchy really preferable. But unless a great change were to come over the feelings of assistant-masters at the public schools, they would never consent to perform the duties of supervision in play-hours, light though these might be. This circumstance, however, does not prevent our considering whether such duties might not be more efficiently performed by masters, supposing they entertain no feeling against the practice. That special duty-masters, kept with the object of preventing wrongdoing out of school, should obtain authority is not to be expected : so long as the performance of a certain kind of work implies a badge of inferiority, those engaged in it will never command respect ; but where all the masters, or the great majority of them share in it by turns, no degradation is involved.

The merits of the monitorial system must be decided principally by the answer we should give to these two questions : What kind of government may be reasonably expected when the maintenance of discipline is entrusted to a small number of boys, selected chiefly by reason of their proficiency in Greek and Latin, who are free to support their authority by the infliction of punishment ? and, What is the effect likely to be produced on the character of rulers and subjects ?

In answer to the first question, the form of government may be described as a delegated despotism. A head-master ought to be despotic, and his government cannot be carried on unless theoretically he is so. It is not necessary, however, that he

should retain the entire administration in his own hands : he may part with the whole, or any portion of it, on stated conditions, to other masters, or to picked boys called monitors. It will probably be felt that such an arrangement will succeed very much according to the extent to which the authority is surrendered, the penalties by which it may be maintained, and the parties to whom it is entrusted. Until individuals have reached that stage at which they are capable of taking a share in the determination of the character of the government under which they choose to exist, despotism is the form to which they will be subject, and it is essential to their happiness that the despotism be a wise and benevolent one. It must be admitted that we can have but slender security for the possession of the important qualities of wisdom and benevolence in youths whose ages vary from sixteen to eighteen years, and whose known qualifications for their position are a certain amount of classical scholarship. No doubt they must generally have better means of discovering wrongdoing than a master can possess, but it is prevention, and not discovery, that is important. If the duty of monitors consisted in carrying a report to head-quarters when rules were being violated, a large amount of mischief would certainly be prevented, provided the duty were efficiently performed. But as the monitor would in this way rapidly degenerate into the informer, the infliction of punishment is also confided to his charge, and in carrying it out he is checked principally by his humanity and tradition. The public was recently shocked at a gross act of cruelty perpetrated by a præfect ; as he seems not to have exceeded his legitimate powers, however far he may have outrun his discretion, the chief matter for regret appears to us to be, not the barbarous incident, but the circumstances which made its occurrence possible. The conceivable abuses, indeed, of the monitorial system are obvious ; we shall call attention only to the dangers involved in its exercise in the hands of average boys.

Punishment is an operation so necessary, but requiring such delicate discrimination on the part of those by whom it is executed to render it effective, that it is of the highest importance that its infliction should rest with those of whose competency for the trust we are assured. The natural tendency in most men, if they punish immediately after the detection of an offence, is to punish, like Clearchus, "with harshness, and sometimes in a passion, so that even they repent of it themselves now and then." It would be well, if it were possible, to assign appropriate penalties after the lapse of an interval in which the event might be deliberately reviewed, but decisions have ordinarily to be made in haste, and promptly carried out. Nor is excessive severity the only evil to be guarded against ; punishments to be useful must

be just. The sympathetic sentiments must not be allowed to interfere with the award of such a penalty as the case requires. It appears to us that a monitor's life cannot fail to be one of perpetual anxiety if he appreciates at all adequately the responsibilities of his position ; that it seldom is so, merely shows that the majority are unfit for their trust. In actual experience it will probably be found that some yield to good-nature where duty requires that they should be stern ; others find the position irksome, and exercise but little check on those under their authority ; a few enjoy the opportunities afforded for the display of power and the infliction of pain, and the remainder conscientiously endeavour to perform a duty rendered all the harder for them by the inability or disinclination of their colleagues to give effectual support.

The institution of fagging needs not now detain us long. The same considerations which should make us hesitate before subjecting the greater number of boys in a school to the authority of monitors selected from among themselves, act with fully as much force to deter us from allowing every boy in the upper part of the school to monopolize for his own convenience the services of some of those who are younger, and therefore less advanced, and to employ them at his own caprice. Whatever may have been the origin of fagging, there can be no doubt that its maintenance is due in part to considerations of economy ; the fags perform a number of menial duties which would in any well-regulated establishment be left to domestic servants. The custom illustrates in a striking manner the power with the public of the sentiment of regard for the antique. Occupations more devoid of romance than those which constitute the fag's daily routine of duty it would be hard to imagine ; any fascination which surrounds them before trial must be rapidly dispelled with experience. A private schoolmaster who required his pupils to black their boots, clean their candlesticks, and sweep their classrooms would soon have his premises deserted. Some weight might be allowed to the plea that, by the performance of these humble functions, boys learn the dignity of labour, were it not arranged that they should fall exclusively on the weaker and inferior, and that as boys rise in dignity they cease to perform them.

With regard to the character likely to be developed by the monitorial system and by fagging, its not unnatural excrescence, we are now in a position to see that, so far from being universally the same, it must vary greatly according to the disposition of the depositaries of power. The abuse of authority is not calculated to inspire those who are subjected to it with that respect for law which is one of the first essentials of progress in moral or political education. The earliest lesson that has to be learnt by a child is

the duty of obedience, and when this has been omitted in the nursery, the schoolmaster has to supply the teaching which the parents have failed to give. The ultimate resort in cases of disobedience must be to punishment, and punishment, if it is to affect the future course of conduct, must be certain and uniform. When it has to be assigned and administered by several persons, whose decisions must be guided by their discretion without the assistance of a code, the greatest care is necessary that the fittest possible individuals should be selected for the performance of the triple function of accuser, judge, and executioner, which they generally unite. If some monitors are strict, others lax, and the majority negligent, the connexion of punishment and transgression will cease to produce that vivid impression on the imagination which is requisite for the formation of moral habits. Where dexterity will enable an offender to escape detection, conscience tends to become perverted in its judgments and to strike the guilty with remorse—not for having done wrong, but for being found out. The character of those who are formed under this *régime* can scarcely be described as independent; insubordination to authority, and impatience of legitimate restraint, are its natural outcome—impulses which much painful experience in afterlife will have to repress.

It is not to be denied that the public school system contains in it some elements which tend to the development of physical courage. Courage sometimes coexists with a strong sensitiveness to suffering, but it more naturally accompanies indifference to it. Unfortunately, great personal bravery is by no means inconsistent with cruelty, as examples from history abundantly prove. An individual who despises pain, cannot sympathize acutely with others because they are subject to an evil which he greatly underrates. If we credit the system with our enlightened statesmen, we must not omit to place the country squires—the persecutors of Dissent, the defenders of Governor Eyre—on the other side of the account. Deeds of heroism should be always highly valued, but their importance diminishes with the advance of civilization. Much physical bravery might be dispensed with to our advantage even now, could we but obtain more courage in the avowal of unpopular opinions in its stead.

The last point to which we intend to allude, is the bearing of the almost unrestricted freedom generally permitted at the public schools on the question of the formation of character. As a rule, the restrictions which would interfere with a boy's going where he pleases are practically very few, and are enforced with but little stringency. At Eton the Commissioners discovered the existence of a practice called "shirking." "The

nominal bounds at Eton," they say, "are very narrow, and practically the boys are suffered to go where they please. A boy is expected, however, if he sees a master when out of bounds, to run away. The omission to perform this ceremony is considered disrespectful, and renders the offender liable to punishment. The tradition is thus kept alive that the privilege of taking a walk is enjoyed only by connivance and on sufferance." It is satisfactory to find that "the prevalent opinion among the assistant-masters appears to be that 'shirking' is useless, and not entirely harmless," and "that it ought to be abolished."* This absence of control is very commonly regarded with especial favour, and the practice of exercising supervision over the conduct of boys out of school denounced as espionage. It is an easy matter to heap obloquy on a custom if only an ugly name can be attached to it, and there are few characters less likely to meet with kind treatment at the hands of the public than the spy. A surveillance, however, as strict as that of the French schools, may be maintained without any underhand expedients, which would render the application of the term *espionage* appropriate. To decide precisely how much control is desirable is a difficult matter, and to give an answer that shall suit all cases is impossible. When an individual has learnt the art of self-government, any interference with his liberty of action, provided he injures no one else, is an evil, though it may be a necessary evil; and this holds true of boys as well as of men. At an age, however, when self-government is very imperfectly developed, the imposition of restraints is not only allowable but salutary, since without these it will probably never be acquired at all. The law fixes the termination of infancy at the age of twenty-one, and the effects of anticipating by several years the privileges of manhood will probably be very disastrous.

Against this it is commonly said that the important thing among boys is a healthy moral tone; that those who are depraved will find a means of gratifying their tastes; and that people cannot be made good by Acts of Parliament. It is true that a good moral tone is of the highest importance, since the conduct will be very largely determined by the standard; but as the conduct reacts upon the standard by means of the habits which are formed, grave offences should be *prevented* as much as is possible, that the moral principles may be saved from a shock. The apophthegm contains less truth than most; people can be made moral to a large extent by the interference of authority. Legislative enactments can at any rate affect the actions if they cannot change the heart, and our future liability to yield to certainly one kind of vicious indulgence will be

* It has been abolished since the Report was issued.

greatly influenced by our past conduct. At an age when the emotions of sex are developed in their intensity, it is of the highest importance that their improper gratification should be prevented. Society has decreed the ruin of a woman's reputation with a first fall, and though a greater leniency is shown to a man, his moral nature cannot fail to be deteriorated in his own eyes, and one of the chief motives to a pure life to be destroyed, by a single lapse from virtue. Horace bears a noble testimony to the wisdom of the precautions taken by his father to preserve him from the dangers of the city :

“ Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
Circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? Pudicum,
Qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
Non solum facto verum opprobrio quoque turpi;”

and many a man, on reviewing his school days, has doubtless congratulated himself on the imposition of a restraint which he once regarded as irksome and absurd.

That the dangers which beset the lax supervision of the public schools are not altogether overlooked, is proved by the remarkable absence from all recent schemes for improving female education, of any proposal for the adoption of the system in girls' schools. We hardly expect to be told that the independence which public-school life is supposed to produce, though so excellent a quality in boys, would be objectionable in the other sex. At a time when the mental inferiority of women is disputed, the theory that they should not encourage the growth of a spirit which is esteemed so desirable in men, is not likely to meet with acceptance. And yet the supervision exercised over girls is far more constant and minute than that to which boys are ever subjected. The obvious explanation of the different treatment of the two sexes lies in the profound importance of preserving girls, so long as their characters are not fully formed, from temptations which might result in conduct that would be a source of fruitless remorse through life. A part of this extreme solicitude would scarcely be misplaced if the objects of it were boys.

We have now touched on all those points which constitute the essential difference between public and private schools, and also on those which are popularly, but erroneously, supposed to be distinctive of each. We should have a very imperfect conception of the difficulties of this kind of inquiry, if we imagined that we had invariably been led to accurate conclusions. Some circumstances, which greatly modify the result, may have been overlooked, and others of equal importance may have been neglected as trivial; occasionally, too, the correspondence of *à priori* conclusions with the results of observation may have

been accidental, while both are really inaccurate. Our object will be attained, however, if, in consequence of what we have written, the necessity of a joint employment of the two processes of observation and *à priori* reasoning, is more clearly kept in view in future discussions of the subject. What educational system will prove itself the best, it is impossible to predict; but that the best will ultimately prevail, when the "struggle for life" between the various kinds of schools is ended, does not admit of a doubt. Meanwhile we protest against a resuscitation of the policy of "levelling-up," which has been finally exploded in reference to ecclesiastical establishments, and its application to education. We claim for private schools no State support obtained by fresh taxation, nor a share in endowments already existing, but simply that recognition of their importance which they justly demand as their due.



ART. II.—THE CHANSON DE ROLAND.

Le Chanson de Roland, texte critique accompagné d'une traduction nouvelle et précédé d'une Introduction Historique.
Par LÉON GAUTIER. Tours. 1872.

IN quo proelio Egghardus, regiae mensae praepositus, Anselmus comes palatii, et *Hruodlandus* Britannici limitis praefectus, cum aliis compluribus interficiuntur." This sentence of Eginhard, the courtier and chronicler of Charles the Great, is the only line in all history that contains the name of Roland. Yet a later writer of the next reign, known as "L'Astronome," might well say of the hero and his peers, "quorum quia nomina vulgata sunt, dicere supersedi." Legend is capricious and has her favourites, who are not those of history; phantoms that have secured a renown as real and as immortal as the real men among whom posterity sees them move. Thus, three centuries after his death at Roncevaux, it was the song and the name of Roland that were chanted at Hastings, when Taillefer rode out before the Norman line. He has become the mediæval Achilles, "risen invulnerable from the stream of Lethe, not of Styx," a figure at which Time can throw no dart. Even the glory of Charles pales before that of the Warden of the March of Brittany; the great Emperor becomes like Arthur or Agamemnon, a crowned shadow, remote, withdrawn, while the epic of the heroic age of the West is "La Mort Roland." His name has gone out to the ends of the earth, and wherever he passes, he leaves traces of sword-blows, like thunder-strokes; and footsteps more than human.

The immense gorge that splits the Pyrenees under the towers of Marboré was cloven at one blow of Roland's blade Durandal ; Francis I. lifted the stone of his sepulchre at Blayes, and marvelled, like Virgil's labourer, at those mighty bones of ancient men. Italy is full of relics of his renown, his time-worn statue guards the gate of the Cathedral at Verona ; Pavia shows his lance, and at Rome Durandal is carven on a wall of the street Spada d'Orlando. In Germany he rides through the forests, melancholy as Dürer's mysterious knight ; on the Rhine he built the tower of Rolandseck, and distant echoes of him are heard in vaguest tradition through India to the snows of Tartary. In Paradise Dante beholds his soul, with that of Charles, pass, "a double star, among the central splendours of the Blessed."*

How did so wide and permanent a glory gather round this figure ? what portion of his legend is historical, what mere fantasy ; what the shreds of old mythology, fallen from the limbs of forgotten gods of the North, and woven into a garment whereby we see this forgotten man ? M. Léon Gautier has done much to present clearly and so far to solve, the difficulties of these questions, in his new and splendid edition and translation of the Chanson de Roland. M. Gautier's task has been a long one, fulfilled with a conscientious love of the Iliad of the warlike West. But before the poem itself can be enjoyed, there is much to be done : an iron and rugged language to be mastered, a history of the growth of the epic to be studied, a conception of the society whereof it is the one literary charm and treasure to be attained to.

The first part of this labour M. Gautier has made light enough. He furnishes a text, based on that of the oldest, the Bodleian MS., which is not earlier than the middle of the eleventh, nor later than the first part of the twelfth century. This text is aided by collations of the Venice and Paris MSS., and is printed more in accordance with the best grammar of the period than that which the careless scribe of the Oxford version chose to employ. Further, M. Gautier has filled up the lacunæ of the Oxford text with *remaniements* from the foreign sources, translated *back* into the earlier style of the Bodleian copy ; but these hazardous emendations are confined among the notes. In the translation he has avoided the pedantry of M. Genin, who turned the style of the eleventh into that of the sixteenth century—and has given a line for line version in modern French prose.

Thus the epic can be read, but scarcely as yet appreciated.

* Paul de S. Victor, "Hommes et Dieux."

There are works of art, masterpieces in their way, which appeal in vain to unaccustomed eyes or ears. The impassive attitude of an Egyptian Sphinx, the archaic lines of Æginetan sculpture, the low relief of early Italian marbles, the thin luxuriance and artifice of the age of the Pompadour, are enigmas to all who cannot see in these the forces of society, of thought, of life, of which they were the fruit, the ultimate expression. We must have lived in imagination with the old Egyptians, in a changeless land of peoples obedient to the dead; we must have felt the struggle in the Greek or Florentine heart, between a keen new sense of the grace of things, and a sense, not less constraining, of the religious traditions in art; we must have flitted the time carelessly with Manon Lescaut, passing delicately over the volcanic crust of society, before certain lovely creations of art can yield the intimate secret of their loveliness. Indeed, of what art is this not true, save of the mirror which the Academy or the Salon holds up to the dress and manners of the day? And even this in a hundred years will require a historical attitude, of a mind as keen as that of Charles Baudelaire, to see the beauty of artifice and decadence, before it will find an admirer. The Frankish epic of Roland is the only beautiful thing in literature that survives from an age that, save to one or two historians, seems to have only the darkness, and none of the fruitfulness, of Chaos and of Night. We can only admire it, when we find that that epoch was indeed heroic, and not the scene of a "mere fighting and flocking of kites and crows." Here then is a poem of more than four thousand lines in length, telling of the events of two or three days, and giving to these events colossal proportions altogether unwarranted by history. How far is the action historical? Was there ever a battle with the Saracens, a heavy discouragement for Charles, fought in the passes of the Pyrenees? Are the Paladins mere fictitious and gigantic ancestors of the later feudal houses, or exaggerated pictures of real peers; or have the stories of old gods been attached to new names, and is Roland with his sword of sharpness and wondrous horn, the Norse Hrodo, or a myth of the Sun; is his love, Lady Alde, one of the maidens of the Dawn? Next, how did the epic come to have the shape it has, rough indeed, yet massive, in verse too ponderous to be lyrical. It cannot be a mere collection of people's songs, it has not the light measure of the Kalevala, or of the Romaic Tragoudia, or of the Scotch or Provençal ballad. Is it then the work of some monk, who in that grey dawn of the first Renaissance may have tasted of the stolen waters of the Magician Virgilius? Or is it the song of a wandering jongleur, chanted in village streets? Or is it only one out of the countless crowd of feudal romances, composed

by known authors, for a kind of literary public, between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries? Probably it falls under none of these descriptions. Not lyrical, with no touch of classical influence, not vulgar in tone, the poem is a true *chanson de geste*, a family lay, grown together under the hands of a succession of the minstrels nurtured by a noble house, and ultimately it has received written form at the hands of one of these.

Again, what manner of men were they who found in the Paladins their heroes, and in this poem their epic? How much memory had they of the Roman culture, and of the Olympian gods? what did they know of the new monotheism of Arabia, what survivals of heathenism did they retain? What beginnings of chivalry were there among them, what remains of barbarism? In what were they like, and in what unlike the sons of the Achæans, among whom the older and lovelier epics came into existence? Some of these questions need to be considered before the poem is approached, some of them the poem itself answers.

First, with regard to what Mr. Max Müller calls the "grits of local history," which sometimes exist at the centre of a myth, and refuse to yield to the keenest instruments of the mythologist. Here there rises one form, as later another, of the endless Homeric question. In the case of Homer no one can doubt that there was a great empire at Argos, a great capital at Mycenæ, and few can refuse to see in the Iliad traces of a war more human than the struggle between light and darkness. Yet it is only here and there a student of Professor Blackie's type who believes in a real Achilles, a real Helen; and most readers must rest in the opinion that the prehistoric civilization of Argos left a genuine though vague memory, which became a nucleus for myth and tradition of various date and origin, and scarcely of estimable historical value. Just so it is with the historical part of the Frankish epic. We know that in 778 the rear-guard of Charles's army was cut off by mountaineers in the Pyrenees, as it returned from an unsuccessful attempt on Saragossa. But we have no reason to believe that the Saracens aided in the attack, and we are certain that the prodigious feats of Roland and his companions, the echoes of the "dread horn," the edge of Durandal, the angelic apparition, are as unhistorical as the vision of Pallas to Achilles. Ganelon too, the traitor, is of the race of Ægistheus, and the whole epic is full of the commonplaces and stock characters of primitive imagination. Yet it does not follow that because much is impossible and supernatural, and the tale one of defeat and death, the poem is a mere version of a Solar myth.

The school of mythologists who see all tradition in the sun

as Malebranche saw all things in God, have not spared the glory of Roland. There are two attacks, one scientific and one popular, on the hero's identity. The first is the theory of Dr. Hugo Meyer, according to whom the Chanson sets forth a myth blended of memories of the twilight of the gods, and of the real disaster at Roncevaux. Thus the name of the traitor Ganelon is resolved into Gamal, gamal is translated old, Old is an epithet of the mythical Wolf of the Edda, the Wolf is Twilight, for Twilight is grey and swallows the light. This equation worked out, it is plain to any unbiassed mind that Roland, the foe of Ganelon, must be the God Hrodo fighting the Wolf Fenris. In point of fact, Roland does not fight Ganelon, who is his stepfather, and certainly regards him in a stepfatherly way. The only real refutation of the solar theory, as M. Gaston Paris has observed, is a parody, or a sneer. Any battle, the life of any hero, may be twisted into a parable of day and night. But M. Paris has proved that in this case Ganelon is saved from being the wolf by the laws of language, which do not permit the conversion of Gamal into Guenes, or Ganelon. Besides, there is no *à priori* reason why a Christian and Frankish aristocracy of the ninth century should desert their own stock of Christian mythology for that of Scandinavia. Mr. Cox, another advocate of the Sun, has nothing to say of Hrodo, or Gamal, but thinks that Roland's sword of sharpness, his invulnerable strength, his horn, and his lady Alde, who dies at the tidings of his death, identify him with Herakles, Achilles, Sigurd, Arthur, all the heroes who are absorbed in the centre of our system. Perhaps the supernatural element in the epic is more easily accounted for by the usual, and apparently *necessary* forces of the primitive imagination. Whatever the will may be, in primitive man the imagination is bond, and the seemingly wildest fancies of remote races go an unvarying round of events, characters, very often of verbal formulæ. As to the supernatural occurrences, Guibert de Nogent, or any chronicler of the eleventh century, tells stranger marvels. Roland's arms are not those of the Sun, the *lucida tela diei*, they are gifts of no god more celestial than Wunsch or Wish, the old German God of Desire. Whatever the childlike imagination craves, caps of darkness, *nebel-cappe*, shoes of swiftness, swords of sharpness—with these it equips its favourite heroes. The Chanson is just as historic as the Iliad; it tells of a war in which little is certain save that the contending parties were great hostile races.

Supposing that three centuries were enough for the one tragic incident in Charles's career to bear fruit in the popular imagination, it would certainly be sung of in the ballads of the people, and the question occurs, Is the Chanson a *pastiche* of popular

songs? And here the likeness to the Homeric controversy recurs, for the Homeric epics, too, are felt to have *some* relation to the ballad style. That ballads existed among the Franks there can be no doubt at all. Charles himself is known to have collected the ancient volks lieder of Germany. In the biography of S. Faro, a work of the ninth century, mention is made of a ballad on one of Clotaire's victories—a ballad sung by girls in the dance. The biographer of S. William of Gellone, too, writing in the eleventh century, talks of the *chori juvenum* who sung of his hero. A yet earlier, and still extant ballad, is that of *Donna Lombarda*, Rosamond, the wife of Alboin. These ballads were contemporary with the events they recorded, and no doubt such ballads must have contained the popular view of the disaster at Roncevaux. These would be portions of truly popular poetry, of that spontaneous song which in Corsica and Modern Greece, and Russia still—as of old all over Europe—formed the culture of the people.* These songs in all lands express delight at the return of spring, or record the aspect in which, as through deeps of still water, some tragical event of the moving world of men appears to the indolent eyes of peasants; or they give voice to joy or sorrow at bridal or burial, or weave into melody some one of the primitive stock of folk-stories. These are all of the nature of true popular poetry, but these must not be confused with epic. It is this mistake which has led to attempts at Homeric translation in ballad metre and ballad commonplace. The epic is of its nature not popular, but aristocratic and artistic, and sings of the ancestors of a settled aristocracy. Thus in Greece the Lityerses song, or the Rhodian song of the swallow, was popular; the aristeia of Diomedes, or of Achilles, were primarily the property (the *chansons de geste*), of the houses of Crete or Larissa. How, then, was the epic formed? how was the advance made from the lyric versicle to the ornate chronicle in verse? Looking at the epics either of Greece or France, it is plain that they contain survivals of the characteristic formulæ of ballads. These are textual repetitions of speeches, recurring epithets, as “the green grass,” “the salt sea foam;” in Homer, ὄρεα σκιάοντα; in *Roland*, *coupes d'or cler*, *L'Empereur à la barbe chenue*; also the curious practice of lavishing gold and silver on common articles of everyday use. One might say, then, that artistic poetry grew like the manor out of the folk-land, like religion out of the worship of recognised ancestral spirits, instead of strange objects at large; that even so in art, an aristocracy found popular poetry a

* Cf. Mr. Ralston's “Songs of the Russian People;” M. Rathéry's article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*; M. Nigra's and M. Pitré's “Popular Songs of Italy.”

field unenclosed, and employed ministers of its own—retainers, who became a profession, with a hereditary collection of artistic rules, to perpetuate the memory of forefathers. These minstrels would naturally retain much of the simple formulæ of the folk-song; but with practice, with an audience that had plenty of leisure, would add to the early simplicity the length, fire, continued majesty of the epic. This would, lastly, be written out, and become a model, from which a later class of singers degenerated. If this account of the growth of a *chanson de geste* be a correct one, we need not look, like M. Gautier, for fragments of ballads in the separate stanzas. M. Gautier, like many Homeric critics, thinks he can discern various short lays in the Dream of Charles, the Death of Alde, the battle-scene, and so on. But these, with their dramatic propriety, as necessary links in the poem, cannot have been composed as chance snatches of song. The girls of Lorraine in the present century still sung of Ogier, but the ancient ballad was a light lyric, in nothing like the stanza of Roland.*

Who then may have been the genius, the *Homeros*, who gave unity to the traditions of Roncevaux? Two answers at least may be rejected. He was not one of the lower jongleurs, who got his living by singing through villages. A village audience could have neither time nor appreciation to give to such a poem; though in Finland, through the enforced idleness of the long winter nights, the peasantry have developed the *Kalevala*, an epic of their own. Lastly, the composer of the "Chanson de Roland" can scarcely, as a writer in the *Quarterly Review* supposes, "have been acquainted with the great models of Roman literature."† Where the feudal approaches the classic epic, it is by virtue of its native force and heroic quality, not by the patches of mythological allusion and faded rhetoric with which the contemporary, Abbo, garnishes his verses on the siege of Paris by the Normans. Nor is the religious tone at all that of the learned monk. What monks made of Roland we see in the chronicle of the Pseudo Turpin, where the hero is a military pietist, not the Baron who holds up in death his gauntlet to God.

We may set aside, then, the village jongleur, and the monk of letters, and consider "Roland" a real "family song," *chanson de geste*. Looking further down history, we find a school of cyclic poets in France, occupied with glorifying the heroic houses of Lorrain, of Rousillon, at the expense of Charles, the ancestor of the royal line, and the typical enemy of the feudal revolt.

* "Romancéro Champenois."

† *Quarterly Review*, vol. cxx., p. 287.

In the hands of this school Charles is degraded, just as the characters of Menelaus and Odysseus were by the poets of republican Greece.

"Roland" is to such a poem as "*les fils d'Aymon*," as the "*Iliad*" is to the "*Orestes*" of Euripides. Even in Roland the king is not the most prominent figure; but as the influence of the *leudes* of the later Carolingians grew stronger, he becomes the *faînéant* that even the latest of his race in Laon never were.

Later still, the cyclic epics lost all hold on history, became poems of fantasy, like "*Huon of Bordeaux*," the mediæval Odyssey. Still later came Celtic and Provençal influences, the chivalry and *faërie* of the court of Arthur, and Roland was only remembered in the chap books of peasants, and the burlesque of Ariosto. Other poems of the early date must have existed, for they are referred to in the "*Chanson*" just as the "*Iliad*" refers to lost songs; but of this class, the great *Chanson* alone remains to testify to a heroic age and an epic genius among the Franks.

So far, there is a tolerably complete parallel between the Homeric and the mediæval epopee. Both retain traces and survivals of an earlier *genre* of poetry, the folk-song; of both, the ultimate composer is unknown, both glorify an aristocracy co-existing with a heroic kingship.

In the epic the strange identity of human nature is once more revealed. Here, after the ages of classic civilization and of Christian faith, an epoch as simple and hardy, noble and child-like as the Greek heroic age, is reborn, under changed stars indeed, and on ground strewn with the ruins of empires, and amid confusion of broken lights. This recurrence of the past is the beauty of the poem, "all of iron" as it is, as the King Didier said of the hosts of Charles. Here once more is the Homeric king, "here are the Franks of France," like the sons of the Achæans, here are quarrels like those in the leaguer of Troy, and the wrath of Ganelon sends many souls of heroes to be among "the holy flowers of Paradise." God is the spectator of this fight, and angels and devils take sides with Franks and Saracens, for the war had a sacred character reflected on it from the religious indignation that caused the first crusade. Yet, sacred as is the war, the military character is the more prominent, the song is the voice of the free life of the Franks, who have changed Odin for Christ, without any of the fear or ecstasy of the monk, but simply as men recognising a higher form of the God of battles. The courtesy of the North is here with all its gravity, not even Ganelon returns a railing answer; but this courtesy is the natural growth of reverence from freeman to freeman, and has none of the later refinement of chivalry.

Love, too, so soon to be the god of Western poetry, is kept out of view—a power unthought of in time of war—and though the lady Alde dies at the news of Roland's death, he wears in battle no favours of hers, or of any lady's.

The artistic form of the epic is a series of *laissez*, or stanzas of varying length; of lines of five feet, each *laisse* having but one rhyme or assonance throughout. M. Littré has translated a book of Homer into this metre, not without success; and an idea of its value for Homeric imitation may be gathered from this fragment by M. L. Gautier:—

“Oiez chançon plus bele n'iert chantée
Ce est d'Achille à la chiere membrée
Qui tant ducl fist en Grèce la loée
Par qui tant amne en enfer fust logée
Tant corps es chiens gite comme cuirée.”

The poet starts at once *in medias res*, there is no invocation of any muse. Charles is sitting on his golden throne, judging his host, under a pine tree; around the warriors are playing chess or draughts, like the suitors on the threshold of Odysseus. Then comes Blancandrin to the Emperor of “the long beard in white flower,” with offers of peace and treaty from Marsile, sultan of the miscreants. Marsile will give hostages, and follow the Emperor to Aachen. Here Roland speaks out, and would have Charles refuse all parley with heathens who once already had slain his envoys. This is enough to make Ganelon, Roland's stepfather, reply *moult fierement* on the other side. From this quarrel, the *μῆνις* of Ganelon takes occasion. As the barons wrangle Charles speaks, the Emperor is still lord of his warring knights, *Franceis si taisent* at his word. He decides to send an envoy to Marsile, and the choice falls on the reluctant Ganelon, who now thinks himself but a slain man. As he mounts to ride away with Blancandrin, he already meditates treason. “Seigneurs,” he says, “ye shall have news of this sending.” Yet his heart is softened a moment, thinking of la belle France, and of his son at home.

“Baldewin mon filz que vous savez
E lui aidez, e pur seignior le tenez.”

There is even something noble and admirable in Ganelon's bearing. He scarcely disguises his intention to play the traitor, a part fatal in his house, as other crimes in the house of Thyestes. “In hell we are a great house,” says a traitor of his line, in a later epic, and in the hostile camp Ganelon acts like one who is treacherous through no coward fear. He cries aloud to Marsile, “Be thou baptized, oh king, to Aachen shalt thou be haled,

and there receive judgment, and there shalt thou die in shame and mean estate." Marsile laid his hand on his spear, it seemed as if the envoy were to be slain with his missive unread. Then Ganelon having been as insulting as his code required, produced Charles's letter, and as Marsile read it, set his back against a pine, and half drew his sword. Even the ranks of miscreants could scarce forbear to cheer: *Noble Barun ad ci*, they said. He is indeed a fair knight, broken loose from the central duty, the necessary loyalty of feudalism.

Marsile found the letter less fiery than the manner of its delivery; he spoke softly to Ganelon, and offered him a present of sable skins, a Homeric rather than a chivalrous form of satisfaction. "When will Charles the Old be weary of war?" "Never while his nephew Roland and the Peers are on ground," says Ganelon; and he advises the Sultan to send tribute and hostages, but withal to lay a great ambush in the passes of the Pyrenees. Then Ganelon swears to treason on the relics of his sword, and returns to camp "en l'albe, si cum li jurz esclairet," bringing the keys of Saragossa, hostages and treasures.

Before the army sets out for home, Charles has an evil dream, that Ganelon seized his spear in the pass of the hills. The king wakes, and weeps like Agamemnon or Achilles, the ready heroic tears. "Charles ne poet muer que de ses oilz ne plurt." By Ganelon's advice he assigns the rearguard to Roland, with Evrard de Rousillon, Turpin, and Oliver. Then the army broke up camp. "Black rocks they crossed, and dark valleys," till they came within sight of Gascony. Then again broke out the ready heroic tears, "at memory of their fiefs and fields and of their little ones, and gentle wives none was there who did not weep." There was forethought of evil in the hearts of the vanguard; in the rear, Oliver heard the footsteps of the gathering Pagans. "We shall have battle," he says. "God grant it," says Roland, "*que malvais chant de nus chantet ne seit*." Never let bad ballad be sang of us. Then Oliver would have spoken evil of Ganelon, but Roland would not hear it; "*mis parastre ist, ne voeill que mot en suns*." Nor will Roland listen to Oliver when he bids him blow his magic horn, for aid against miscreants.

"In sweet France I would lose my fame."

The heathen approach, Turpin absolves the army; no elements of sacrament are there but grass and leaves. So in Threnakia the doomed company of Odysseus made hapless sacrifice, φύλλα δρεψάμενοι τέρενα δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο. Then the Franks cried "Mount Joie;" and Aelroth, the nephew of Marsile, rode along the heathen line shouting taunts, and the mêlée began. Through all the scene of battle, the Frankish singer, like Scott

in the song of Flodden, "never stoops his wing." In this Homeric battle Roland drives his lance through breastplate and breast of Aelroth, Oliver casts down Fausseron, "Seigneur of the land of Dathan and Abiron," Turpin slays King Corsablyx. Spears and axes sound like hammers on heroic mails; the fight goes well for the Franks. "Gente est nostre bataille," cries Oliver. Siglorel falls, the "enchanter whom Jupiter had led through hell." Sathan hath his soul. Lances are broken and thrown away. Oliver draws his sword Haute claire—it is no battle to smite in with a spear truncheon. Roland draws Durandal; the peers cut their way through the Saracens, as Cortez's men through the white clouds of Aztec spearmen. But the innumerable hosts of the miscreants close in, the heathen reserves come up, the ranks of the barons are thinned. And now would Roland fain sound his horn, but Oliver mocks him. "Wilt thou not lose thy fame in sweet France? Ah, never now shalt thou lie in the arms of Alde my sister." "Nay, sound," said Turpin, "we shall have burial at our friends' hands, and be no wolves' spoil." Then the hero blew till blood started from his mouth, and the echo of that dread horn wound through the passes of the hills, and rang above the tempest of wind, and the thunder, the wailing of nature, *la granz dulurs pur la mort de Roland*. Surely if there is anything of mythology in the legend of Roland it is here, where the heaven is darkened, and the veil of the heaven is rent, and the blind powers of the world cry, as for Baldur or Adonis. Charles heard the horn, and knew his nephew was in extremity, and knew the treason of Ganelon. So Ganelon was given to the cooks and camp-followers, to bind him and torment him. Meanwhile the battle raged on the Spanish side of the hills, "the black folk that had nothing white save the teeth," fell on the weary knights. Never shall they see *tere de France, mult dulz pais*. The Califf wounds Oliver to death, and is slain by the Paladin, whose eyes are now dimmed by blood and heat, and who strikes blindly, like John of Bohemia at Crécy. A blow even falls on Roland's crest, "*Sire cumpain faites le vos de gred*," he asks, "did you strike me wilfully?" "Nay, for I hear thee, but see thee not, friend Roland, God help thee." Then Roland pardoned him before God, "*à icel mot l'un a l'autre ad clinet*." With this courtesy they parted that had in life been true companions in arms, and in death were not long divided. Now Roland's horse was slain, and himself foredone with battle, and he gathered the corpses of the peers in a circle about the dying Bishop Turpin. The bishop crosses his hands, "*ses beles mains les blanches*," his fair white hands, that shine out in the rough poem like a delicate *fleur de Paradis* from hewn Gothic work. They shall

all meet soon, he says, among the Holy Innocents. So Roland spoke his praise over Oliver, as Bors over the dead Sir Launcelot. But Oliver is honoured, not as "the curtiest knight that ever in hall did eat with ladies," but

" Pur Osbercs rompre et desmailler,
Epur proz domes tenir e cunseiller
En multe tere n'ot meillur chevaler."

Last, Roland lays himself down "sur l'erbe verte," and seeks to break the blade of Durandal lest it fall into the hands of unbelievers. Ten blows on the hard rock and on the Sardonyx stone fail to splinter the steel. "Ah, Durandal, how clear thou art and bright that shinest as the sun; with thee have I conquered lands and domains for Charles of the white beard. Yea, now for thee have I sorrow and heaviness, and would die sooner than see thee in pagan hands. Holy thou art, and lovely; in thy golden hilt is store of relics. How many kingdoms have I taken with thee, wherein Charles now rules!" Then he lay down on the green grass beneath a pine, and cast his sword and horn beneath his body. His face was turned to Spain, and many things came into his mind—sweet France, and the Barons of his house, and Charles his lord. He might not endure, but wept and groaned heavily. He stretched out to God the glove of his right hand; S. Gabriel took it from his grasp. Roland is dead; God have his soul in heaven. S. Michael of the Sea bare his spirit to Paradise.

The poem might well end with Roland's, as the Iliad with Hector's, death. But national pride requires that the Paynim should not triumph, and poetical justice demands the punishment of Ganelon. The sun stood still for Charles, as of old on Gilboah, and the heathen, calling on Termagaunt their god, were driven to Saragossa. They pass like a mist into the dark; the tired horses lie down and feed as they lie. Charles finds Roland's body with its face to the foe. In Saragossa, Marsile beats his image of Apollo, and casts the idol of Mahomet into a ditch. Clearly the poet's notion of the Arab monotheism was gathered previous to the Crusades, from some alien fetichism, and from memoirs of the degraded rulers of Olympus.

Next day was a day of battle. The king fought well in his place, *dient Franceis, Icist Reis ist Vassals, Mult bien i fiert Charles li Reis*, an angel stood by him. Night fell softly. *Clere est la lune, et les esteiles flambiert*, when Charles marched into Saragossa. His second return was unmolested; but in Aachen the beloved of Roland waited for news of her lord. Alde "of the golden hair and the bright face," fell dead at Charles's feet. He would have given her rough comfort, and his

son for husband. Here only love enters the poem, "vierge comme la Mort." The part of woman in the Western world is not yet come.

With Alde's death all the interest of the Chanson ceases. Yet the last lines are dramatic. The grey king is musing alone; he says, *Deus, si peneuse est ma vie*, a vista opens of future wars without Roland's sword, of a hard end to a hard life, of Norman invaders and a tarnished fame, to the eyes of the weary emperor.

Ci falt le Geste que Turoldeus declinet. So ends the epic which Theroualde, whoever he was, wrote, or composed, or recited. New themes, chivalry, Arthur's Table, faerie, came in, "the newest songs are sweetest to men." When Ronsard and Voltaire sought subjects for epics they found them in a fictitious Francus, and that dubious hero, Henri IV. The later writer might well say that the French have not *la tête épique*. Whatever the conquering Franks possessed of weighty language, of simple heroism and grave imagination, they lost as they became one with the subject Celts and Latins.

The Chanson de Roland will probably always be for France, not a source of new and lofty poetry, but a rough literary curiosity, a thing to admire by practice and with reservations. The nation, like Sainte-Beuve, is more at home with the polished artifice of the Renaissance, or the passion of the Romantic school.



ART. III.—AN EARLY FRENCH ECONOMIST.

PIERRE LE PESANT DE BOISGUILBERT, or Boisguilbert, was the Civil and Criminal Lieutenant of the Balliage of Rouen towards the end of the seventeenth century, a rank about equivalent to that of President of the Civil Tribunal at the present day.

Beyond the fact that he was a grand-nephew of the great Corneille, and that he was a native of Normandy, presumably of a poor gentleman's family of Rouen, scarcely anything is known of his birth and parentage.

The Duc de St. Simon, in his well-known Memoirs, tells us that Boisguilbert, inspired with the profoundest sympathy for the woes of his country, and deeply disgusted with the incapacity and dishonesty of the officials who preyed upon her, resolved to wait upon Pontchartrain, the Controller General of Finance, in the hope of inducing him to listen to his plans of reform.

"He begged him," says St. Simon, "to listen to him with patience, and warned him that his first impression would be that he was a madman ; that after hearing him he would see that he deserved attention, and that finally he would be satisfied with his system. Pontchartrain, a man of peppery character, nearly burst out laughing, and turning his back upon him, told him roughly, 'that he should stick to the first impression.'"

But Boisguilbert was not to be discouraged. Since the ministers would not hear him, he must appeal to the nation. In 1695 he published secretly the "*Détail de la France*," the first part of which reappeared the following year, under the significant title of "*Le France ruinée sous le règne de Louis XIV.*"

From that time forward he devoted himself entirely to the cause which he felt himself called upon to sustain against the whole world, and after ten years of continuous application brought out, in 1705, the two remarkable pamphlets entitled "*Traité des Grains*," and "*Dissertation sur les Richesses*."

It was about this time, and through the medium of his works, that he became acquainted with the celebrated Marshal Vauban, the most illustrious engineer, and, in many respects, the most ardent philanthropist of his day. In 1707 Vauban's "*Projet de dîme Royale*," and Boisguilbert's "*Factum de la France*," appeared simultaneously. The marshal's name was too well known for his work to be treated with the same contempt as had hitherto been shown to those of Boisguilbert ; but all his services and his devotion were forgotten, and the king who, according to St. Simon, had hitherto considered it for his own glory to cover him with honours, now only saw in him "one who had gone mad through love of the populace, and a criminal who assailed his authority through that of his ministers." The poor marshal withdrew to his estates, where he died a few months later, worn out by disappointment at his ill-success, and by the ingratitude of the king he had loved so truly and served so faithfully.

Boisguilbert's book, brought forward to a certain extent by the scandal created by the similar work of his illustrious contemporary, attracted the attention of the minister Chamillart,* who sent for the author, and after expressing his approval of his plans, asked for time to carry them out, or, as Boisguilbert expresses it, "to think about extinguishing the flames that were blazing at the four corners of the kingdom."

Full of indignation at this weakness, Boisguilbert published the fiery and eloquent little pamphlet, "*Supplément au Détail de la*

* A song written after this minister's death, in 1721, thus quaintly describes the nullity of Chamillart; he was "*Un héros au billard, un zéro dans le ministère.*"

France." He was at once severely censured and exiled to Auvergne, and the "*Factum de la France*" was condemned to be destroyed, just one month after the "*Dîme Royale*."

Pardoned, thanks to the influence of his warm-hearted friend la Vrillière, in whose department Normandy was included, he returned to Rouen, where he met with an enthusiastic popular reception, although temporarily suspended from his office. Henceforth he devoted himself solely to the revision of his works, which reappeared under the taking title of "*Testament Politique du Maréchal de Vauban*." But little more is known of him until his death, which took place in 1714. He must have lived long enough to see with bitter suffering the realization of his predictions as shown in the fearful accumulation of woes which bore down upon devoted France towards the end of the reign of Louis the Great.

At the close of the 17th century the vast majority of the inhabitants of France had fallen into a state of misery and degradation which words are not strong enough to describe. From all sides, and from quarters the least open to suspicion, we are overwhelmed with testimony bearing out to the fullest extent Boisguilbert's passionate but just description of the condition of the people. Vauban, Fénelon, Mme. de Maintenon, St. Simon, vie with one another in calling attention to the universal suffering; even Voltaire, the panegyrist of the age of Louis, says with characteristic bitterness, when speaking of the tawdry laurels won from the Augsburg League: "*On périssait de misère au bruit des Te Deum*;" and La Bruyère, at the very period at which Boisguilbert wrote (in 1687), gives the following heartrending picture of the subjects of the great King: "One sees certain wild animals, both male and female, scattered about the country, grimy, livid, and roasted by the sun, bent over the soil which they scratch and dig up with invincible persistence; and when they stand upright they display a human face, for in truth they are men and women. At night they retire to their dens where they feed on black bread, water, and roots. They spare other people the trouble of digging and sowing and reaping; they deserve not to be deprived of the bread they have produced."

But to those whom we have mentioned, Vauban alone excepted, and to others who succeeded them, this misery of the "*canailles chrétiennes*" (as the French prelate, Mme. de Sévigné quotes, dared to call what was substantially the whole nation, with the exception of the Court) was nothing more than one of those inscrutable dispensations of providence over which an occasional tear may be shed, but which are quite beyond the reach of human intervention. It is dimly apparent to the eyes

of a few observant courtiers that taxation weighs heavily upon the masses, and that they perish miserably beneath its insupportable burdens. But the Great Louis and his court must be maintained at all costs, and were not the lower orders created for that purpose? are they not "taillables et corvéables à merci?" The contemptible knot of courtiers and priests and over-fed farmers-general who screened themselves in the theatrical glories of that most pitiful of great kings, were deaf to the heartrending appeals of the rest of the nation, and deaf they and their children remained for a whole century, until the startling sounds of the Revolution forced themselves upon their hearing with a vengeance.

Two men alone in the whole country could sympathize with, and devise remedies for, the relief of the poor "manants:" Marshal Vauban and Boisguilbert. It is our present purpose to speak only of the latter.

Before discussing his merits as an economist, it may be well to review his description of the evils he had to deal with; of the causes from which they sprang; and of the remedies he proposed to administer.

"The suffering of the country is prodigious."

"France under Louis XIV. has lost more than half her wealth."

"The consumption of her products has come to an end."

"Her land lies fallow or half cultivated, exposed to the view of every passer-by; behold the corpse of France!"

And what are the causes of the fearful destruction that has fallen upon the country?

At the root of them lies the short-sightedness and ill-judged activity of one who is generally called a great man. Colbert affords one of the numerous instances familiar to students of history of an honest, energetic and hard-working man accustomed to move in a narrow groove,* and to regulate his actions according to a restricted circle of ideas, who, on finding himself placed at the head of the affairs of a great country, hastens to reduce everything to the standard that obtained in the confined sphere of duties in which he had hitherto moved, in one word, to borrow Mr. Arnold's expression, he was a Philistine. The harm done by such men is all the greater because they really intend to do good.

Unlike Sully, who had turned his attention solely to the development of agriculture, Colbert devoted his whole energies to the encouragement of manufactures. Although, even in this respect, he fell into very serious economical errors, still he had the

* Colbert, who occupied a small financial post under Mazarin, attracted the notice of that minister by his unflagging application to the details of his office, and was by him recommended to the king shortly before his death.

merit of bringing about a very considerable development of the industry of his country, and of laying the foundation, or encouraging the growth, of most of the manufactures which enrich it at the present day.* But these improvements, the benefit of which was very slow in being generally felt, were dearly purchased at the expense of the ruin of agricultural France for a whole century. By the decrees of 1667 and 1673, Colbert abolished the right of remonstrance of the Parliaments, which, though backward and obstructive where reforms were to be introduced, were at least sufficiently interested in the general welfare of the country never to have tolerated the abuses in taxation which almost immediately upon the enactment of those decrees began to work with fatal effect. Those two decrees, as D'Aguesseau says, "stifled the last shriek of dying freedom," and placed France at the mercy of an army of plundering tax-gatherers.

That we have in no way exaggerated the evil influence exerted by Colbert on the condition of French agriculture will be apparent from the following quotation from Pierre Clément's work:—

"Never was the condition of France so miserable as during the reign of Louis XIV., even whilst Colbert held office. With the view of artificially regulating the supply of corn for the prevention of famines, he piled up order upon order until he had completely ruined the corn-trade, and brought things to such a pitch that in a country which can feed 40,000,000 of inhabitants, the 20 or 22 millions who then composed its population, were reduced every third year to live upon grass, roots or the bark of trees, or to die of hunger."†

Before Colbert assumed the reins of office the tax-payers of France were not upon a bed of roses, but "until then," says Boisguilbert, "in spite of their marked vocation for advancing their own interests at the expense of the King and his people, the tax-gatherers refrained from burning the candle at both ends."

According to our author, then, the direct instruments of the misery of France are "that army of judges, collectors, sergeants, and financiers beneath whose feet destruction springs up," and "whose hands consume like fire."

The evil is of manifold nature: three kinds of taxes devour the country—the *taille*,‡ the *aides*, and the customs both internal and external. Is a larger sum levied by those taxes than France can pay? Far from it, she could support a twofold burden and grow rich under it with ease. What then is the reason that their weight appears to be overwhelming? To analyse their action singly:—First, the *taille*, which is the most nefarious of them, for

* Levasseur "Histoire des classes ouvrières en France."

† For Adam Smith's opinion of Colbert, see book iv. chap. ii., &c.

‡ The *taille* was a direct tax upon the persons or goods of *roturiers* (ple-

its uncertainty, as the time and mode of levying it depends upon the caprice or upon the interests of the collector; for its injustice, as the rich and powerful can obtain exemption; for its system of collection, which obliges the industrious and frugal to make up from their slender stores the portion of the assessment of the district which the tax gatherers are unable to wring from the less worthy members of the community.* With so fearful a weight did the *Taille* oppress the unfortunate husbandmen that many of them offered to give up the whole revenue they derived from their land and seek their living as hired labourers. Their offer was not accepted, and the consequence was that they were obliged to sell their fields for a nominal price, for the most part to the lords of the manors, who, managing to evade taxation upon them, again increased the burden which had to be borne by the remainder of the district, and thus by a continuous fatal action and reaction was the general ruin accelerated.

The uncertainty as to the time of levying the tax and of the amount to be paid by each contributor; the exemption of the rich, obtained by intimidation or bribery, and the direct encouragement given to wastefulness and idleness by all these causes, combined with the system of collection, fully justify Boisguilbert in denouncing the *Taille* as "the ruin of goods, of bodies, and of souls," and lead one to sympathize with his indignation when he exclaims, "If demons had taken counsel together how to damn and destroy all the inhabitants of the kingdom, they could have devised nothing better fitted to work out their aims."

As if the persecution of the unjust *Taille* were not sufficient, the *Aides*† came into play to add their share to the burdens of the hapless producer. Combined with an ingeniously perverse system of internal customs, they destroyed the cultivation of the grape in many parts of France, and brought things to such a pass that, "in many parts of the country, it was considered an act of well

beians). For a full description of this tax see "Dictionnaire de l'Economie Politique;" and Adam Smith, book iii. chap. ii., and book v. chap. ii. article 2.

* The collectors were elected amongst the inhabitants of the town or district, and were rendered responsible to the fullest extent for the amount for which it was assessed. Rather than make up the sum from their own pockets, they extorted it from those who were most completely in their power. If they failed even by unfair means to complete the required amount, they had to make it good, which, as Boisguilbert says, "without mentioning imprisonments, which are so numerous that an infinity of the collectors spend more of their time in jail than at home, is utter ruin to the consumption of commodities, through the loss of their time, which is their sole revenue . . . and as each person in turn must undertake this duty, each in turn is completely ruined." ("Factum de la France," chap. v.)

† The *Aides* were an excise duty, levied both on wine sold in detail and on that which was stored for keeping. ("Détail," part i. chap. v.)

judged economy to root up the vines altogether, for after having borne the expenses of cultivation and vintage, the husbandman was condemned to see his wine spoil in his cellars, owing to the impossibility of disposing of it.* "The tax-gatherers and their assistants," says Boisguilbert, "are six times more formidable and more destructive to commerce than pirates, tempests, and a sea voyage of 3000 or 4000 leagues, since the wines of Anjou cost twenty-four times more at Rouen than on the spot, whilst the products of China and Japan may be had for only four times their price in those countries.

With a boldness very unusual in his day, Boisguilbert puts a complete statement of all the evils wrought by these taxes in the King's own mouth.†

"Let us suppose," says he, "that the whole generality of Rouen is the king's personal property, as a great part of it once was, and that having farmed it out to several private individuals he should ask them no fixed rent for it, but should say: 'when you want a barrel of wine you will have to pay 17 duties to 7 or 8 separate offices, which are only open on certain days and at certain hours; if you fail to satisfy the least of those offices, though it may have been closed when you got there and any delay would have been productive of serious expense to you, your goods with your cart and horse will be confiscated for the profit of its directors, whose testimony will be final, whether you admit yourself in fault or not. In taking your goods about the country you will likewise have to declare them at all the closed places you pass, and will have to wait until it suits the clerks to examine them, even at the cost of prolonging your journey fourfold ‡. Moreover, should you wish to dispose of your merchandize to foreigners, I shall be entitled to lay such a tax upon it as will compel them to provide themselves elsewhere. Even should I gain nothing thereby, your produce will be a clear loss to you with all your outlay; you will even often see it wasted, especially your liquors, which you will be unable to sell for a penny, although at a day's journey they may be worth an exorbitant sum; but if you were to convey them thither you might lose both your pains and your goods, for I have farmed out certain tolls on the roads that call for the observance of many difficult formalities concerning which the persons interested are both judges and parties to the suit, and should you fail in respect to any one of these, all is lost; and although not one tithe of what you lose comes into my pocket, still I am advised that it is for my interest that things should take this course. Moreover, you will annually pay a sum of money which will bear no proportion to the land you hold from me, but

* "Factum de la France," chap. viii.

† "Détail de la France," part iii. chap. vii.

‡ See J. B. Say, "Cours Complet d'Economie Politique," chapter on Taxation headed "L'esprit de Fiscalité;" and Bastiat, "Discours sur l'Impôt des Boissons."

which for five acres will often be double the rate which another husbandman of the same parish pays for thirty. But you will have to buy the favour of those who make the assessment, as they are perfectly at liberty to disregard all justice in this affair. Besides this, you must carefully abstain from paying me regularly when your rent falls due, for should you do so you would be compassing your own ruin, inasmuch as those to whom I entrust this sort of payment have an interest in costs of recovery, so that although those costs may be an evil, they are a lesser one than having your rent raised annually which must necessarily ensue if you pay regularly. It is likewise necessary that you should hide or bury your money, if you have any, rather than trade with it, in order to avoid such increase of rent, and it is even necessary to avoid placing cattle on your land for the purpose of manuring it. You must be equally careful with respect to your expenditure, so that whether as regards food or clothing for yourself or family, you should affect great poverty.* Lastly, as my farm-rents are very badly assessed and still worse paid, both from poverty and from ill-will, every four or five years you will have to collect them, when, if you be not completely ruined (as is the case with many of your fellows), you will at all events be much inconvenienced, for neither you nor your colleagues can cry quits when you have given up your farms and all you possess, and people have often to perish in prison owing to their inability to pay four times as much rent as their farm is worth, whilst their neighbours may not be paying the twentieth part of what might fairly be expected of them.' "

The foregoing extract is somewhat lengthy, but it gives so completely and with so much piquancy, Boisguilbert's complete indictment against the prevalent system of taxation, that I cannot refrain from inserting it. In the whole range of economical literature, it would be hard to hit upon a better *reductio ad absurdum*, with the exception perhaps of Bastiat's "Petition of the candlemakers."

We will now proceed to consider the various remedies proposed by Boisguilbert, in order to restore France to her natural condition of wealth and prosperity. Those remedies, according to him, are so simple and so certain in their action that three hours' attention on the part of the ministers, and a month devoted to their application, would amply suffice to secure the desired result. "Nothing can be easier so far as the thing itself is concerned, and nothing so difficult with regard to those who are interested in the maintenance of the existing order of affairs."†

* With regard to the necessity of affecting poverty even at a later date (1732), the reader is referred to an episode in J. J. Rousseau's "Confessions," where a peasant in the neighbourhood of Lyons, who had afforded him hospitality, shows the greatest fear lest his comparatively comfortable mode of living should become known.

† "Détail de la France," part iii. chap. i.

The remedies he proposes are substantially as follows :

1st. *That the Taille may be general and proportional, because all the King's subjects are equal where taxation is concerned :* and if any one of them should be called upon to pay more than his share, it is certainly not the poor husbandman, who can scarcely keep body and soul together by unremitting labour. In this respect, he points out, the policy of taxation has been a retrogressive one since the days of Charles VII., whose decree of 1445 is conceived in the following terms : “ We desire that equality may be observed between our subjects, with regard to the charges and burdens they may have to bear, without the one bearing or being constrained to bear the charges or burdens of the others, without a shadow of privilege or “*cléricature*” (exemption as a member of the clergy) or any thing else whatsoever.”*

2nd. *That the aforesaid system of collection which serves to ruin the tax-payers one by one be abolished, and that the joint responsibility of all the inhabitants of a district for the deficiency in taxation meet with the same fate, so that the industrious may no longer pay for the idle.*

3rd. *That the Aides be entirely suppressed.* Although of course the system of excise in France has improved with the progress of civilization, still Bastiat in his speech on “*L'Impôt des Boissons*” finds scope for a description of its ruinous effects, which differs only in degree from that of Boisguilbert.

4th. *That the internal customs be abolished.* Colbert had already done something in this direction. Turgot did something more, and the *Assemblée Constituante* carried out the proposed reform, nearly a century after the time we are writing of.

5th. *That as regards the external customs, the Import duties which tend to drive foreigners elsewhere for their supplies, be modified in a sense which will prevent them from having that effect ; that the duties on exportation be entirely abolished, especially with respect to the corn trade.*

No comment is needed in this case to show to what an extent our author's ideas were in advance of those of his contemporaries.

6th. *That the paltry expedient of the Affaires Extraordinaires† be abandoned.* Pontchartrain, who was the chief promoter of this sale of offices, was looked upon as a genius by the Court for having got 150,000,000 francs in six years for bits of parchment with seals “affixed.” On one occasion, when boasting to the King of the success of this financial jobbery, he is reported to

* “*Détail de la France*,” part iii. chap. ii.

† The revenue under this head was chiefly derived from the sale of places or titles exempting from taxation.

have said, "No sooner does your Majesty create a place than a fool is forthcoming to purchase it." It quite escaped the attention of those who praised the system to the skies that this expedient tended to increase immeasurably the disorder already existing in the taxation, by transferring a still greater share of its burdens from the shoulders of the wealthy to those of the needy. Voltaire, who cannot be accused of being prejudiced against the doings of the reign of Louis XIV., thus enumerates some of the places created in 1707: "King's Councillors, controllers of the woodstacks, police councillors, barber-wigmakers, inspector-controllers of fresh butter, tasters of salt butter, &c. Those things make us laugh now, but people wept over them then"*

To make up the deficit which would result from the suppression of the *Aides*, *Internal Customs*, and *Affaires Extraordinaires*, Boisguilbert proposed to add 12,000,000 to the *Tailles*, which addition, owing to the suppression of the three other kinds of taxes and a juster system of assessment, would easily be borne, and to raise the remaining 5,000,000 by a tax upon chimneys, which might be abolished as soon as the increase of the National revenue resulting from the suggested reforms enabled the latter sum to be added to the *Tailles*. The 10,000 complicated taxes which exhausted the kingdom would thus have been replaced by one or two simple ones, and the expenses of collection thereby reduced to an extraordinary extent, for under the existing system Boisguilbert calculated that the King barely received one-twentieth of what was extorted from the nation.

The whole of Boisguilbert's doctrines as set forth in the preceding propositions is thus briefly stated by that author:—"Miracles are not called for, it is merely necessary to refrain from constantly violating the Laws of Nature." The principle of "*Laisser-faire, laisser passer*," which, when stated later by Gournay and Quesnay, made so much noise in the world, is contained in its least objectionable form in the above sentence.

In the preceding pages we have endeavoured to show what Boisguilbert's ideas were as to the causes which had led to the ruin of agriculture in France, and to describe the remedies which he proposed, for the purpose of restoring the wealth and prosperity of his country. Short and incomplete as this sketch has necessarily been, we shall have entirely failed in our object if it be not already apparent to those who are familiar with the history of the development of Economical Science, that Boisguilbert, as an economist, was far in advance of his time.

He was the first in France to expose the fearful injustice and oppression which culminated a century later in the Great

* "L'Homme aux Quarante Ecus."

Revolution. To his contemporaries, with one or two exceptions at most, there was nothing in the state of the country to call for especial notice. They saw, of course, that there was much suffering and misery amongst the lower orders, but that fact was in the strictest harmony with the teaching of religion. "The poor shall be always with you," in order, added the clerks, "that you may always have occasion to exercise the cardinal virtue of charity, and find in almsgiving a ready means of soothing your consciences, and buying off your souls from the dire sentence which would otherwise inevitably befall them on account of your sins, both of omission and commission." Boisguilbert was familiar with all such clap-trap, and therefore he appealed from the oppressors to the oppressed. He was the first to recognise the existence of an element in the State outside the Court and the clergy. He speaks to the people, and he speaks in their name with a boldness very unusual as yet. He is but the advocate of "all the husbandmen and traders in the kingdom, that is, of all those who are the source and principle of all the riches of the State, both for the King and for the nation. . . . It is the people themselves who speak in this memorial, they number 15,000,000, as against 300 persons at most who grow rich upon the spoils of the King and of his subjects."* As yet the loyal believed that "if the King only knew" all would be well. Louis the Well-beloved coming after Louis the Great taught them a different lesson.

On all questions connected with Economical Science, Boisguilbert is full of interest. He is always remarkably ingenious in applying his principles to the subjects of the moment, and singularly felicitous in his illustrations. His style is diffuse, and occasionally somewhat obscure, but it is imbued with so deep a sense of conviction and inspired by such a hearty indignation that it is impossible not to sympathize with him when he holds forth against the oppressors of the poor and the weak. Carried away by his ardour in the defence of their cause, he is occasionally led into fallacies which a more advanced state of general knowledge would have enabled him to avoid. His truths are all his own, his errors are those of his age, and what economist is entirely free from certain misapprehensions? Day by day we see the earlier theories of the science assailed, and if not overthrown, at all events pruned of much of their pristine growth. Yet each of them has contributed its modicum of truth to be worked out and built upon by succeeding generations of students.

If Boisguilbert be not entitled to the merit his able biographer, M. Felix Cadet, is not very far from bestowing upon him—*i.e.*, of

* "*Factum de la France*," chap. i.

being the first writer on Political Economy, he was at all events the first to write soundly on its general application to social requirements in France. Sully and Colbert were not without inklings of the truth ; the one chiefly with regard to agriculture, and the other with respect to commerce, but their general theories of Economical Government were too faulty to entitle them to be classed with the discoverers of scientific principles. Serra in Italy, and a long list of writers in England, from William Stafford to Sir Dudley North, had already written with considerable judgment upon certain points connected with the science. The latter writer really showed himself fully as much advanced as Boisguilbert on the subject of commercial intercourse, when he stated in the "Discourses on Trade" published in 1697, that the whole world as to trade is but as one nation or people, and that to force men to deal in any prescribed manner may profit such as happen to serve them, but the public gain not, because it is taken from one subject to give to another. But even in this respect, Boisguilbert cannot be said to have been forestalled by Sir Dudley North, as the "Détail de la France," which saw the light in 1695, expresses equally liberal opinions. All things considered, to Boisguilbert still belongs the credit of having been the first to elaborate a complete system of taxation and social government in which the welfare of all classes was duly considered according to sound principles of Political Economy. Vauban's claims to priority with regard to taxation have been asserted by various authors, but he himself admits that his "Dîne Royale" was published after the "Détail de la France," which he praises highly, and St. Simon asserts that he made use of that work in giving the final touch to his own.

Boisguilbert was undoubtedly inferior to Vauban in method, but the latter treated solely of taxation and statistics, whereas scattered here and there in the works of the former may be found the germ of almost all the truths that J. B. Say, a century and a quarter later, enumerated as the definitively recognised conquests of Economical Science.

"In spite of the differences of opinion on many points the detractors of political economy will always be compelled to admit that the works of the authors who have displayed any knowledge all tend to prove that respect of property, liberty for industry, and facility of communication, are favourable to the liberty of States ; that capital is a necessary instrument for the production of wealth ; that wealth does not consist essentially of money ; that necessary commodities are not really purchased with gold and silver, but rather with other commodities ; that ill-judged consumption—i.e., that which is unproductive and satisfies no real want—is an evil ; that public wealth is of the same nature as individual wealth, and that the prosperity of one State far from being

hurtful to other States is of advantage to them—and a host of other truths.”*

As we have already said, the essence of Boisguilbert's theory is undoubtedly the principle of non-intervention on the part of the government: “There is no need of any extraordinary movement, nor of running any risks; it is simply necessary to allow the people to grow rich, to till the earth, and to engage in trade.”†

This is exactly equivalent to the “*laisser faire, laisser passer*” of Gournay and the Physiocrats which they amplified and explained; “*laisser faire le travail, laisser passer les échanges.*”

Since the principle of “*Laisser faire*” has been appealed to as an excuse for resisting the spread of education to the masses, and for defending the employment of children of tender age in work exerting a pernicious influence on their morals and on their health, it has naturally fallen into disrepute with many economists, but in Boisguilbert's day it had all its work before it. France was then passing through the stage to which Professor Cairnes refers in an article in which he repels the assertion that “*Laisser faire*” is the fundamental principle of political economy. “If,” says he, “the industrial system of a country be of that character which was universal in Europe eighty or one hundred years ago; if trade and industry be hampered in all directions by artificial rules and restrictions, obviously there will be great scope for a scheme of doctrine embodying and expounding the principle of *Laisser faire.*”‡ Such was the system in Boisguilbert's time, and such was also his scheme of doctrine. It is not for me to say how far we have outgrown the necessity for any such scheme of doctrine, but a reference to Mr. Wells' report§ on the recent experience of the United States, will show that the statesmen of that country might have learnt something in this respect from the neglected French economist who died a century before they were born, and an article of Mr. Cliffe Leslie|| on Financial Reform, enumerates instances of the pernicious effects of government intervention on commerce and manufactures in our own country at the present day, which should keep us from forgetting how much of our liberty and prosperity is due to the apostles of the system of which Boisguilbert was the precursor.

Boisguilbert's great merit as a practical economist undoubtedly

* “Cours,” vol. i. p. 97.

† “Détail de la France,” part iii. chap. viii.

‡ “Political Economy and *Laisser faire.*” *Fortnightly Review*, July, 1871, page 85.

§ “Cobden Club Essays,” 2nd Series, 1871-72.

|| Ibid.

lies in the clear and lucid manner in which he delineates the failings of the system of taxation prevalent in France at the time he wrote. He anticipates Adam Smith with respect to the four canons of taxation laid down by that author, in pointing out as he does, in the most convincing manner, the evils which accrue from the violation of those canons. We shall endeavour to show under those four heads what were his views of taxation:—1st. With regard to equality and proportionality he says—"Tributes should flow into the hands of the Prince even as rivers flow into the sea, that is to say, quietly, which will never fail to be the case when they are proportioned to the means of the tax-payers. . . . A monarch should treat his people as God has declared he will treat Christians: from those who have much, much will be required, and from those who have little, little. In pursuance of the same train of thought one of the fathers has said—'However great may be the value of Paradise, God will sell it to the meanest of the faithful for the price he can pay for it.' Such should be the level of taxation."* 2nd With regard to the certainty of a tax:—"Uncertainty, which opens the ball, obliges all those who are exposed to it to abstain from expenditure of every nature, and even from trade likely to make a noise; a diet of bread and water can alone enable a man to feel sure of not becoming the victim of his neighbour; nor should he be seen purchasing a piece of bread nor a new coat; should he chance to have money let him bury it, for were its existence to get wind he would be a lost man."† 3rd. With regard to the convenience of the time of payment it would be idle to cite special passages (and the before quoted "King's Speech" contains more than one), as the whole of the author's complaints are to a great extent based on the fact that every means is taken to make the time of payment as inconvenient as possible for the tax-payers. 4th. As to taking and keeping 'out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the Public Treasury of the State. After telling us of 10,000 different taxes and 100,000 tax-gatherers to collect a revenue not exceeding 120,000,000 of francs, he goes on to state "that of twenty parts they absorb nineteen without counting their regular percentage, so that more than half of the kingdom bears no fruit either for the Prince or for his people."‡

To illustrate Boisguilbert's knowledge of the proper bases of taxation, we have thought it best to follow the order adopted by Adam Smith. The four canons laid down by that author have

* "Factum de la France," end of chap. x.

† Idem, chap. v.

‡ Idem, chap. vi.

been very generally adopted by subsequent economists as embodying the true principles of Taxation. In one respect only have these canons met with any serious criticism. It has been pointed out that a tax exactly proportioned to revenue would bear more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich, as the former would be deprived of a portion of the necessities of life, whereas the latter would only suffer a curtailment of their luxuries. In virtue of this principle the present Income-Tax is only levied upon incomes exceeding 100*l.*, that amount being also exempted from payment in larger revenues. The following phrase shows that Boisguilbert well understood the justice of this expedient. In talking of taxes on persons earning a small pittance he says:—"Instead of the *Dîme*, that less disturbance may be caused it is only necessary to have the *Taille* assessed according to occupations, and a man who has nothing but his industry will only pay from 3 livres to 6."* He says elsewhere that it would be both just and wise that the very poor should pay no taxes.†

Tracing out the effects of the existing system of Taxation, Boisguilbert shows clearly how it results in the utter cessation of the consumption of commodities which leads directly to the destruction of production. A good system which should cause rich and poor alike to bear burdens proportioned to their means would, on the contrary, favour consumption and production, and by maintaining a due equilibrium between them, would renew the forces of the country and restore it to the prosperous condition in which its natural resources were well calculated to place it. Anticipating J. B. Say's celebrated chapter on *Débouchés* (commercial outlets), he points out clearly that commodities are only to be purchased with commodities, and that money is but a more convenient kind of commodity which must equally be purchased, and which will never fail to be forthcoming if there be a sufficient quantity of other commodities wherewith to purchase it. The value of commodities depends upon the proportions in which they are produced, and a wise government will carefully refrain from favouring or persecuting one particular class, as the result cannot fail to be the destruction of the equilibrium between them. There is a complete community of interests between all classes of society, and the impoverishment of one class cannot fail to react injuriously upon all the others.‡ Nor

* "Détail de la France," part iii. chap. ix.

† "Dissertation sur les Richesses," chap. vi.

‡ The author ingeniously illustrates his proposition by the example of a comedian who, rejoicing over the low price of bread, finds that in the long run the losses which that low price inflicts upon the husbandman who is obliged

is this only the case with the inhabitants of the same country, the rule applies to the whole world. Nature ignores our artificial boundaries and has established a perfect interdependence between all nations. "Nature loves all men equally, and seeks equally to provide for their welfare. She knows neither different States nor different Sovereigns, recking but little whether they be friends or foes, nor even if they be at war with one another, provided they be at peace with her." "Commerce is only carried on for the sake of reciprocal utilities."*

The buyer should not grudge the seller a fair price, but should look upon him as his agent and cheerfully allow him his expenses in full, with a fair commission for his trouble; should he fail to do so, his sin will find him out, and when the positions are reversed and his quondam agent becomes in turn his employer, he will also fail or rather be unable to pay his agent what he is fairly entitled to. ("Factum de la France," chap. v.)

When prices are high the wages of labour should in justice be raised, and indeed the competition of employers never fails to produce this effect; and in like manner when prices fall workmen should submit to a proportionate reduction of their wages.† In fact, these modifications naturally ensue if we take a long series of years; for example, under the reign of Francis I., when wheat was at 20 sous the measure, shoes cost 5 sous a pair, and in the author's day, with wheat at 15 francs the measure, shoes must necessarily sell for 4 francs a pair, or the shoemaker would starve. If wheat were again to fall to 20 sous the measure, the shoes must follow in the same proportion or the husbandman would have to go barefoot. ("Factum de la France," chap. iv.)

It is owing to this interdependence ("solidarité") which regulates the relations between all classes, that the State should refrain from the imposition of export duties. If the husbandman be free to dispose of his surplus production by exporting it, he will invest his capital freely in the soil, in order to produce as much as possible, and, such being the case, should a bad year intervene, there will always be a sufficient crop to save the country from famine. "If nature were only allowed the same liberty with regard to corn as she is with respect to water, there would never

by export duties to sell his corn below its natural value, react ruinously upon himself. ("Dissert. sur la Nature des Richesses," chap. iv.)

* "Traité des Grains," part ii. chap. x.

† "Traité des Grains," part. ii. chap. x. With reference to this question, the author alludes to the work of trades unions in his day. He speaks of simultaneous strikes of 700 or 800 workmen from a single manufactory; of the intimidation used against the recalcitrant; of the stringent regulations against black sheep; and of the power of the unions, which was sufficiently great to ruin many masters by keeping them *two or three years* without hands.

have been any greater disturbances in the supply." (*Traité des Grains*, part ii. chap. viii.) There is never the least danger of a country being so drained of its supplies by foreigners as to be exposed to famine on that account. "The evils of extreme dearness will never be avoided in France excepting by leaving to foreigners full liberty to export corn at all seasons and in whatsoever quantities they please, excepting in times of exorbitant prices, which provide their own safeguard by those inherent rules of commerce which will not suffer it to be carried on at a loss." (*Traité des Grains*, part ii. chap. i.)

Boisguilbert does not fail to notice the encouragement to smuggling, and the loss of revenue that is the result of excessive customs' duties, and quotes the case of a maritime town where the Customs farmer got nothing for the heavy duty on brandy, as it was all carried away at night in small boats; but on his lowering by one-half the rate he had contracted for, he made large profits and the prosperity of the town was greatly increased. (*Détail de la France*, part ii. chap. xv.)

"No mercy should be shown to export duties," exclaims Boisguilbert; "they should be entirely suppressed, for the king and his kingdom can have no greater enemies." (*Factum de la France*, chap. x.)

In the ardour of his defence of husbandry, Boisguilbert is carried beyond the truth, and led to praise the bounties on exportation then granted by the English government. In like manner, he approves of the conduct of the Dutch, when, in order to prevent the price of spices from being lowered, they did not hesitate to cast whole cargoes into the sea.

He shows more indulgence to import duties, however, and in continuation of the above-quoted paragraph he says: "They must be maintained for the sums they bring in; but all difficulties which profit the king nothing, but disgust foreigners, should be removed." When he comes to consider those duties with reference to the corn trade, he asserts boldly that except in times of sterility there can be no grosser mistake in policy than the admittance of foreign corn (*Factum*, chap. xi.). Even in times of dearth there is no actual advantage to be derived from its admittance, beyond that of restoring the equilibrium of the market, by soothing the fears of the people, for the whole quantity actually imported would hardly afford a piece the size of a pea for each of them.

In an agricultural country like the France of Boisguilbert's day, there may be considerable truth in the statement that the quantity of foreign corn imported, even in times of scarcity, is comparatively insignificant; but it is passing strange that so clear-headed a writer should have failed to see that his own ar-

gument with regard to trade not being carried on at a loss applies to importation in times of plenty, as well as to exportation in times of dearth. There is, indeed, something peculiar in the sudden fluctuations occurring in the corn trade, causing variations in prices which apparently have no relation with the real excess or deficit of the supply, which appears to exercise a baneful influence upon the understanding of many of those who have dealt with the subject.

Yet how clearly Boisguilbert understands and traces out the causes of those remarkable fluctuations (see "*Traité des Grains*," chap. v., &c.). To follow his argument through all its ramifications would occupy too much space ; but the substance of what he says is, that even at the time when corn was seven or eight times dearer than the average price, there was a sufficiency in the country for the subsistence of the whole of the inhabitants ; but there was a dread of scarcity, and the husbandman was consequently seven or eight times less anxious to sell than in times of plenty. By way of illustration of the slight causes that affect the equilibrium of the corn market, he compares it to a nicely adjusted balance, containing a weight of 100lbs. in each scale ; you have but to add one ounce to either side to make it bear down the other. Enlarging upon the same subject, he proceeds to trace out the causes which lead to famines :—

1st. An unfavourable season, and consequent apprehensions of bad crops.

2nd. Speculators proceed to buy up corn, or to keep back that which they have already brought, in anticipation of high prices.

3rd. The wealthy become alarmed, and lay in a stock more than sufficient for their needs during the year.

4th. The farmers, seeing a chance of obtaining a reduction of rent, begin to grumble, and spread the alarm to the nation at large, so that every one who can afford it buys corn.

5th. The three foregoing causes induce general high prices which alarm the government, which then endeavours to regulate the rates for the relief of the poor, but with no better result than keeping out of the market the stocks of those who are desirous of selling.

There is but one mode of combating the inevitable tendency of all these causes, and that is perfect freedom of importation, not so much on account of the quantity that will enter the country as because confidence will at once be restored, and the accumulated stores will be brought into the market, to take advantage of the high prices as long as they last.

Most of the causes described by Boisguilbert, as the writer can testify from personal observation, were at work in Persia

during the recent famine, and the remedy he proposed only failed to work its effect owing to the utter want of means of communication between the different parts of the country. Where importation could be resorted to effectually, the dearth had but little duration, although the fact of the imported corn being far dearer than the usual price of the native article, led to much suffering on the part of the poor, as the prices of the stocks accumulated in the country, even when reduced by the working of foreign competition, were far beyond their means.

A bad system of administration, says Boisguilbert, is far more fatal to the well-being of the nation than war or pestilence; for nothing is commoner than to see a country reduced to the last extremity by those two terrible scourges of heaven, spring up into a fresh life more vigorous and more prosperous than the former.* If those two breasts† of the republic, agriculture and commerce, be but allowed to distribute their vivifying elements unimpeded, no matter what may be the condition to which a country has been reduced, it will rapidly recover. Great is the praise due to a minister who dares to break through the bonds of a corrupt custom, and inaugurate reforms when we consider that the interests or the predilections of all those who constitute his world are enlisted in favour of the established order of things. If he keep to the beaten paths, no matter to what quagmires they may lead, no one can blame him; and he runs but little risk of being deprived of those sweets of office which are so dear to all men. If he attempt reforms, all those who might be competent to guide and assist him are against him, and as he cannot know everything and be everywhere, great are his chances of failure, and fearful the outcries which will be raised by the rich and powerful, whom he would deprive of some of their privileges, and whose voice always makes itself more clearly heard than that of the poor and the weak who would profit by the result of his work; but "a minister must not be greatly disturbed by outcries unless he has given just ground for them."‡

There can be no question as to the necessity of reforms, in order to restore the prosperity of France, and the reform Boisguilbert proposes is not of so sweeping a nature as to disturb the country in any manner. It is simply a return to the old system of taxation, modified to suit the necessities of the moment.

Three hours' attention on the part of a minister, and a fortnight's application of the measures agreed upon, would at once double the wealth of France, and thus increase at the same

* See J. S. Mill, "Principles of Political Economy," book i. chap. v. par. 7.

† Sully called tillage and pasturage "the two breasts of the State."

‡ "Détail de la France," part iii. chap. viii.

time the King's revenue, and the wellbeing of the nation. The form of taxation which he considers best fitted to work out these results, as the least likely to disturb the natural equilibrium of production and consumption, is a direct tax levied personally, and calculated upon the produce of the soil; under the name of "*Taille* or *Capitation*, for," continues he, "a special tax on a single commodity is fatal to the whole State, for the burden falling upon that article alone, utterly ruins it, and owing to the principle of interdependence, all the others with it, whereas a personal and proportional tax is distributed over all commodities alike in such a manner as to affect none injuriously."* Call it *Taille réelle*, or *personnelle*, or *Capitation*, what he aims at is one direct tax to be levied in money, in such a manner that every subject of the King should pay in proportion to his means a fixed sum at the most convenient time and with the smallest possible cost of collection.† With regard to real property, this proposed tax would appear to resemble the land tax of Venice, of which Adam Smith speaks with some favour in his chapter upon Taxes. Since Boisguilbert's days many of the most illustrious writers on economical subjects have expressed an opinion in support of a single direct tax. Indeed, almost all the great names of the French School, from Quesnay to Bastiat, are enlisted on its side.

The latter does not hesitate to affirm that it is the only sound mode of levying revenue, but he says at the same time that it would be difficult to apply it without a previous considerable decrease in French Government expenditure. ("Discours sur l'Impôt des Boissons.") In a recent article on "Financial Reforms," Mr. Cliffe Leslie shows that it would not be impossible to work a tax of this nature in the United Kingdom. ("Cobden Club Essays," 2nd series, 1872-73.)

We have dwelt at length upon Boisguilbert's views concerning taxation, as it was with the object of relieving his country from the faulty system then in vogue that he wrote all his works. The plan upon which they are constructed is devised with the object of bringing to bear upon the upholders of that system the strongest and most overwhelming arguments that occur to him. Hence it sometimes happens, as we have already noticed, that, led away by his ardour, he makes use of arguments which, although quite up to the standard of his age, will, when judged by the light of modern science, appear weak and faulty.

* "Dissert. sur la Nature des Richesses," chap. vi.

† Although thoroughly at one with Vauban as to a single tax assessed after the manner of the "Dîme Royale" (tithe in kind), he objects to his proposal that the tribute should be paid in kind, assigning arguments in support of his opinion which bear a great resemblance to those adduced at the present day against the similar tax in force in Greece, Turkey, and the East generally.

Before bringing this sketch to a conclusion, it may perhaps be interesting to give some idea of Boisguilbert's views with regard to wealth, money, pauperism, &c.; more especially as they contain the germs of most of the theories which have been built up upon those notions since his day, their influence being especially apparent in the works of the *Physiocrats*, of whom two of the most distinguished, Quesnay and the Marquis de Mirabeau, fully acknowledge their debt to him.

According to Boisguilbert a country enjoys wealth in exact proportion to the harmony that exists between its production and consumption. Unless they be made use of and consumed, the finest fruits of the earth, the most precious wares, are no better than so much refuse. The wealth of a country is derived from its soil and the industry of its inhabitants, but the former is a less essential ingredient than the latter, for we see countries possessing a large extent of rich soil but thinly populated, enjoying but little wealth, whereas others whose inhabitants are industrious, are wealthy in spite of the narrow limits and poor quality of their territory.* An individual may be said to be wealthy when he enjoys the means of satisfying "all agreeable and necessary wants."†

Boisguilbert, like the *Physiocrats*, considers the earth as the source of all wealth; unlike them, he allows to commerce and industry a fair share in the development of that wealth. With the *Physiocrats*, Adam Smith and Malthus, he uses the term wealth as expressing purely material objects.

With a vigour only to be compared to that of Bastiat,‡ he inveighs against the infatuation which has given rise to the notion that wealth is money.§

Money is of no use in itself, for it can serve neither for food nor for clothing; it is nothing more than a means of obtaining commodities, being itself a commodity purchased by other commodities. It is but a pledge agreed upon by common consent to guarantee the future payment in commodities of commodities already handed over. The proof that it can be dispensed with, even as a medium of exchange, is that at various times in history, in various countries, its services have been performed by pieces of leather, tobacco, or shells, and where confidence reigns, a simple promise or a piece of paper suffice to fulfil its functions. Thus for instance, at the Lyons fairs business is transacted to the amount of eighty millions of francs (3,200,000*l.*), without a single coin changing hands, by means of

* "Factum de la France," chaps iv. v.

† "Dissertation sur les Richesses," chap. i.

‡ In his pamphlet, "Mandit Argent."

§ "Dissertation sur la Nat. des Rich.," chap. ii.

bills which pass current with all comers, and which are returned to their drawers at the settlement at the close of the fair.*

It is therefore, according to our author, nonsense to talk of poverty as being the result of the want of money in a country, although a bad system of administration by impeding the circulation of money adds considerably to the sufferings of the poor.† Poverty is the result of restrictive regulations on the part of governments, and of injustice on the part of individuals in their reciprocal dealings. The general tendency is to take advantage of the necessities of your neighbour to grind down the price of his wares to the lowest limit. Forced to sell or to starve, he sustains a loss which falls eventually on his creditors, and is by them passed on to the community at large. When to this is added the vicious system of taxation, which is continually interfering with the exchange of this or that commodity, we have before us the two principal causes of poverty in France. "All that one species of merchandize can do is to defend itself against the oppression of another, even should its foe receive no foreign succour, but when such succour is brought to bear all is lost, and in the long run equally for both."‡

What increases pauperism is the fact that the burden of unjust taxes imposed falls chiefly upon the poor. The small trader whose one crownpiece constitutes his whole capital, by constantly turning it over in traffic manages to earn his livelihood. Deprive him of his paltry capital and he becomes a pauper.§ In like manner a husbandman who has but a capital of 100 crowns wherewith to buy seed-corn, and keep up his stock, if deprived of it can no longer live; he has no choice left but to sell off his land to pay his creditors and the government.|| Hence the destruction of small properties, which is in itself a great evil for the State, as their possessors give much more time and care to the planting and manuring of their land than is the case with large owners.¶ "Poverty is like diamonds; after a certain point each increment doubles and triples its effect, both for the sufferers and for the State."**

If the government would only allow things to take their own course unimpeded, all would go well, the best and the most

* Would this not appear to be an early instance of a clearing-house?

† The author is evidently of opinion that the circulation of money produces an abundance of commodities, instead of an abundance of commodities producing an enlarged circulation of money. Where a bad coinage casts serious impediments in the way of trade, this view is very general. Proudhon, in his celebrated correspondence with Bastiat, seems inclined to sustain it.

‡ "Dissertation sur les Nature des Richesses," chap. v.

§ "Détail de la France," part ii. chap. xx. || Ibid., part ii. chap. xx.

¶ Ibid., part i. chap. vii. ** Ibid., part ii. chap. vii.

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useful of the King's subjects, both artificers and others would not emigrate to foreign lands, and France would recover her prosperity.*

There is only to add in conclusion that the writer has endeavoured in this short sketch to give some idea of what Pierre le Pesant de Boisguilbert was, both as a man and as an economist. If he has failed to interest the reader, the fault lies not with the subject, but with his mode of treating it.



ART. IV.—MR. LEWIS'S "JUVENAL."

D. Iunii Iuvenalis Satiræ. With a literal English Prose Translation and Notes. By JOHN DELAWARE LEWIS, M.A., Trin. Coll. Camb. London: Trubner and Co.

AROUND the whole question of translation from one language to another, the battle of the scholars has long been raging, and in all probability will continue to rage. Each point in dispute has been taken and retaken; and, after all, the question remains yet an open one. Is verse to be translated into verse? And further, is translation to be free or literal? Göthe in this, as in so many things, approached the truth probably more nearly than any other literary critic. "There are," he said, "two maxims of translation; the one requires that the author of a foreign nation be brought to us in such a manner that we may regard him as our own; the other, on the contrary, demands of us that we transport ourselves over to him, and adopt his situation, his mode of speaking, his peculiarities."

And, in fact, all successful translations fall into two divisions, totally distinct from each other, which correspond to the maxims which Göthe has set at the head of each. Indeed, implicitly we recognise this. No one, for instance, would compare Pope's Homer with Mr. Munro's translation of Lucretius, and it would be difficult to decide which is the more excellent of its kind. But, on the other hand, Pope's version of the Iliad has familiarized with Greek heroism, Trojan daring, and the enchanted air of the valley of Scamander, many who read English alone. Mr. Munro's translation is intelligible only to those who are already tinged and imbued with classical knowledge. From Pope's Iliad, no couplet can be taken which does not convey to the

* "Détail de la France," ch. v.

English reader a definite and complete idea. Let the same reader take from Mr. Munro's rendering these lines:—"Soon as the vernal aspect of day is disclosed, and the birth-favouring breeze of favonius unbarred is blowing fresh, first the fowls of the air, o lady, show signs of thee and thy entering in, thoroughly smitten in heart by thy power." The reader perceives at once that the language wears a foreign aspect, and the strangeness is increased by Mr. Munro's dislike of capital letters. In other words, when we approach Lucretius through Mr. Munro, we must "transport ourselves over to him, and adopt his situation, his mode of speaking, his peculiarities."

In accordance with these principles, it will not be difficult to class the new translation of Juvenal by Mr. Lewis. The work is, in reality, a complete edition of the satirist; but to our mind the translation is the characteristic portion of the book. It belongs, indeed, to the same type of translation as that of Mr. Munro, but it is free from affectation—a fault from which we cannot entirely exculpate the translation of Lucretius. The present author's object has been to render, "as a help to those who wish to make acquaintance with the original, not to paraphrase for the benefit of what is called 'the English reader.'"
Mr. Lewis thus decides for a literal translation; and the passages which we shall quote will show with what success he has accomplished his work. The literal translations of Juvenal which have preceded the present version have been few, and have not succeeded in establishing a reputation at all analogous to that which at once crowned Gifford's excellent poetical rendering. It is therefore moderate praise to assert that the present is the best translation of its class. Nor has Juvenal been always fortunate in his English editors. Two editions are well-known, that of Mr. Maclean, and that of Mr. Mayor. They are both good; the latter is eminently so. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Lewis has been so unfortunate as not to have seen the entire edition by Mr. Mayor. Had he done so, there is little doubt that he would have modified the unique opinion which he has formed from seeing only a portion of the work, for Mayor's Juvenal has always been a delight to scholars; and so long ago as 1858, the German translator of Juvenal, Von Siebold, spoke with commendation of its elegant notes.*

And yet the present translator has indicated a real weakness of that edition by his reference to the cumbrous, though erudite citations which overload it. There is a real danger lest an

* Die Satiren des D. Iunius Iuvenalis. Lateinischer Text, mit metrischer Uebersetzung und Eräuterungen. Leipzig. S. ix.

author should be smothered with quotations, where he should be elucidated by commentary. The editor of a classical work requires not only a full and familiar library, but a hand as light as that of a painter, and a touch as firm as that of a musician. And there are few people who will not agree with Mr. Lewis in his opinion of the perverse and scratchy commentary of Mr. Simcox.

A few passages shall, however, test the translation which the present editor offers. The well-known lines in the Fifth Satire, which describes the mortification of the parasite, who sees indeed only too well the delicacies which his host eats, and contents himself with a faint shadow of the banquet, is one which gives room to the commentator as well as to the translator (line 146). It is thus rendered by Mr. Lewis:—

"To his friends of small account doubtful-looking funguses will be served—a mushroom to my lord; aye, such as Claudius ate before that one of his wife's, after which he ate nothing more. Virro will order such apples to be handed to himself and the rest of the Virros as will feast you with their odour alone, such as the eternal summer, of the Phæacians possessed, which you might believe to have been pilfered from the African sisters. You will enjoy a scabby apple, such as on the rampart he (*the monkey*) gnaws, who is dressed up with a shield and helmet, and in dread of the whip is taught to throw his dart from the back of a shaggy goat."

So far the translation. The concluding sentence is one of known difficulty, and the opinions of the commentators are ingeniously various. Most are, however, agreed that the reference is to a monkey who is kept and petted by the soldiers. So Rupert takes it.

The acuteness of Mr. Simcox compels him to be with the minority. "These lines," he says, "must be a description of a raw recruit. The only reason for thinking of a monkey is that he would be more amusing, and would ride a she-goat." He forgets to add that the Latin word *capella* does really mean a *she-goat*, and he seems ignorant that it would be even more amusing to see his imaginary "raw recruit" riding a she-goat. Both he and Mr. Mayor translate *capella* a *drill sergeant*, so called out of contempt. Why the drill sergeant should be contemptuously treated we do not learn. They both maintain that *a capella jaculari* is not Latin, and that it ought to be *e capella* to take the desired meaning. Mr. Lewis, however, produces the two passages:—

"Ausa ferox *ab* equo quondam oppugnare sagittis
Mæotis Danaum Penthesilea rates."

PROP. iii. ii. 13.

And—

"Telaque *ab* averso quæ jacet hostis equo.

Ov. A. A. i. 210.

which seem sufficient to support the passage. A few lines further Mr. Lewis scarcely does justice to his author:—

"Inde parato

Intactoque omnes et stricto pane tacetis."

"For this reason you are all silent, with your bread, ready and untasted, and grasped in your hands." This is literal enough, but undoubtedly the word "*stricto*" carried with it the association of a drawn sword, which is an additional touch of comedy that should be represented in the translation.

The present rendering of the Sixth Satire is good. Mr. Mayor and Mr. Simcox omit this Satire from their editions—the latter out of deference to the Oxford examiners, who do not require it, and who proceed, Mr. Simcox says, "upon the creditable hypothesis that all candidates for a pass or honours either possess or cultivate the temper to which such reading is as painful as it ought to be." Those person who are pleased with this epigrammatic remark of Mr. Simcox will probably forgive him for declining to facilitate the reading of that which is certainly in some respects the greatest of Juvenal's Satires. Mr. Lewis does not share his scruples, and reproduces as nearly as possible in another language the bitter words of the Roman writer. The satire is directed against the women of the time: Juvenal addresses his friend Postumus, whom he supposes about to marry:—

"You are preparing a marriage covenant and settlements and betrothal, in our time; and are already having your hair dressed by a master barber, and have perhaps given a ring for her finger. Assuredly you used to be sane. Are you taking a wife to yourself, Postumus? Say by what Tisiphone, by what snakes are you driven wild? Are you able to bear any lady paramount when there are still so many ropes in existence; when high and dizzy windows are open; when the Æmilian bridge offers itself close at hand to you?"

And then the poet reviews the more than male immorality of women. They mix in lawsuits; they mix in orgies where ladies of the highest rank meet. There is to be seen the lady who lives above her means, and there the literary lady "to whom grammarians give way—the lady from whom such a power of words falls you would say so many pans, so many bells were being struck at the same time." There is a more comic touch than this: "She will be able to succour the moon in labour." That is to say in eclipses, when loud noises were sup-

posed to avail her, and lighten her sufferings. Then again women are superstitious: they are made victims by the priests of Isis and Cybele; they consult Jewish and Chaldæan fortune-tellers; they deal in potions and philtres; they are worse than Medea and Clytemnestra. Mr. Lewis thus renders the passage which refers to the imposition of the priests:—

“He talks big, and bids her dread the approach of September, and the South wind, unless she shall have purified herself with a hundred eggs, and shall have presented to himself her cast-off murrey-coloured dresses, that whatever unforeseen or mighty peril is at hand may pass into the tunics, and make expiation for the whole year at once. She will descend into the wintry river, after breaking the ice; she will plunge thrice in the morning Tiber, and bathe her timid head in its very eddies; thence, naked and shivering, she will crawl forth with bleeding knees over the whole field of the proud king, if white Io has commanded her; she will go the extremity of Egypt, and bring water fetched from hot Meroë to sprinkle on the Temple of Isis, which rises close to the ancient sheepfold. For she believes herself to be admonished by the voice of the goddess herself—a pretty soul and mind for the gods to hold converse with by night!”

In the Eighth Satire, where Juvenal speaks against the pride of pedigree, and shows the manner in which the highest nobles disgraced their ancestry, he is well represented in this version. The satire is undesignedly of a low moral cast; youth is admittedly a period when virtuous principles may be thrown aside; but the concluding lines assume a higher tone:—

“I would prefer that your father were Thersites, provided you resemble Æacides and can wield the arms of Vulcan’s making, than that Achilles should beget you in the likeness of Thersites. And after all, from whatever distance you trace back, and from whatever distance you unroll your name, you derive your family from an ignoble repair. That first of your ancestors, whoever he was, was either a shepherd or something which I decline to mention.”

The rendering of the great satire (X.) is also satisfactory. Ribbeck, a German writer on Juvenal, disputes the authorship of this satire, and would assign it to an unknown author. Mr. Lewis admits a notable difference of style between certain satires, but thinks that such difference is not sufficient to maintain Ribbeck’s theory. He explains it by supposing this satire to have been an earlier work, wherein the rhetorician is more visible, the mere declaimer who does not as yet deal with what is passing around him, but who seeks topics of a general nature. Unfortunately the satire itself has nothing to support an inference as to its date. It may have been an earlier work, or it may have been, as some have believed, the finished production

of a thoughtful life. In line 136, which has been referred to the column of Trajan, an arch is spoken of and not a column; and as Mr. Lewis observes, arches abounded in Rome, and very little can be inferred as to the date from such a memorial. The subject is however one independent of date. The perils of ambition and of long life have points in common at all times, and the finished pictures with which Juvenal illustrates them are still instructive. Mr. Lewis thus spiritedly renders the well-known passage on Hannibal:—

"Weigh Hannibal; how many pounds will you find in the consummate General? Yet this is he whom not *even* Africa can contain beaten, by the Mauritanian ocean, and stretching to the warm Nile, and back again to the nations of the Æthiopians and the tall elephants. Spain is added to his rule; he bounds across the Pyrenæes; nature has opposed to him the Alps and their snows; he severs the rocks, and cleaves the mountains with vinegar. Already he holds Italy; yet he aims at proceeding further. 'Nothing has been achieved,' he says, 'unless we force the city gates with the soldiers of Carthage, and I plant my standard in the middle of the Subarra.' Oh! what a face, and what a picture it would have been a subject for—when a Gætulian elephant was carrying the one-eyed General! What, then, is his end? O glory! This same man is conquered, to be sure, and flies headlong into exile, and there seats himself, a great and wonder-moving client, by the palace of the king, till such time as it please his Bithynian majesty to wake. Not swords, not rocks, nor darts will put an end to the existence which once embroiled all humanity, but that ring, the avenger of Cannæ, the punisher of so much bloodshed. Go, madman, and run over the savage Alps—to please schoolboys, and become the subject of a declamation!"

In the last line but one of this passage Mr. Lewis reads "*habes*" with most MSS. So does Ruperti. Maclean says: "I can make nothing satisfactory of it," and would read "*abest*," following Lactantius. The passage has some difficulty. Mr. Lewis thus explains it:—"We must put a comma after *prudentia*, and then the poet turns to fortune, and addresses her directly, 'You have no divine power over us if we are only gifted with prudence. It is we men who make a goddess of you, O fortune.'" And he very aptly quotes Virgil's "*an sua cuique Deus fit diva cupido?*"

The citations of this edition are a specialty. They have been collected by the editor himself, and the few exceptions are scrupulously named. They do not overload the commentary. It would be difficult indeed, in the case of an author so long explored as Juvenal, not to be found occasionally following the same line of quotation as other editors; but the present editor has confined himself almost entirely to illustrations drawn from

authors who flourished in or near the time of Juvenal, as Martial and the younger Pliny. He very resolutely sets his face against the practice common with editors of forcing into connexion with his author "every one who ever wrote in Greek as well as Latin, down to Fulgentius, Johannes Sarisburensis, and possibly Erasmus." The result is, that the present notes are marked by a clear-cut precision, and leave a definite impression upon the mind.

The short introductions which are prefixed to the satires correspond in style with the notes. They are short, pointed, and sufficient. The general introduction is also marked by a wide and appreciative view of Juvenal's characteristics. We will quote the following passage, which has fully seized one view of the satirist's position (p. 215):—

"In depicting character, in drawing scenes, even in turns of expression, Juvenal is, of all ancient authors, the most distinctly *modern*. His scenes are manipulated with a few broad touches in which the salient points are always brought into the foreground, and it has been well observed that a painter of kindred genius would have small difficulty in transferring them to canvas. If we believed in the metempsychosis doctrine, we might almost suppose that the soul of Juvenal reappeared in Hogarth. The crowd, hurrying to the *sportula*, or 'dole,' the club of male debauchees, and their occupations; the streets of Rome, by day and night; the Court of Domitian, his worthless parasites, and their trumpery subjects of discussion; the poor dependent dining with his rich patron, and the insults he is exposed to; the senator's wife eloping with a gladiator; the interior of fashionable ladies' boudoirs, and the frivolous pursuits and superstitions of ladies of rank; the arts and shifts of starving poets; the nobleman addicted to the turf and to night-houses; the gossip of the servants about their masters' affairs; the aspect of the city on the fall of a great minister; a *tête-à-tête* supper of two friends. These, and many other scenes of Roman life, are brought before us with the vivid touches of a Defoe or a Swift. They are 'sketches,' in the modern sense; and I know of nothing exactly resembling them in any other ancient author. The modes of expression, again, the turns of thought, the humour, are often distinctly modern, and such as we should look for in the pages of Fielding or Thackeray. The upstart coming on in his litter, which is 'filled up by himself;' the poor man who had nothing, it is true, 'but who lost all that nothing' in the fire; the sycophant, who, when his patron complains of the heat, immediately 'sweats;' 'the rustic infant in his mother's lap, gazing with horror at the frightful mask of the actor,' when taken to the play; the chaff, as we style it, of the fast young Roman noble, directed against the plebeian whom he is going to pummel, 'Whose vinegar and beans are you distended with? What cobbler have you been supping off sheep's head with, you beggar?' the

description of the fight, 'if fight it may be called, where one man does the pummelling, and the other man's part is limited to being pummelled;' 'the prayer of the poor wretch, that he may be allowed to return home with a *few* teeth left him;' the compliment of the fisherman on presenting an enormous turbot to Domitian, 'Depend upon it, sire, the fish got himself caught on purpose!' the mouse, 'conscience of virility,' who scampers away from the sacred rites at which no *males* are admitted; the schoolmaster whose class proceeds to 'destroy wicked tyrants,' and whose head is made to ache by that 'dreadful Hannibal;' Hannibal himself stalking across the Alps 'in order to amuse schoolboys, and he turned into the theme for an exercise;' the exclamations of the Romans on hearing of the fall of Sejanus, 'Believe me, there was something about that man which I never liked. What a repulsive countenance he had, to be sure!' the picture of the old ex-Dictator in the primitive times, trudging off with a spade over his shoulder to a supper-party, where bacon, and perhaps a trifle of fresh meat were to be the fare, 'with a dash of hash,' so as to be sure to be in time; the advice to the civilian in a dispute with soldiers, never to commence an action with only two legs to plead against a thousand hobnails; the dismissal of the wife whose charms have departed, 'you are offensive; you use your pocket-handkerchief too often. A fresh wife is coming with a dry nose;' such terms of expression as 'the fires, the falling in of roofs, the thousand perils of cruel Rome; last of all, *the poets reciting in the dog-days*;' or again, in a comparison of Orestes and Nero, 'At any rate, Orestes did not murder his sister and his wife, he did not poison his relations, *he did not write rubbishy poems about Troy*;' the inquiry about the young woman who lived in the country, where she saw no one, and who was so very chaste, 'Who can guarantee that nothing has taken place in mountain or cave?' '*Have Jupiter and Mars then got past work?*' the remark about Horace, 'Horace has had enough to eat when he cries out "Enoe!"' the description of the lady, who is a perfect stranger to her husband, 'except that she hates his friends and his servants, and makes him groan over her bills.' Examples of this kind may be multiplied in support of my assertion that there is in Juvenal a humour quite distinct from the quaint humour of Plautus, and the broad farce of Petronius, and the delicate banter of Horace, of which no example existed previous to his time in Roman literature, while modern literature furnishes much that is akin to it, though not distinctly imitated from it. There are many ancient writers with regard to whom it is necessary for us to make a considerable mental effort in order to throw ourselves back into the times in which they wrote, and to conceive the tone of thought which prevailed in their day. Juvenal, when the difficulties of another kind which mark his writings are surmounted, requires no such effort. In his way of looking at things, and especially the grotesque side of things, in his word-painting, in his illustrations, he is essentially a man of the present day. Accordingly, he has been imitated by Boileau and Johnson, for instance, while such writers as

Aristophanes and Plautus are incapable of being modernized with any degree of success."

Nor can we pass over without commendation the manner in which Mr. Lewis has dealt with one difficult question in his edition of Juvenal. Much of these satires, as much also of other classical literature, is repugnant to modern taste, is indeed repugnant to all taste. The old way of dealing with these passages was to omit them from the body of the text. Of these editions Ruperti shrewdly observes:—"Loca e textu ejecta perperam et imprudenter collecta sunt ad calcem, quoniam qui his lautitiis pascantur eas in tali lance satura appositas cupide devorant." Other editors, as Mr. Mayor and Mr. Simcox, omit them altogether, as has been already mentioned. The best way is to treat them as Mr. Lewis has done throughout, with that cold, passionless criticism which is always at the service of true scholarship. The attempt to conceal garbage from a vulture is vain. A foul mind will find its own food. Such a mind will, however, find little to satisfy its obscene longings in the masculine commentary which attends *all* the satires of the present edition.

Mr. Lewis's work may be recommended as a sound and useful commentary, and as a translation for those who need one. As a literal translation, indeed, it must take the first place amongst those which exist in our language. That, it is true, is not high praise. But it is first by a great interval. As a commentary it is sufficient and instructive for the student, it is instructive and suggestive to the scholar. And about the whole work there hangs the atmosphere of common sense and substantial learning.

ART. V.—EMIGRATION AND THE COOLIE TRADE IN CHINA.

1. *Correspondence respecting Emigration from Canton.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1860.
2. *Correspondence respecting the Emigration of Chinese Coolies from Macao.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1871.
3. *The China Mail.* Hong Kong: 1850–1872.
4. *O Echo do Povo.* Hong Kong: 1866–1867.
5. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the Treatment of Immigrants in British Guiana.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1871.
6. *The Coolie: his Rights and Wrongs.* By the Author of "Ginx's Baby." London: 1871.

AMONG numerous subjects of importance relating to European intercourse with the countries of the far East there are none, it may be said, that concern the fair fame of civilized nations more deeply than the conduct of a traffic in human labour which has long been carried on at different points in China, and which, in many of its existing phases, approximates only too closely to the features of the African slave-trade. It would seem, indeed, that the exertions so nobly and at length so successfully devoted by the people of Great Britain towards uprooting that abominable system, have in a measure tended to reproduce some of its worst features among a people vastly superior in mental and moral attributes to those who were formerly its victims; but here also, although capable only of indirect action, British sentiment and official energies have been beneficially exerted on behalf of the oppressed; and from the now voluminous records relating to this subject we propose to select material for a survey of the traffic, with the object of throwing light upon its history, demonstrating its evils, and dwelling upon the means that have been suggested for the conduct of a better system.

The close of the first half of the present century will, doubtless, be noted hereafter as one of the most remarkable periods in the history of human migrations. Causes, upon which it is unnecessary to expatiate here, contributed at this epoch to encourage redistributions of population extending over a great portion of

the earth's surface; and even among the hitherto stationary Chinese influences powerfully operating in the same direction were at work. Whether, as some contend, the three hundred and fifty millions of souls familiarly attributed to the census-roll of the empire have a real existence, or, as is the opinion of others, one-half that number would better represent the actual total, there can be no doubt that China possesses a vast and in certain provinces—notably in the south—a superabundant population. From this human hive swarms of hard-working labourers have continuously issued in the last two generations, spreading first over the adjacent countries of Canibodia, Siam, and the Malay Archipelago, throughout which they have already engrossed a predominant share in trade, agriculture, and handicrafts of every kind; and next descending in clouds upon the goldfields and commercial centres of California and Australia, where their very habits of plodding industry, sobriety, and thrift have made them objects of jealousy on the part of a working class which would do well to emulate them in these and other respects. It is not, however, of the spontaneous emigration from China to the countries above-named, interesting as a survey of this subject might be, that we propose to treat in the present instance, but of the attempts made during the last quarter of a century to supply the demand for labour in South America, the West Indies, and the Spanish Main, and of the manner in which the so-called contract emigrants from China are procured and dealt with.

The war with Great Britain in 1841-42, which laid low the pretensions and influence of the Imperial Government, enabled the people of China for the first time to come freely into contact with Europeans at different points. If previously to this period, although prohibited by statutes of a highly penal character from going beyond the limits of the Celestial Empire, emigrants had nevertheless succeeded in taking their departure from Canton, Amoy, and other ports for the settlements of Java and the Straits, there was now no longer the slightest difficulty in evading whatever restrictions were placed on emigration by the Chinese laws. Simultaneously with this new turn of events in China came a demand for labour in those subtropical countries and possessions to which unhappy Africa had hitherto supplied her bondsmen in unceasing streams, but which at this juncture, through the approaching extinction of the slave-trade and of slavery itself, began to utter loud complaints of difficulties in the way of agricultural production. Peruvian planters were the first to seek in China a compensation for their loss of negro servitude. Slavery had long been restricted within narrow limits in Peru, since her separation from the mother-country, and the system was finally brought to a close in 1855 by the decree of manu-

mission issued under General Castilla's presidency; but previously to this period measures had been taken to supply by Chinese coolies* the place of the negro labourers who were about to enter upon the enjoyment of freedom and of its concomitant luxury, idleness. Peruvian agents, liberally supplied with funds and with Consular commissions, were despatched to China for the purpose of collecting shiploads of emigrants, and a number of vessels thus laden were despatched to Callao from Hong Kong and some of the Chinese ports, each man having previously signed a contract which bound him to labour for a term of years in the service of a Peruvian employer. The manner of obtaining emigrants during the period from 1847 to 1856, although no record of it is forthcoming, may be inferred from subsequent experience which will be fully dwelt upon below; but some time elapsed, as was inevitable, before either the public or those in authority became aware that a system outwardly regular and fair-seeming was in reality nothing less than a wholesale revival of the slave-trade. The collection of supposed voluntary emigrants in China, flagitious as the means doubtless were by which this object was achieved, did not at the outset attract attention as the most objectionable element in the undertaking. It was from the place of destination that accounts began to flow in, revealing in its true light the nature of the traffic. Cruel hardships, it was found, had been entailed upon the Chinese in course of transportation to Peru by ill-provided and overcrowded vessels; whilst on arrival there the contracts signed in China were knocked down at public auctions to bidders who thenceforth became absolute owners, for the time being, of the persons who had engaged themselves for a term of labour by signing these documents. Thus converted into bond-servants of employers whose interest it was to obtain from them the maximum of labour during the period—usually seven years—stipulated by the contract, and who were not, as in the case of acknowledged slave-owners, actuated by considerations extending to a period beyond that specified in the indenture, it was inevitable that the Chinese labourers should be regarded chiefly as a means of

* The word "coolie," as is well known, is of Anglo-Indian origin, and signifies merely *labourer*, but its derivation seems uncertain. In his "Indian Journal" (chapter 24) Bishop Heber speaks of the "Kholees, a degenerate race of Rajpoots in Guzerat, who from the low occupations in which they are generally employed, have (under the corruption Coolie) given a name, probably through the medium of the Portuguese, to bearers of burthens all over India." Another authority states, however, that "the word *Kūli* is pure Tamil, and means *hire* or *wages*, in which sense it has been applied by Europeans in Southern India to the native labourers who work for hire." To the Chinese themselves, it is needless to add, the word is unknown, except as made use of by Europeans in the manner above-mentioned.

extracting from the soil the utmost possible returns at a minimum expenditure of nourishment and care. But if the treatment met with by coolies employed in agricultural labour upon the *haciendas* of Peru was unfeeling and cruel, as from a multitude of sources we know it to have been, incomparably more pitiable was the fate of those who, in flagrant violation of their contracts, were landed upon the Chincha Islands, to wear out a wretched existence in the most nauseous and prostrating of task-labour.

A few miles from the port of Pisco on the coast of Peru lies the group of islets upon which, in the course of centuries, the accumulated excrement of sea-birds has formed, under a rainless atmosphere, the vast deposits of guano which have introduced since their discovery a new era in British husbandry. Rising abruptly from the deep to a height of forty or fifty feet, the rocks were found when first visited by Europeans to be covered to an amazing depth with successive layers of this valuable substance, which about the year 1840 began to attract notice as a fertilizer. A succession of contractors paid large sums to the Government of Peru for the privilege of working the deposits. At the outset convict labour was relied upon for the purpose of quarrying the guano and loading the vessels chartered to carry it away; but on this supply of labour proving inadequate, the Peruvian Government permitted Chinese coolies to be employed, and these coolies who had been obtained in China under pretence of agricultural requirements were landed at the Chincha Islands to toil in what shortly proved itself a hopeless slavery among the fetid surroundings of the guano pits. In 1860 it was estimated that no less than 4000 unfortunates had at one time or another been landed on these islands, of whom not one had survived. In the language of the narrator, "Some have poisoned themselves with opium, some have allowed themselves to be buried alive in the very material they were working in, and others, choosing a more easy form of death, have jumped off the rocks into the sea and drowned themselves." The larger number, who had not resorted to the national solace of self-destruction, had simply perished through overwork and disease. Neither a consideration of these facts, however, nor the horror excited on all sides on their becoming generally known, proved effectual in leading the Government of Peru to place a check on the abuses connected with Chinese contract labour. The profitable shipments continued to furnish employment for vessels of all nationalities; but on a correct appreciation of the nature of the traffic being brought home to the colonial authorities of Hong Kong, measures were instituted for purging that colony of participation in its conduct. In 1854 a proclamation was issued by the

governor prohibiting British subjects and vessels under the British flag from further engaging in the despatch of Chinese subjects to the Chinha Islands, a trade characterized in the wording of the proclamation as having "resulted in the most aggravated form of slavery;" but this proceeding, humane as its intention might be, was inoperative and practically illegal, since no Act of the Imperial Parliament had conferred powers extending to such a prohibition upon the governor of the colony. The shortcoming was remedied in the following year, when the statute known as the "Chinese Passengers Act" (18 and 19 Vict. cap. civ.) was introduced and made law. This enactment, specifically declared in its preamble to be designed for the prevention of "abuses that had occurred in conveying emigrants from ports in the Chinese seas," has continued until the present day to afford an effectual means of guarding against such abuses so far as British territory and shipping are concerned. Under its provisions no British vessel can proceed to sea on a voyage of more than seven days' duration with upwards of twenty passengers on board, from any port in Chinese waters, until requirements of a very stringent nature, both as regards the vessel herself and with reference to the passengers on board, have been complied with; and the regulation thus introduced was found sufficient to dispel from Hong Kong the stigma of affording facilities for a new slave-trade under the specious guise of contract emigration. Unfortunately, however, a foothold for this traffic was still available at the adjacent port of Macao, where its establishment was encouraged with but a slight pretence of official restriction.

At the western entrance to the Canton River lies the narrow, rocky peninsula which, occupied for more than three hundred years by Portuguese settlers as tenants under the Chinese Government, on payment of an annual ground-rent, underwent a species of revolution between the years of 1846 and 1849, when its allegiance to China was bit by bit repudiated. Taking advantage of the effect produced by the recent concessions to Great Britain, an ambitious Portuguese governor expelled, by successive *coups d'audace*, the Chinese mandarins hitherto recognised as invested with supreme local authority at Macao, closed the Chinese Custom-house, and eventually assumed a position of complete colonial independence for the peninsula. The bold measures of Governor Amaral, however, while on the one hand they stirred up a feeling of popular hostility which eventually led to his assassination, proved at the same time ineffectual to secure for Macao that share of the growing China trade which it was hoped its ancient repute and its declaration as a free port would attract. The British colony of

Hong Kong, situated barely forty miles distant, possessed such superior advantages in its spacious harbour, its extent of building-ground, and its excellent position, that, apart from any national preferences, there could be no likelihood that the commercial firms by whom the trade with China was being founded would choose the flag of Portugal for the protection of their establishments. Unhappily, the association of that flag with the nefarious traffic carried on by the slavers of Mozambique and Loando, as well as the laxity too frequently manifested in Portuguese colonies in administering the laws, served as an inducement towards establishing depôts at Macao which speedily naturalized there the practices and the profits of the African slave-trade. At this juncture Cuba had entered the field as a rival of Peru in the demand for labour. Already, in 1847, two vessels, the pioneers of the Chinese coolie-trade, had been freighted for Havana from Amoy, one with 350 and the other with 629 so-called emigrants on board, the majority if not all of whom, as one may judge from subsequent experience, were probably beguiled into embarkation under delusive promises, or forcibly abducted against their will. Each of the "emigrants" thus obtained was required to sign a contract binding him to labour in the service of a Cuban master for the period of eight years, with the promised remuneration of 4 dols. (equal to about 17s.) monthly, besides food, clothing, and houseroom; and on arrival at Havana these contracts were disposed of by auction in the manner already stated as prevailing in Peru. By 1853 this description of enterprise had assumed large proportions, and the first vessel—a barque called the *Sophia*—left Macao in that year with coolies for Havana. Thenceforward the traffic went on increasingly, and for the last fifteen years it has contributed the principal—almost the sole—occupation open to the degraded half-caste inhabitants of the Portuguese settlement. Establishing themselves on this congenial soil, the European or American purveyors of coolie-labour created in the course of a few years an entire colony of "barracoons," as, by an ominous transfer from the parlance of the African slave-dealers, the depôts provided for the safe-keeping of Chinese coolies before embarkation are locally termed. The barracoon of Macao is usually a remodelled Chinese *hong* or warehouse, of which the spacious compartments and their contiguous offices are fitted up for the reception of some hundreds of temporary occupants. The single entrance, heavily barred, is guarded by a detachment of low and villanous looking half castes, by whom, until recently at least, all egress was denied to the so-called "voluntary emigrant" from the moment of his admission within the building until the time arrived for his embarkation.

To keep this storehouse of labour perpetually filled was the business of the *corredor* or Chinese broker, on whose activity the trade depends entirely for its success. Devices of the most varied kinds are resorted to by these unprincipled agents for the purpose of earning the head-money paid them for each recruit. Crimps, as the employés of the coolie-brokers are termed, dispersed throughout Macao and its environs, found constant and remunerative occupation in beguiling simple and unwary Chinese of the peasant or artisan class into entering the depôts, under promises of lucrative employment never destined to be fulfilled. Others made it their business to entrap the gamblers who, having been stripped of their last paltry coin at the tables carried on under official licences from the Portuguese authorities, were ready to stake their own bodies for one more chance of making good their losses; whilst agents of a different stamp were employed to attain the desired object by still more flagitious means. As time went on and the profits of the coolie-trade grew more and more tempting, piracy and wholesale kidnapping were resorted to for the purpose of filling vessels which otherwise could not be loaded with sufficient rapidity. Chinese of a low and desperate class were employed in scouring the neighbouring districts, whence it was their object to decoy their ignorant countrymen, either to Macao direct under one specious pretext or another, or, as occasion served, on board boats which lay in wait at convenient points and made sail, when supplied with a sufficient number of passengers, for the port of the shipment. Thanks to the impenetrable stupidity that characterizes in general the Chinese peasant class, and to the state of misery and lack of employment to which great masses of the redundant population are exposed, it has always been an easy task for the crafty agents employed in this pursuit to entrap a supply of victims for the unscrupulous purveyors at Macao. But measures still more sweeping were at the disposal of the coolie-traders. Chinese junks, heavily armed, and manned in part by Portuguese or Manilla half breeds, prowled regularly along the coast in search of victims, and when unable to obtain the desired quantum of coolies by purchase or barter, were nothing loth to ransack the fishing-boats for their able-bodied occupants, or to overhaul trading-junks from which members of the crew or even passengers could be abducted. To these kidnapping atrocities, perpetrated in numberless instances during the last ten or dozen years, fresh opportunities came in process of time to be added. The coast-line of Kwangtung, lying westward from Macao, together with a large extent of country at its back, is occupied by a population at once dense, poverty-stricken, and addicted to habits of turbulence. The region in question, surpassing the whole of Ireland

in extent, labours under the further disadvantage of being occupied by two distinct and bitterly hostile classes: the Puntis, or immemorial owners of the soil, and the Hakkas, a race descended from Northern Chinese who, at intervals during the last six centuries, have migrated southward under pressure of poverty and have taken up their abode in Kwangtung. Originally hewers of wood and drawers of water in the service of the richer country folk, the Hakkas have thriven and multiplied into large communities scattered here and there throughout the province, but retaining in their traditional habits, their dialect, and even in their dress, a marked distinction from the Puntis or genuine Cantonese. For generations past a hostile feeling has smouldered between the two races, embittered by the gradual preponderance of the thrifty Hakkas in many parts, and clan-fights or village wars, often terminating in serious bloodshed and revolts against constituted authority, have distinguished this region for more than half a century. To the coolie-traders of Macao a source of supply was opened by the state of affairs in question, which has proved no less fruitful than the internecine wars of the African tribes to their prototypes, the slavers of Mozambique and Benin. At regular trading points along the coast, unheeded by the indolent Chinese officials, whose main concern is for the collection of their stated revenue, and for their own pecuniary advantage, native junks or fast sailing Portuguese *lorchas* received cargoes of unfortunate prisoners, Hakkas or Puntis, as the fortune of war had determined, whom their captors willingly disposed of to the agents of the Macao barracoon-keeper. Not unfrequently payment was made in arms and ammunition of foreign make, which enabled fresh raids to be indulged in and further victims to be obtained. The junk, once loaded, made sail for Macao, where her living cargo was perhaps landed, a helpless drove, to undergo a pretence of examination as to the willingness of its members to engage themselves as emigrants; or possibly, as in some well-authenticated cases, placed immediately on board ship without troubling the barracoon with their presence during the period prescribed by law. Only exceptional violence in the process of collection, however, would render a flagrant breach of the regulations necessary. In ordinary cases, Chinese once within the walls of the barracoon, whether entrapped by force or fraud, submitted themselves with hopeless resignation to the commands, or yielded to the threats, of the dreaded foreigners. When the time for passing under the eye of the *Procurador* arrived, batches of these unfortunates might be seen marched through the streets under armed escort, and appearing in the presence of that powerful functionary (whose emoluments were principally de-

rived from fees levied upon such shipments) to give an unvarying affirmative in reply to the stereotyped list of questions put by a half-caste interpreter. This being done, each man's mark was hastily affixed to the contract sealing his future fate, and all that remained to be done was to embark under the escort, as before, of ruthless-looking guards. If any doubt happened to prevail respecting the pliability of any particular set of coolies, nothing was easier than to cause a body of sham emigrants to appear before the *Procurador*, and to sign contracts which could without difficulty be made to represent the real persons placed from the first in safe keeping on board ship. These and other abuses flourished—thanks to what influences it is not difficult to conceive—in despite of elaborate regulations devised with reference to the coolie trade. It was in 1853, as noted above, that the first shipload of so-called emigrants was despatched from Macao to Havana, and in 1856 a decree of the Governor, Senhor Guimaraens, brought into effect a code of rules dealing minutely with the reception and embarkation of Chinese emigrants, the terms of their contracts, and their treatment on board ship. A certain amount of security for good behaviour was exacted from the coolie-brokers, and the *Procurador*, or Registrar-General and Police Magistrate of Macao, was invested with extensive powers in all matters connected with emigration. These regulations, which, if honestly carried into effect, would have gone far toward checking the abuses of the coolie trade, remained, nevertheless, barren of such results; and while kidnapping continued to flourish, the *Procuradores* and other local officials concerned in carrying the regulations into effect suffered under grievous suspicions of sharing largely in the profits of the trade. A period of great prosperity for Macao, and of active employment for vessels under almost every flag but our own at that port, occurred contemporaneously with the passing of the Chinese Passengers Act, which fortunately debarred British shipping from accepting “coolie” charters.

The hostilities which broke out at Canton in 1856-57 between China and Great Britain checked, during their continuance, the operations of the Macao dealers, but the defeat and disorganization which befell the Chinese, and the garrisoning of Canton by British and French forces, gave for a time increased scope to the activity of the trade. Vessels for the reception of coolies were no longer restricted to an anchorage in Macao roads; under shelter of the Anglo-French occupation, and the re-opening of commercial intercourse with the Chinese, they boldly took up stations at Whampoa, the port of Canton, and native kidnappers plied their vocation with an audacity and success which aroused lively feelings of consternation and hatred among all classes of

Chinese. At last, in April 1859, a petition drawn up in the names of a great number of tradesmen representing the entire mercantile community of Canton was presented to the British Consul, Mr. Alcock (now Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B.), in which entreaty was made that action might be taken by the European authorities for repressing the system of kidnapping which had become so prevalent; and in communicating a copy of this document to the British plenipotentiary, Mr. Alcock made use of the following language:—

“The acts of violence and fraud connected with the coolie trade at this port have lately reached such a pitch of atrocity that a general feeling of alarm spread through the population, accompanied by the degree of excitement and popular indignation which rendered it no longer possible or safe for any authority interested in the peace of the place to remain inactive. The intolerable extent and character of the evil has thus tended to work its own cure. When no man could leave his own house, even in public thoroughfares and open day, without a danger of being hustled, under false pretences of debt or delinquency, and carried off a prisoner in the hands of crimps, to be sold to the purveyors of coolies at so much a head, and carried off to sea, never again to be heard of, the whole population of the city and adjoining districts were roused to a sense of common peril. That under such circumstances the people should attempt to protect themselves by administering a wild justice of their own upon the persons of any of the nefarious gangs of crimps that fell into their hands, was a natural consequence of the supineness of the authorities. And accordingly, within the last ten days several of the kidnappers have been killed by the mob, and with the vindictive cruelty to which the Cantonese, under less provocation, are well known to be addicted.”—*Correspondence relating to Emigration from Canton*, 1860, p. 1.

The Parliamentary papers from which the foregoing extract is drawn exhibit in detail the vigorous campaign undertaken at this period by the British authorities at Canton, in conjunction with their French colleagues, against the atrocious system exposed in Mr. Alcock's representation; but the task of expelling the coolie traffic from Chinese waters was one of no slight delicacy and difficulty. Although wielding absolute military power over the city and suburbs of Canton, the allies had been careful to refrain from interference with the consular representatives of other powers established at the port, and of these functionaries some were merchants directly interested in the gains of the coolie trade, whilst in other instances Consuls holding purely official positions gave but a half-hearted support to the intended reform. Notwithstanding these obstacles, and the difficulty of acting *through weak and timorous Chinese officials*, complete success was at length achieved through the exertions, principally, of Mr.

(now Sir Harry) Parkes, then stationed as one of the Allied Commissioners at Canton. The supine mandarins were spurred into action; the right of the Chinese Government to forbid the emigration of its subjects under contract, save after a full inquiry into all circumstances attending their engagement and departure, was asserted; and at length, in the face of determined opposition, some nine hundred Chinese were demanded and received from on board four vessels lying at Whampoa, of which three were under the American,* and one under the Oldenburg flag. These supposed voluntary emigrants were brought to Canton and examined before a joint Commission, with results which are fully set forth in the papers laid before Parliament. In almost every instance the released "coolies" told a tale of violent seizure and detention by countrymen of their own in the first place, and subsequently by the foreign agent into whose hands they were delivered. The first deposition on the list may be quoted as a fair type of the whole, and as a specimen of the manner in which the free emigration for Cuba and Peru was recruited:—

"Ung Cheong-po, a Tartar, taken from an American ship, states:— 'About twelve days ago I was selling herbs in the streets of Canton, it was in the south suburbs. A man (Chinese) came up and asked me to go to Honam, to fetch something to Canton; got into a boat and was taken to Chang-chow (Whampoa). I objected to go to that place and was struck. I was placed on board a foreign ship, and asked if I would go to a foreign country; I declined. The foreigner said I was to be taken back as I had refused to go. I was again put into the kidnapping boat, and beaten on my back with the flat of a sword; I received four blows, and was told I must, when on board the foreign ship, say I was willing to go, or I should be killed. I said I would rather die than go. I was kept below on the foreign ship, my dress was changed, and I was not allowed on deck. There were 189 coolies down in this place; we had plenty of room and plenty to eat; all were unwilling to go and had been kidnapped. Six days ago I was brought away from the foreign ship.'"—*Correspondence*, 1860, p. 98.

* It is noteworthy that not only at this period but for some years subsequently, American vessels were actively engaged in the conveyance of Chinese coolies to Cuba, whilst citizens of the United States, holding in some cases Consular commissions, were among the most energetic and successful participators in the trade. It was only in 1862, seven years after the passing of the *Chinese Passengers Act* by the British Parliament, that an Act of Congress was passed forbidding the employment of U.S. vessels in this trade. It is the more desirable to point out a fact of this kind, inasmuch as English journals have before now been found to echo the assumptions of American writers, and to suggest that Great Britain should follow the example of the United States in prohibiting the transport of coolies on board British ships. A notable instance in point occurred so lately as April, 1872, in a leading article on the subject in the usually well-informed *Pall Mall Gazette*.

Roused into a semblance of activity by disclosures such as these and the protests of the Chinese authorities, the Government of Macao issued in 1860 a fresh code of regulations for the coolie traffic, but the new rules proved little more effectual than those introduced five years previously in checking the malpractices of the persons engaged in the trade. Fraud and violence continued to be the principal means employed in obtaining recruits, as was inevitable so long as the root of the matter—the commercial element—remained untouched.

Meanwhile endeavours towards establishing a legitimate system of emigration under Chinese supervision, were in progress. Both the British and French West Indian colonies had felt the same deficiency of labour as had inconvenienced the planters of Cuba and Peru; and notwithstanding a large immigration of coolies from India, a scarcity of hands was the complaint on every sugar estate. Under these circumstances the British Government had resolved in 1859 to despatch an agent to China for the purpose of organizing a system of emigration under proper securities, and Mr. J. G. Austin, a colonial official of long experience, was sent out with instructions to this effect. The allied occupation of Canton enabled preparatory measures to be taken, in concert with the Chinese authorities, even before hostilities had been terminated in the North of China; and in the conventions finally agreed to at Peking in October, 1860, between the British and French plenipotentiaries on the one hand and the Chinese Government on the other, provisions were embraced giving for the first time authoritative sanction to emigration on the part of the Chinese people, subject to regulations which the provincial officials were left to draw up as might be found needful. Practically speaking, this permission affected only the inhabitants of the two conterminous provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien, whose population, hardier, more enterprising, and perhaps also more redundant than those of other parts of the empire, have alone evinced a willingness, or felt a need, of seeking their fortunes abroad. Endeavours were accordingly made at Canton in the one province and at Amoy in the other, as well as in the British colony of Hong Kong, to establish emigration depôts for the supply of the British West Indian colonies. Rules concerted with the Chinese authorities secured the freedom and comfort of the intending emigrant up to the time of embarkation, and a constant official supervision over all proceedings in connexion with the matter. Once on board ship, and until the moment of departure, jurisdiction over the emigrant was vested in the British Consul as *ex officio* agent for emigration in fulfilment of the provisions of the Chinese Passengers Act. It was the Consul's duty to certify the number of emigrants which

each vessel, according to her tonnage, was lawfully empowered to carry; to inspect her fittings and means of ventilation, with the provisions, water, and medicines placed on board for the voyage; and to ascertain that each emigrant fully understood the terms of the contract by which he was bound, and that no fraud had been practised in inducing him to embark. On receipt of a certificate covering these particulars, and on depositing with the Consul a bond, with two sufficient sureties, rendering himself answerable in the sum of one thousand pounds for the full execution of all the requirements of the Act, the master was at liberty to proceed on his voyage.

One of the most serious drawbacks from the advantages which it was hoped to obtain from the employment of Chinese labour, consisted in the fact that women had hitherto been restrained by immemorial custom no less than by legal enactments from betaking themselves to foreign lands; and grave evils were notoriously rife wherever communities of Chinese emigrants were settled, as in California, Java, and Singapore, without the companionship of women of their own race. Great stress was laid by the home and colonial authorities on the importance of attracting a large proportion of female emigrants for the West Indies, and under the altered circumstances now prevailing in China it became possible to meet this requirement, if not in the degree hoped for, yet to a considerable extent. The great invasion of Kwangtung in 1854 by an army of rebels, with its attendant disorders, had entailed widespread desolation throughout the major portion of the province, whilst the internecine struggles of Hakkas and Puntis added in other districts to the popular distress. Emigration, therefore, was a boon of which many now gladly availed themselves, and for the first time in China's history the spectacle was witnessed of entire families bestowing themselves on shipboard, content to forsake the native village and—a still harder sacrifice—the ancestral burying-ground. Still the distrust of all things foreign profoundly rooted in the Chinese mind, combined with the feeling of dread inspired by the too notorious misdeeds of the kidnapping fraternity, rendered the agricultural population long averse from accepting the offers made to them of homes in a distant and unknown country. It is true that the emigration dépôt established in the suburbs of Canton was thronged with a constant succession of occupants, who seemed to listen with attentive interest to the explanations afforded concerning the mode and terms of engagement under contract; but it was shortly found that the four days' free sojourn in the dépôt before deciding whether to embark or no, which the regulations imposed as a necessary safeguard to the emigrant's spontaneous conduct, was

a privilege of which the vast floating population availed itself with entire good humour, but with little desire of being included among the numbers destined to cultivate plantations in Demerara or Trinidad. To lodge for a day or two with Mr. Sampson (the indefatigable British Emigration Agent at Canton) became, after a time, a standing jest among the unwashed crowds who gain a precarious livelihood in divers forms of petty industry at Canton and in its neighbourhood; but the lodging and food were not grudged to these interlopers so long as among the visitors to the emigration-house there remained a certain proportion of *bonâ fide* emigrants, and as the free entrance and egress which were allowed to all served to manifest the legitimate character of the undertaking, energetic efforts were employed to bring to the knowledge of the Chinese poor what advantages the scheme of emigration had to offer. Placards, fortified by a Chinese Government stamp, were liberally distributed throughout the province, setting forth an outline of the proposals made and the wording of the contract itself, whilst from time to time journeys were undertaken into the interior by the agent himself for the purpose of explaining orally to the country folk the terms he had to offer. As a result of these proceedings a considerable number of Chinese were led to embrace the opportunity of bettering their fortunes in the West Indies, and between the 22nd January, 1860, when the *Red Riding Hood* left Canton for Demerara with the first batch of 300 men, 11 women, and 4 children, and the 31st December, 1865, a total number of 6543 souls had sailed from Canton. Of these 5071 were men, 1281 women, and 191 children. From Hong Kong, Swatow, and Amoy emigrants had also sailed, but in smaller numbers. The emigration depôt on a "shipping day" presented some curious peeps at different phases of Chinese life. At an early hour in the morning all the officials on whom the duties of control reposed are seen assembled in the great central hall, and constitute a Board of almost formidable magnitude. Beside the emigration agent there are seated the two delegates of the Chinese Government, in their becoming and exquisitely neat official uniform; the British Consul or his deputy, more likely to keep a watchful look-out for the regularity of the proceedings than the dignified-looking but negligent mandarins; and an inspector from the Anglo-Chinese Custom-house, whose place it is to assist the native officers in their duties of supervision. A huge register lies open upon the table, which is further littered with piles of contracts and shipping documents. A couple of Chinese clerks stand in front of the table, and on all being pronounced in readiness, a batch of some dozen or more awkward-looking candidates for engagement file in from a side-door, to listen for the last time while the contract is recited to

them clause by clause. When this has been done by the Chinese clerk employed for the purpose, a name is called from the list, and Cheong-a-Lum steps up before the examiners. He is now asked a series of questions by one or other of the Chinese delegates, and after having given proof of his willingness to go abroad and his comprehension of the terms of the contract, his signature is at length affixed to the document, to which thereupon the seals of the Chinese officials and the British Consular officer are attached in testimony of its regularity. Cheong-a-Lum then steps aside to give place to Han-a-Ping, and so the process goes on until forty, fifty, or perhaps a hundred emigrants have been passed. After signature of the contract each emigrant becomes entitled to an "advance" on account of future wages, amounting to about 5*l.* sterling, and the investment of this sum soon converts the emigration depôt into a scene of animated activity in preparation for departure. After a final feast in common, the party are mustered, each man shoulders the chest in which his purchases have been stowed, and a procession is formed to march down to the boats which lie waiting at the river-bank. Amid a crepitating salute of fire-crackers discharged by the friends who are left behind, the emigrants drop out of sight, and shortly afterwards find themselves transferred to the emigrant ship at Whampoa, and gazing in wonder at the interior economy of their floating home.

Before following the emigrants to their allotted sphere of toil, and examining more closely the policy and management of this industrial undertaking, we turn again to survey the operations conducted in China for the supply of other fields of labour. The French, whose Convention, concluded at Peking in 1860, contained a clause identical with that negotiated in favour of emigration by our own envoy, were not slow to assert their right of participating in the benefits of the system established at Canton. A French depôt for contract emigrants was shortly opened, side by side with that under British auspices; but scarcely had its operations been commenced when a weak point—the fruitful source of disorders to come—disclosed itself in the Treaty provisions. The clauses relating to emigration in the Convention of Peking authorized Europeans to enter into engagements with any Chinese who might be willing to proceed abroad, and it seems to have occurred to neither Lord Elgin nor Baron Gros that a necessary safeguard against abuses was the elimination of all commercial interests from the agencies thus admitted. In the case of the British Government, the certainty that no approach to a traffic in emigrants under its flag in China would be ventured upon or tolerated may perhaps have been taken for granted; but the

traditions and the sensibilities of the French people were not in an equal degree enlisted against such a contingency. The French emigration house at Canton, therefore, after supplying two or three shiploads of emigrants to Martinique, became transformed into a *depôt* avowedly carried on by Cuban agents as a branch of their business at Macao, and coolie-brokers previously employed in serving the barracoons of that locality now devoted their energies, as occasion prompted, toward supplying the *depôt* established under French auspices at Canton. This perversion of a Treaty right, which clearly had been intended to authorize nothing more than the engagement and departure of emigrants under continuous French protection and responsibility, began ere long to encourage distrust of the system, as a whole, in the minds of the Chinese, who could perceive little if any distinction between the shipment of coolies for Cuba from Macao and operations conducted with the same object, and by the same individuals, at Canton. Meanwhile the trade at Macao continued to flourish. From 1860 to 1867, despite the amended regulations introduced at the beginning of this period, a secure foothold was enjoyed there for the same schemes of fraud and violence that had previously given an evil notoriety to the place. Instances of forcible abduction from different parts of Kwangtung, and even from the streets and wharves of Hong Kong, were frequently reported, and time after time the Portuguese authorities were besought, but in vain, to put an effectual check upon the malpractices inseparable from the coolie-trade as carried on under their jurisdiction. The question was one of net profits; and a return under ordinary circumstances of one hundred per cent. on capital outlay proved sufficient to render the worst features of the trade practically inviolable. An estimate lies before us of the cost of procuring coolies in China at this period, and of the receipts accruing on their delivery at Havana. Expenses to date of shipment, including the head-money paid to the Chinese broker, amounted to 70 dols.; the passage money, 60 dols.; insurance, commissions, etc., 49 dols.; and interest at 6 per cent. for six months, with 3 per cent. added to cover the average loss by deaths, 11 dols., making a total of 190 dols., equal at the exchange of 4s. 4d. per dollar to a little over 41l. sterling. On the other hand, the sum realized from a contract (and with it a coolie's person) put up to auction at Havana was from 350 dols. to 400 dols., or in round figures about 80l. The following table, compiled from Spanish returns, exhibits the number of Chinese emigrants landed in the Island of Cuba between the year 1847 and the 9th July, 1866 :—

Place of departure.	No. of Vessels.	Number embarked.	Deaths.	Landed.
Macao	129	54,488	5,841	48,647
Hong Kong	5	1,665	420	1,245
Canton	4	1,503	131	1,372
Whampoa	7	2,585	83	2,502
Amoy	25	9,303	1,869	7,434
Swatow	39	15,900	2,849	13,051
Manilla	2	324	16	308
	211	85,768	11,209	74,559
Number of Men landed at Havana				74,559
„ Women „ „ In 1856			7	
„ „ „ In 1848			25	32
			Total . . .	74,591

DEATHS.			
Men		4,754	
Women		7	
Suicides		35	
		—	4,796
			69,795
Executed for murder			6
			69,789
Transported to Fernando Po			235
Remaining in Cuba		Total	69,554

It will be noticed that in the above table no allowance is made for Chinese who had left the island, nor is there reason to believe that any appreciable number had enjoyed opportunities of doing this. What then was the fate of those who survived the stipulated years of bondage? A decree of the Queen of Spain had been issued in 1860, forming a code of rules relating to the immigration of Chinese into the Island of Cuba; and these rules, if actively enforced in the interest of the coolies, would perhaps have secured to them protection from the hardships and injustice under which we know them in fact to have suffered; but the regulations themselves embody a proviso, dictated apparently by slave-holding exigences, which deprives the unfortunate Chinaman of all liberty of action even after terminating the period of his contract bondage. By Article VII. it is enacted that—

“On the expiry of his engagement in Cuba, the labourer cannot remain in the island, unless in the same character as apprentice or workman under the responsibility of an employer, or assigned to field labour or domestic service, under guarantee of his master;

being bound in any other case to leave the island at his own expense, and being compelled to do so in two months after the expiry of his contract."

The effect of this proviso, as is testified by numerous observers, has been to give the Chinese labourer no other option, on terminating his eight years' contract, than that of either renewing his engagement on terms which it is usually in the employer's power to dictate, or of being taken into official custody and condemned to labour in a chain-gang on the score of "refractory" disobedience to the immigrant code.*

It is less important, however, to dwell upon the condition of Chinese bondservants in the colonies to which they have been conveyed, than to concentrate as much light as possible upon the modes by which their departure from their own country is brought about. Even though it were true—as is assuredly not the case—that after reaching Cuba or Peru the mass of Chinese immigrants enjoy just and humane treatment and find themselves placed in the way of moral and physical amelioration, this after all would be but a repetition of the exploded plea by which attempts were made to bolster up the African slave-trade and slavery in the United States, long after those gigantic evils had been condemned by the almost unanimous voice of civilized nations. No argument is required to prove that European governments cannot be justified in lending the shelter of their flag to a system of obtaining emigrants which, as we shall show below, is *admittedly* based upon schemes of deception and violence; and it is monstrous, indeed, that a power the most insignificant among those having relations with China, and maintaining its foothold there solely in virtue of the respect for foreign nations wrung by British arms from the unwilling Chinese, should turn its dubious immunities to such account as to bring disgrace upon Christian civilization, and to instigate enmity against Europeans throughout an empire which it has cost such pains to render accessible to better influences. Never-

* A letter in the *Pall Mall Gazette* under date of June 11th, 1866, signed "A Visitor in Cuba," gives the following testimony under this head:—"When the seven (eight?) years term has expired, the coolie is permitted to change his master, but he is bound by law to re-engage himself for another seven years under penalty of being sent to the chaingang. In that well-ordered country no idle coolies are allowed, and unless he has money, which it has been impossible for him to earn, to take him out of the country, he is obliged to re-engage himself, and if he fails to do so he is made to work on the roads and public works, and is treated as a criminal convict. During the second term the coolie is at liberty to make the best bargain he can with the planter, under the unfavourable circumstance that he must at once engage himself. But as regards the second seven years, we need not now consider—few live to the end of the first seven."

theless, despite the persistency with which the Portuguese Government has been adjured to compel the introduction of an effectual reform in the system carried on by its officials at Macao, and notwithstanding the professions exchanged by it in reply to successive remonstrances, the abuses of the coolie-trade are seen to continue practically as flourishing as ever. It is not that disclosures of its iniquities, apart from the guarded expressions of official disapproval, have been few or far between. To say nothing of the indignant comments of the English press at Hong Kong, which, however, has done good service in exposing the malpractices of coolie-dealers and those in league with them, notice must be taken of a journal, the *Echo do Povo*, established by a knot of Portuguese at Hong Kong, and specially employed for several years in denouncing with singular frankness and persistency the abuses in which the countrymen of its promoters were implicated. A great service was rendered to humanity by this journal in 1867, when astounding revelations appeared in its columns in respect of kidnapping atrocities which had been brought to light through the Romish priesthood of Macao. It was made known that Portuguese lorchas, hovering as usual on the coast in search of prey, had extended their cruises as far south as the Gulf of Tonquin, where, falling in with a number of junks laden with Anamese soldiers and officials, they had seized the entire company and brought them in durance to Macao. Here the unhappy prisoners, whom it was not safe to bring on shore lest their foreign garb and language should lead to immediate exposure of the villany, were thrust at once on board the coolie-ships, whilst contracts professing to have been signed by them before the authorities charged with the superintendence of emigration, *whose seals were duly affixed to the documents*, came somehow into the coolie-dealers' hands. By a happy accident some of the victims were converts to Romanism, and before the vessel to which they had been consigned could leave the port, intelligence of their fate was brought to one of the clergy resident at Macao. Through the intervention of this ecclesiastic the victims were eventually liberated, and sullenly permitted to betake themselves to Hong Kong, where means were found for restoring them to their homes; but all the diligence of the Portuguese Government failed to discover upon whom the guilt of the transaction lay, and by what means a whole code of regulations and the vigilance of a large staff of officials had been set at naught. One beneficial result ensued, at the same time, from the exposure of this and other scarcely less atrocious acts of kidnapping. A Portuguese merchant of Macao, Senhor B. S. Fernandes, was appointed by the governor to discharge the duties of Superintendent of Emigration, and

was called upon to furnish a report upon the system and its conduct. The memoir prepared accordingly by Senhor Fernandes and published in the colonial *Boletim do Governo* under date of the 4th April, 1868, is replete with admissions of the corrupt manner in which the so-called contract emigration had until that moment been carried on, whilst betraying, as was perhaps natural, an obvious desire to find excuses for a continuance of the system upon which Macao depends for all its prosperity. In a very significant paragraph of his report Senhor Fernandes states that—

“I have most particularly exerted myself, and have employed different means for checking an abuse which was formerly very prevalent, and which consisted in the fact that the Chinese who presented themselves to sign the contract were not the same with those who had previously been present at the registration. I cannot flatter myself that the abuse in question has not been committed since I assumed charge of the Superintendency, but I am convinced that the instances in which abuses of this description have occurred must at the same time have been very rare. Notwithstanding my efforts, I must still confess new obstacles arise day after day against the repression of this malpractice, to obviate which, it appears to me, there remain but two expedients.”

In proceeding to suggest a check against abuses of which thus, for the first time, a Portuguese official is seen admitting the existence, Senhor Fernandes is compelled to refer to that potent auxiliary of the coolie-dealers, the shrinking timidity evinced by Chinese, especially those of the lower classes, when brought face to face with superior force. In connexion with a suggested plan for checking personation, by causing the registration of emigrants, the signature of their contracts, and the shipment itself to take place at one and the same time, Senhor Fernandes is obliged to confess that—

“This expedient offers objections, among which the most salient is that the emigrants would be deprived of sufficient time for reflection before definitely engaging themselves, whence it might frequently happen that the Chinese, led away by the novelty of their situation and taken by surprise by the fact of finding themselves for the first time in the presence of a foreign official, would deem themselves coerced and under compulsion (*coactos e obrigados*) to answer in the affirmative every question. The evils that might hence arise may easily be conceived; and in view thereof the expedient in question is not the preferable one.”

A flood of light is thrown by the quotations we have extracted above from this most interesting report upon the machinery by means of which the assent of the so-called voluntary emigrants was obtainable at Macao to the contracts under which they

remain bound ; and the general conclusion arrived at by Senhor Fernandes is that, so long as Chinese brokers are employed for the collection of emigrants at Macao, abuses must continue to flourish ; but that without such agents no emigrants will be forthcoming. In a pointed paragraph he asserts that "the existence of brokers, if it be an evil, is assuredly a necessary one ;" but inasmuch as it was his duty not to find reasons for the suppression, so much as a plea for the continuance, of the coolie-traffic, he goes on to remark that—

"In view of this fact, two alternatives alone present themselves. The first is to prohibit Chinese emigration *in toto*, in order to avoid the crimes of which the brokers may be guilty. The second alternative is to put forth a new code of regulations for emigration, simple but clear, and conceived in such a manner as to provide a base upon which energetic and efficacious measures may be founded, that shall tend to check abuses and to counterbalance the influence of the brokers, and shall be capable of *inducing the brokers to be more honest for their own sake.*"

The report is wound up by a request that Senhor Fernandes may be relieved of his functions as Superintendent of Emigration, which was shortly afterwards conceded ; but his singularly outspoken statements having placed beyond question the existence of those abuses which had hitherto been strenuously denied by the Macao officials, it was impossible for the Government of Portugal longer to delay some attempt at remedial measures. In 1868 a new Governor, Vice-Admiral Sergio da Souza, was sent out with special instructions to deal with the subject. In August of that year a new code of regulations was issued under his auspices, which, based in part on the recommendations of Senhor Fernandes, was intended to multiply the checks imposed on the knavery of the coolie-traders, and to render that "necessary evil," the Chinese broker or *chuchaieiro*,* "honest for his own sake." The new Governor was undoubtedly earnest in his desire to put down the practices which had previously disgraced Macao, and his regulations excluded many of the more flagrant descriptions of malpractice that had flourished up to that time unchecked ; but the fundamental evils of the trade were too deeply rooted to be overthrown by mere half measures. The barracoons of Macao continue to receive their recruits from the

* In grimly humorous allusion to the manner in which porkers are carried unresistingly to market in China, the populace have long been accustomed to give the name of *chu-tsai*,—i.e., "piggy," to the victims of the kidnappers, and *mai chu-tsai* (pig-dealing) is the common designation for the coolie-trade. The Portuguese at Macao have coolly adopted these Chinese expressions, from which they have coined the bastard term *chuchaieiro* as the title of the Chinese brokers engaged in furnishing material for the traffic.

same class of native agents as of yore, and if any doubt existed as to the means resorted to by these men in earning their head-money, it would disappear in view of the admissions periodically forced from the Macao authorities that persons declaring themselves to have been entrapped by force or fraud have been detected in one or other of the barracoons. Vice-Admiral de Souza took credit from time to time in his official *Boletim* for the number of kidnapped Chinese whom, under the new regulation, he had caused to be set at liberty or handed over to the Chinese officials at Canton; but he does not appear to have reflected that cases of this kind, occurring constantly as they do, leave nothing wanting to demonstrate the utter viciousness of a system based upon the possibility of such outrages. The period hypothetically welcomed by Senhor Fernandes, when the Chinese brokers, convicted of criminal acts, and prosecuted without mercy, should, in their own interest, or in dread of severe punishments, be induced to recruit no others than genuine emigrants, appears to be as far off as ever; and the profits of the coolie-trade continue such as to make light of the outlay that evasions of the new regulations may entail. So long as human bodies are suffered to remain a staple of lucrative commercial dealings at Macao, and worthless Chinese are freely employed in supplying materials for such a trade, there can be no doubt that money will retain its traditional power of frustrating all the precautions against illegal action that the Portuguese officials may be set to administer. After having been in full vigour for upwards of two years, the regulations of Admiral de Souza proved ineffectual to obviate crimes such as came to light in November, 1870. in connexion with the seizure of the French ship *Nouvelle Pénélope* while on her voyage from Macao to Peru. The mention of this event necessitates a retrospect upon one of the most terrible features of the coolie-trade. Not many years had elapsed after its inauguration when an unmistakable denial was given to the assertions of those who defended the character of the traffic, by rising after rising which took place upon vessels in the course of their voyage, and frantic struggles for liberty on the part of the so-called voluntary emigrants. A score at least of vessels might be enumerated upon which "mutinies" have taken place,* and

* In this particular also the identity of feature between the coolie-traffic of Macao and its African prototype is curiously noticeable. The Hollander, William Bosman, in his very full account of the slave-trade ("Description of the Coast of Guinea," London, 1705, reprinted in "Pinkerton's Voyages," 1819), makes the following ingenuous complaint:—"We are sometimes sufficiently plagued with a parcel of slaves which come from a far inland country, who very innocently persuade one another that we buy them only to fatten and afterwards eat them as a delicacy. When we are so unhappy as to

in several instances the imprisoned Chinese have succeeded after desperate encounters in regaining their freedom. Although guarded day and night by armed sentries at the hatchways, and menaced with cannon peering through the barricade erected in front of the captain's cabin—themselves deprived of everything that might be converted into a weapon of offence—the poor wretches cowering below could at least reflect that numbers and utter desperation were on their side. Some favourable moment was seized, a rush made, the sentries disarmed and thrown overboard, and then, unless met by unusual presence of mind on the part of the captain and crew, the maddened Chinese became in a moment masters of the vessel. In the first intoxication of success, bloody vengeance could not fail to be taken for past injuries, and men who were probably the least guilty of all concerned in the transaction fell victims to the rage of the mutineers. Sickening stories are related of the tortures inflicted upon officers and men of coolie ships after a successful rising, whilst in more than one instance the coolies, failing in their attempt to gain the upper hand, have deliberately fired the vessel and perished to a man with the crew sooner than submit again to capture. Usually, however, it has been their object to spare the lives of at least such among the Europeans as would suffice to direct the course of the vessel to the nearest land, and if this proved to be Chinese territory the prisoners in most cases joyfully made their escape on shore without doing further harm to either vessel or crew. So habitual had the resort to such attempts at deliverance become within the last few years, that at length (there is reason to believe) gangs of piratical desperadoes have been formed for the purpose of engaging themselves as coolies, with the deliberate intention of capturing and plundering the vessel after leaving port. Such, it is certain, was the nature of an attempt made on board the British ship *Pride of the Ganges* shortly after leaving Canton for Demerara in December, 1865, when the captain was killed and thrown overboard, and the vessel robbed of all the money and valuables she contained by a gang of forty pseudo-emigrants; and such appears to have been the case also with the French ship *Nouvelle Pénélope*, of which mention has been made above. This vessel sailed in October, 1870, laden with 300 coolies from Macao. As is shown in the papers presented to Parliament—

be pestered with many of this sort, they resolve and agree together (and bring over the rest to their party), to run away from the ship, kill the Europeans, and set the vessel ashore; by which means they design to free themselves from being our food.” It is not always the apprehension of being eaten that stimulates the Chinese coolies to make attempts at escape; but a belief that they are destined to be used as food or as bait for catching the sea-slug (*bêche-de-mer*) is widely disseminated in China.

“All went well for a day or two; when suddenly a rush on deck was made by a body of Chinese, armed with belaying pins, billets of wood, &c.; the master was knocked down and his throat cut, the crew overpowered, several of them taking to the rigging, and the ship was in possession of the assailants. Those of the Europeans who were aloft, and the mate and two or three who were forward—eight in all, seven having been killed—were assured they would not be hurt, but must navigate the ship to the land. This they did, and made the bay of Tien-pak, some 180 miles on the coast below Macao.”—*Correspondence respecting the Emigration of Chinese Coolies from Macao, 1871.*

On investigation of this matter it was found that a small number of bad characters had allowed themselves to be engaged as coolies for the purpose of raising a revolt on board with the aid of the kidnapped persons whom they felt sure of meeting in the hold of the vessel; but while some of the really guilty suffered a just punishment for their crimes, an attempt made to implicate the general bulk of the coolies in the murderous design served only to bring overwhelming discredit upon those concerned in the trade. Through the exertions of M. Dabry, the French Consul at Canton, the individuals who had formed the plot to capture this vessel were discovered, and were subsequently executed at Macao; but one of the coolies, named Kwok-a-Sing, having been traced to Hong Kong, a demand for his arrest and extradition thence was made by the Chinese authorities at M. Dabry's instance. This proceeding was the first step in what has proved a *cause célèbre* in the annals of the coolie-trade. Apprehended by the Hong Kong police, Kwok-a-Sing was eventually brought on a writ of *habeas corpus* before the Supreme Court of the colony, presided over by the Hon. Chief Justice Smale, whose elaborate judgment in the matter, delivered on the 29th March, 1871, constitutes, in fact, a sweeping indictment against the system which had caused the accused to be brought before him. After reviewing a mass of evidence adduced in proof of homicidal acts participated in by Kwok-a-Sing, the conclusion arrived at by the English judge is that “there is nothing to take the status of the prisoner out of that of slavery,” and he was held justified, consequently, in having resorted to any means of regaining liberty. The following is a noteworthy passage in this most outspoken judicial decision:—

“Coming as all this evidence does from the witnesses for the prosecution, uncontradicted, I believe (though the Attorney-General calls it mere hearsay evidence) what they said among themselves when there was nothing to be gained by stating other than the truth. Out of 310 coolies this one man [a witness named Chun a Pew] heard, and I believe what he says to be true, that one hundred coolies said they had been kidnapped,—how many more of these coolies had been

kidnapped does not appear. The Attorney-General contended that the captain was not answerable for the fact that these coolies were kidnapped. I abstain from attempting to measure his mere moral responsibility ; but for the purpose of measuring the alleged guilt of the prisoner, I must consider that the captain being in a 'trade' notorious for its crimes, of kidnapping especially, was *prima facie* in law responsible for the kidnapping and fitting-up of the ship and the detention of the coolies on board, and if the circumstances raise a presumption against the captain that he knew that one only of the coolies on board had been kidnapped, then I think that in an English ship fitted up as this ship was, he would be guilty of piracy within sec. 9 of 5th George IV."—*Judgment in the matter of Kwok a Sing on Habeas Corpus.*

From another quarter the same case was made the subject of comments which resume, in a few words, the whole groundwork of the matter. The British Consul at Canton, Sir Brooke Robertson, in reporting upon this "coolie tragedy," expresses himself in the following earnest language :—

"It is evident, however well the Macao Government regulations may look upon paper, that coolie emigration is simply a slave-trade, and a disgrace to any Christian government that permits its perpetration within its jurisdiction. It is well known how these barracoons are supplied, and instances are not unfrequent at Canton of the disappearance of people, and a regular traffic is carried on in human beings for the supply of these establishments. There can be no doubt the Macao Government is honest in its intentions to protect the coolies and put down kidnapping, but there is something more than this required to stop the evil, and indeed it may safely be said that nothing short of closing the barracoons and forbidding the shipment of coolies will do so."—*Correspondence respecting the Emigration of Coolies from Macao, 1871.*

To this conclusion every impartial observer of the Macao coolie-trade is irresistibly borne ; nor has it been at Macao alone that the alternative between giving a tacit sanction to the malpractices of commercial speculators and forbidding their operations altogether has shown itself to be imperative. At different periods during the decade ending in 1870 undertakings were set on foot in Hong Kong for the supply on mercantile principles of Chinese emigrants to the Dutch colonies of Surinam, the Sandwich Islands, and even to Peru ; and a series of well-meant but totally ineffectual attempts were made by an energetic Governor to impose such restrictions upon the conduct of this form of enterprise as might insure its freedom from abuses. In every instance it was found that the "necessary evil" of the coolie-trade, the Chinese broker, was prepared to set at naught the most stringent prohibitions, and to employ devices suspiciously resembling those in vogue at Macao for the purpose of

earning his stipulated head-money. After the exposure of some glaring scandals it became necessary to introduce special ordinances which have extinguished the profits of despatching labourers to foreign countries under contract ; and this result has been hailed with almost unalloyed satisfaction in the colony.

Having now traced the development of the coolie-traffic down to its condition at the present moment, we find it necessary to revert to the survey of authorized emigration from China as carried on at Canton. The perversion of the *depôt* established there under French protection to the uses of Cuban speculators gave rise, as has already been noted, to feelings of suspicion and dislike in the minds of the Chinese, and a variety of measures were proposed by the local authorities, with but little success, to curb the devices by means of which emigrants were entrapped. In 1864 the Viceroy of Kwangtung solicited imperial sanction to an amendment of the existing law against the crime of kidnapping, and on the 23rd November in that year the proposed enactment was passed, sanctioning the penalty of death in all cases of abduction. It is humiliating, indeed, to find that this sinister reflection upon the conduct of Europeans in China, and the suffering they have entailed by their acts, should be the only modification introduced in the Chinese code owing to the altered state of foreign relations with that country. Trade has multiplied itself a thousandfold ; the intercourse of foreigners with all parts of the empire has passed from a state of complete restriction to almost absolute freedom ; the usages of European diplomacy have been adopted and the methods of European warfare and administration introduced, whilst not a line has been added to or expunged from the Chinese statute-book except in the case of this enactment, which imposes upon "foreigners" the stigma of employing agents of the basest nature to execute their heartless designs. The existence of such a legal proviso, and still more the continued necessity — undeniable, alas ! — for the rigorous prohibitions it embodies, is a standing reproach to European civilization, since no distinction is drawn by the great mass of the Chinese between one foreign nation and another, and the most earnest opponents of the coolie-trade are liable to suffer under equal obloquy with those by whom alone its excesses are held in countenance. It would be satisfactory if we could place on record any successful attempt on the part of European negotiators to supersede this enactment by effectual measures for abolishing the coolie-trade as a commercial speculation, but up to the present moment nothing of the kind has been achieved. Negotiations were indeed carried on for some time subsequently to the issue of the Imperial Decree of November, 1864, for the establishment of a definite code of rules under which emigration

might be carried on at the Chinese ports, and a Convention was signed at Peking on the 5th March, 1866, between Sir Rutherford Alcock, the British Minister, and M. de Bellounet, the French Chargé d'Affaires on the one side, and Prince Kung on behalf of the Chinese Government on the other, which was declared by its preamble as intended "to secure to Chinese emigrants those safeguards which are required for their moral and physical well-being;" but the results actually obtained by this agreement fell strangely short of the promise it expressed. All that was accomplished was the entire stoppage of legitimate undertakings for the supply of emigrants to the British West Indies, without diminishing in any degree the activity or the success of operations widely different in character, in conducting which the jurisdiction of the Chinese Government was wholly set at naught. Drawn up, if we may judge from the unfavourable comments with which this instrument was discussed after its publication at Hong Kong, without sufficient reference to the opinions of authorities at home or in the colonies, the terms of the new Convention not only proved unacceptable to the West Indian Governments, principally on financial grounds, but were at once condemned in China as insufficient to check the abuses of the speculative coolie-trade. A proviso that on the expiry of a five years' term of service the immigrant should be entitled to payment of his passage back to China forbade the profitable employment of Chinese labour in the British West Indian colonies, where permanent settlers were looked for, and not a constant succession of hirelings passing backwards and forwards at the employer's expense; and so soon as the terms of the agreement became known in Demerara and Trinidad, orders were sent for the cessation of all shipments of emigrants from China to those colonies. On the other hand, the criticisms which appeared in the Hong Kong press, after the publication of the new code of rules, dwelt strongly on the absence of any proviso forbidding the conduct of emigration as a commercial venture, and upon the direct sanction which, strange to say, was given to the continued employment of "brokers" for the collection of emigrants. On this point all previously expressed opinions had been unanimous in declaring total prohibition to be the only means of averting malpractices. When, on the 11th February, 1860, the united foreign Consuls at Canton addressed the allied Commanders-in-chief, suggesting certain considerations which underlie, as they observed, "any conceivable system of emigration," they urged that "whereas the system of collecting emigrants by payment of head-money is in itself the origin of most of the evils signalized, the same shall be strictly prohibited by the Chinese authorities;" and a similar view was expressed shortly afterwards by Sir Frederick Bruce,

the then British Minister in China, in his communications with the Foreign Office (*Correspondence, &c.*, 1860). In view of these expressions of opinion and of the experience gathered in after years, it is surprising to find that the Emigration Convention of 1866 contains in its sixth Article explicit authority for the employment of Chinese brokers, accompanied by the proviso that such men "alone will be responsible for any act, whether intentionally or unintentionally, in contravention of the laws of the empire." We are spared the task of examining the text of the Convention in detail, however, since it has proved virtually a dead letter, at least so far as its ostensible object of regulating emigration is concerned. Propositions for a modification of the agreement are known to have been urged at Peking, but without result up to the present time ; nor is it unlikely that the Chinese Government may have rejoiced in the unexpected results that have accrued upon the signature of this Convention, in putting a stop to undertakings which had always been unfavourably looked upon by the great conservative mass of officials and of the scarcely less influential "literati." Emigration of a lawful kind has consequently ceased for the present ; whilst the shipment of coolies from Macao has continued to flourish in the manner and with the results described in the preceding pages.

Having thus seen the endeavours to supply labour to the West Indian colonies brought to a standstill by ill-considered arrangements, we now arrive at a point where it becomes possible to examine the treatment which immigrant labourers receive after reaching their destination, and to judge whether the promises held out to the Chinese before leaving their own country are satisfactorily fulfilled. A feeling of painful surprise was excited two or three years ago when it became known in England that allegations had been made attaching to our own colonies blame of a similar nature to that which has been so strongly levelled at the communities of Spanish America, and that serious grievances had been represented in the name of the immigrants serving under contract or indenture in British Guiana. The attention of her Majesty's Government was first called to the subject by Mr. G. W. Des Vœux, an official who had occupied the post of stipendiary magistrate in that colony. Having been promoted to office in another part of the West Indies, Mr. Des Vœux addressed in December, 1869, a despatch to Earl Granville, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, bringing a series of accusations against the planters, officials, and government of the colony he had lately quitted, whom he represented as indifferent to the well-being, and oppressive to the liberties, of the immigrant class. As a necessary consequence of the charges thus unexpectedly adduced, Commissioners were ultimately appointed to investigate

the condition of affairs ; and a voluminous Report, presented in due course to Parliament, embodying the results of a painstaking and minute inquiry, affords ample means of judging with regard to the fortunes of those Chinese labourers whose earlier experiences we have previously followed. It is a fortunate circumstance, moreover, that we are not confined to purely official sources of information in this respect. So soon as the statements concerning ill-treatment and injustice inflicted upon Indian and Chinese immigrants in Demerara (or British Guiana) had obtained publicity, those very worthy if not invariably judicious bodies, the Aborigines' Protection Society and the Anti-slavery Society, of whom little had been heard since the rebellion in Jamaica, retained the services of a rising young author to proceed as their agent to the scene of inquiry and investigate the matter from a humanitarian point of view. To this step we are indebted for Mr. Jenkins's very interesting and impartial work, entitled "*The Coolie : his Rights and Wrongs*," which embodies the results of an inquiry carried on simultaneously with that conducted by Mr. W. E. Frere, Sir George Young, Bart., and Mr. Charles Mitchell, the Commissioners appointed on the 26th August, 1870, by the Governor of British Guiana, to investigate the circumstances connected with immigrant labour in that colony. The charges levelled against the system by Mr. Des Vœux are summed up as follows by Mr. Jenkins at the outset of his narrative—

"Seduced from India or China by false promises (so he seems to have averred)—not duly notified of the legislation which would affect their relations when they reached the field of labour—assigned without due caution on the part of the executive to the power of unconscientious masters—wronged by the law and against the law—daily injured and unable to obtain redress, because of combinations between unjust magistrates, hireling doctors, and manœuvring planters, dying unrecked and unreckoned (I have tried faithfully thus to sum up this man's charges)—such a fifty thousand British subjects, anywhere existing, would heat the sympathies of English hearts to boiling point."

The grievances dwelt upon by Mr. Des Vœux fell under three principal heads, to wit, tyrannical conduct displayed by the owners or managers of estates upon which Asiatic immigrants are employed ; insufficient care bestowed upon the sick by the medical men in charge ; and a general subservience to "planters' interests" on the part of the stipendiary magistrates to whose decisions in case of complaint the immigrants must look for redress. It is satisfactory, indeed, to find that both the Commissioners and Mr. Jenkins, on reaching the termination of their several paths of inquiry, agree in declaring that no more than a slight basis of actual evidence could be discovered in support of

these grievous denunciations; whilst, at the same time, a useful end was achieved in the investigation of numerous particulars calling for amendment in the colonial laws and practice with regard to both Indian and Chinese immigrants. The Commissioners, in the opening pages of their Report, find it necessary to dwell upon the difficulties they encountered through the inability of Mr. Des Vœux to produce facts in support of the "sweeping and universal" accusations contained in his letter, but their guarded official language may be superseded here by the remarks with which the special agent of the philanthropic societies sums up the matter. Mr Jenkins states that—

"The examination of Mr. Des Vœux proved to be of a very unsatisfactory character. Though some of his charges were wide in their range and others in some instances specific, he was unable to verify the former from any but vaguely expressed remembrances, while the latter turned out to have been incorrectly stated or not to warrant the conclusions drawn from them. In fact, Mr. Des Vœux had written a very long and serious letter, with the honestest of intentions, but with the least business-like performance. According to his own account, it was done upon the spur of a report which led him to fear the colony to be in danger, without notes, memoranda, or documents whereby he could verify his statements. He considered himself, by the circumstances, justified in relying on his general remembrance of the conclusions formed by him in the course of five years' experience in the colony. That he had to a considerable extent read the state of its society aright is proved by the Report; that he was justified in expressing them in the definite, exaggerated, and formal manner in which he wrote to Lord Granville, hardly admits of argument."

It is a relief to meet with this disclaimer, in such a quarter, of the uncomfortable impressions which Mr. Des Vœux's accusations could not fail, in the first instance, to produce; but on the other hand, it is plainly to be seen that even here the old maxim holds good, and that so much smoke was an indication of a certain amount of fire. We shall endeavour briefly to examine the sources of discontent as laid bare in the works before us. Improving upon an epigram of Mr. Anthony Trollope's, the author of "*The Coolie*" informs us that the Government of Demerara—

"Is a mild despotism of sugar. Sugar is the ambition, means, and end of nearly everything done. . . . Little else is cultivated for exportation. Most of the wealth and business of the country is concentrated in the one hundred and fifty-three sugar plantations. These plantations are owned and managed almost entirely by Europeans, and chiefly by men of British origin. In 1861 the population of British Guiana was 155,917, of whom 1482 were natives of Europe

and 117 of North America. Although there are influential Creole Europeans, I cannot be far wrong in saying that in the hands of a small proportion of these 1629 people, or their equivalent in 1870, are centred the real power and wealth of the colony."

In order to supply the demand for labour to carry out the requirements of this governing class, and to maintain the all-important sugar cultivation in prosperous activity, divers legislative enactments have been brought into force since 1838, when negro emancipation rendered the employment of Asiatic immigrants necessary. In 1844 three Acts were passed, in the first of which provision was made for a Chinese immigration, then anticipated, but which came to nothing; and in 1850 a considerable amount of detail was added to the functions with which the Immigration Agent, constituted by previous enactments, was invested; but in 1864 an ordinance was introduced in which all preceding legislation was embodied, as Mr. Jenkins states, "principally by the great industry, ability, and experience of Mr. James Crosby, the Immigration Agent-General, and every way as honourable and upright an officer as the Colony contains." This enactment forms the code according to which labourers are recruited abroad, introduced into the colony, and governed during the period of their indenture; and although, owing to their considerably greater numbers, the immigrants from India rather than those from China are chiefly affected by the ordinance in question, and dealt with in the Commissioners' Inquiry, the Chinese nevertheless come fully within the purview of both one and the other. What it principally befits us to ascertain is whether the promises and inducements held out to intending emigrants are fulfilled after their arrival in the British colonies, whether protection from ill usage is secured to them, and whether the means of livelihood are obtainable without overwork. Under all these heads the Commissioners' Report furnishes a wealth of detail which it would be impossible even to summarize within our present limits; but as a general conclusion it may be stated that under the first and second of these headings an amendment in the colonial ordinances relating to immigration appears eminently desirable in order to remove the possibility of suffering, whilst on the subject of the earnings which labourers may hope for, misapprehensions exist and require to be cleared away. It is pointed out that in a footnote to many of the indentures entered into in China there was printed a Resolution by the Governor and Council of British Guiana to the effect—

"That the immigrants should be guaranteed full employment on adequate wages paid weekly, with a house rent free, with medical attendance, food, and hospital accommodation when sick: *and that it*

should be explained to them that a man can earn easily from 2 to 4 shillings, women from 1 to 2 shillings, and children 8 pence per diem ; and that a full supply of food for a man can be bought for 8 pence per diem. Now although an able-bodied negro can earn from 3 to 4 shillings by from 9 to 10 hours of work in the field, it is well known that a Chinaman cannot ; moreover, the negro does not easily earn it, but earns it by a good steady day's work "—*Report*, p. 57.

After reviewing an immense body of statistics on this subject, the Commissioners came to the conclusion that—

“The average earnings of this class of immigrants, drivers, artisans, and other head men excepted, throughout the colony, are about 28 cents a day for every day that they do a fair day's work. 28 cents is 14d., and is equal to not quite 10 *annas*. . . . Women earn from 16 to 32 cents, but do not, as a rule, work as many days as the men. Children between the ages of ten and fifteen earn from 8 to 16 cents a day.”—*Report*, p. 97.

It is very clear that whatever may be the rates of wages, these should be stated in the most unmistakable manner in any notifications issued in China as inducements to intending emigrants ; but there are considerations of another nature, dwelt upon in the Commissioners' Report, which militate against the prosperity of the Chinese who have already found homes in Demerara. As the Commissioners remark—

“The Chinaman here does not save so much money as the Indian. . . . Opium smoking is carried on by some to great excess, and it is not uncommon to see many of them quite emaciated, and almost unfit for work from excessive use of this drug. . . . The wretched appearance of some of the votaries of this habit has more than once misled strangers into conclusions unfair to the planters and the immigration system.”—p. 91.

Again—

“Many of the Chinese sent here turned out to be persons who ought never to have been recruited. It is worthy of notice that in places where the Chinaman has other careers open to him besides that of working as a field labourer for wages, he invariably chooses one where he can work for himself. He either rents a piece of ground near a town, or starts a provision or retail shop as soon as possible.”—*Ib.*

The drawbacks which are dwelt upon in the foregoing passages may be traced, undoubtedly, to the fact that, as has already been observed, during the five or six years in which emigration was promoted from the south of China under British auspices, the real agricultural population afforded but a portion of the emigrants who engaged themselves. While the system was being inaugurated and was slowly winning its way to con-

fidence, the recruits who came forward were to a large extent unemployed handicraftsmen and labourers of the towns—the class who have thriven in a marvellous degree when transported to countries where their industrial training and special aptitudes have found appropriate fields of development, but who are obviously ill-adapted for the severe bodily labour required on a West Indian plantation, and who are notoriously the most addicted to that vice of opium-smoking to which the Commissioners refer. Here again it may be desirable, on any resumption of emigration from China, to define stringently the class of labourers who alone should be accepted; whilst at the same time we may demur to the conclusion suggested in the Commissioners' Report, that the evil [of opium smoking] is beyond the reach of legislation. Surely there should be no material difficulty in the way of forbidding the importation and sale of opium in such a colony as that of Demerara, where traffic in the drug must be confined to very few hands and where no possibility exists of smuggling transactions. It would seem, on the whole, that Chinese who are at once sober, industrious, and able-bodied may earn at least a decent livelihood on the sugar plantations of Demerara, and that superior positions are open to men gifted, in addition, with a fair degree of intelligence; but that only in a small minority of cases is it possible for the emigrant to lay by a sum sufficient for his passage-money back to China on the expiry of his indentures. Only after a second period of engagement can the labourer look forward to securing his return to China, either as a stipulated right or by means of money he has himself earned; but as this may be clearly understood by every emigrant before he binds himself in China, there is no reason to look upon the circumstance as a grievance in his lot. The immigrants whom it is most desirable to attract to the colonies, those, namely, who arrive with wives and families, will in the majority of cases, if dealt with judiciously, remain as permanent settlers without thought of return; and a beginning has already been made in this respect with both Indian and Chinese immigrants in the West Indian colonies. As we learn from a paper read by Sir George Young (one of the Commissioners of Inquiry in Demerara) before the British Association at its recent meeting at Brighton:—

“The diminution in the number of applications for a return passage in the last year or two is traceable to the opening of Crown lands, and the offer of allotments to coolies in exchange for their right of return. Thus in Trinidad, 285 time-expired immigrants have already received allotments, and 96 others have purchased 910 acres at a stipulated price. The lead of Trinidad is shortly to be followed by Guiana and Jamaica.”

To sum up this survey of the condition and prospects of the Chinese immigrants in the British West Indian colonies we cannot do better than by quoting from Mr. Jenkins's work. He states that—

“The Commissioners have not only seen much to commend in the course of their investigations, but have not reported adversely to the policy of immigration. Their Report contains some significant instances of the wealth earned and carried back to their own country by energetic coolies. So long as capital continues to flow into the colony, and the extent of cultivation to be enlarged; so long as the free sugars of British Guiana continue to hold their own in the market, they think that immigration may be permitted to go on. . . . I have hope for the Coolie in British Guiana, but it will be more sure and certain when the immigration system is based on better laws and a better administration there, and on a more careful supervision by the Colonial Office.”

These are sentiments which we may cordially echo; and we may go even further, and express a hope that whilst any doubt exists respecting the validity of the safeguards provided by West Indian legislation against ill-treatment of the immigrant labourers, or with regard to the precise amount of remuneration to be afforded them whilst under indenture, all undertakings in China for the recruitment of emigrants may continue as at present in suspense. It is infinitely more important that the good name of the British Government should be preserved from any approach to that obloquy which justly attaches to the “coolie-trade” in China than that the necessities of production be alleviated in our West Indian territories, even though plantations were to remain short-handed and the price of sugar to be enhanced. The purity of her conduct hitherto in the matter of Chinese emigration has retained for Great Britain the right of protesting against the acts of a widely different nature, the barbarities of mercantile speculators and the connivance of interested officials, which disgrace the coolie-trade; but apart from considerations of humanity, she is strongly interested on material grounds in endeavours to extinguish the abuses upon which that system is founded. The enormous preponderance of her trade in China over the aggregate pertaining to all other nations, the greatly superior number of her subjects residing at the open ports, and the weight attributed to her counsels and influence, render Great Britain in Chinese eyes the typical power to which whatever there is of good or evil in foreign nations is without distinction referred. The Chinese who are capable of forming a conception of the separate individuality of foreign States may be numbered on the fingers; to the great mass of the people every foreigner, be he Englishman, French-

man, or American, if not simply styled "barbarian" or "foreign devil," is yet at best one of the *wai kwoh jin*—outsiders—who, so far as appears on the surface, form a homogeneous community, attracted to the Middle Kingdom by a common aim. Hence it arises that any discredit which may properly attach to a single individual or nationality will be distributed over all alike; the brutal violence and intemperate conduct of the worst class of Europeans has raised a prejudice against all in the general estimation; and in like manner the atrocities which continue to be practised at Macao under the name of emigration and with the sanction of Portuguese laws, keep alive in Chinese minds a sweeping abhorrence of all things foreign, under which we, as well as others, most innocently suffer. It is no mere humanitarian impulse, therefore, that alone justifies the demand for continued remonstrances against the trade for which Macao has been converted into an emporium; and if diplomacy should fail in inducing the Government of Portugal to apply the only effectual remedy—that of abolition—to the abuses by which its colonial rule is disgraced, it will be impossible that European powers should not support the Chinese Government in measures which it may sooner or later see fit to institute for regaining its authority over the peninsula. Such a step, it would almost seem, however open to objection on certain grounds, affords at present the only prospect of genuine security against the continuance of a slave-trade in disguise; and if it be urged, as has frequently been done at Macao, that without the coolie-traffic no commercial activity, no movement of capital, no employment for the great bulk of the half-caste inhabitants of the place would be continued, these arguments can but serve to weaken the claim of Portugal to the retention of a colony which, surreptitiously obtained in the first place, has become solely devoted to objects of a nefarious kind.

ART. VI.—BISHOPS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Debate on Mr. Somerset Beaumont's Motion for Relieving Spiritual Peers from their Attendance in Parliament.
Hansard's Debates. U.S. Vol. 202.

ANY one visiting the House of Lords for the first time on the occasion of an important debate, will probably find his eyes frequently wandering in the direction of a range of seats nearest to the Woolsack on the right-hand side. This is the *cuneus* or wedge-like compartment familiarly known to the public as the "Bench of Bishops." On these cushions, carefully packed away by themselves, and habited in full ecclesiastical costume, repose a number of elderly men, whose presence in that august assembly is supposed to indicate the recognition by the State of something higher than mere material interests. It would be a curious study to inquire what the State has gained by this kind of recognition of a higher power, and whether religion, which these gentlemen are supposed to represent, has on the whole had reason to be satisfied with its representatives.

We are not going to fling a stone at the individuals composing the present Bench of Bishops. Many of them are distinguished by high qualities of head and heart. Probably all of them are quite up to the average standard of human capacity and virtue. Some of the very best of them have been head-masters of our large public schools, where no inconsiderable portion of their time has been spent in correcting Greek and Latin verses, and in birching boys, big and small—tasks which they have usually accomplished with equal ease, vigour, and dexterity. And although, agreeing in the opinion pronounced by some foreign critics, we have always been at a loss to understand how any man with ordinary self-respect can discharge the latter function, yet we are not going to make it a subject of reproach to any one of our right reverend fathers that he does not happen to be so thin-skinned as ourselves. No suspicion rests, now-a-days, upon the causes of their appointments. Nor can it be said, considering their present status, that they are overpaid; on the contrary, we think them underpaid. To keep up a peerage, and a town-house and a country palace, to educate a large family, to insure one's life, to subscribe to every kind of object connected with the Church of England from the borders of Somersetshire to the Land's End, and even the Scilly Islands, on five thousand a year, and then to leave a fortune behind one, would be a feat only to be equalled by a man who should realize a fortune out of a subscription pack of hounds. When his Grace the Lord Lieutenant and the Bishop

are to be seen figuring at the top of the "Diocese of Ealing Sustentation Fund" for a thousand pounds apiece, very few people reflect that the contribution represents one-fifth of the Bishop's income, one three-hundredth of the peer's. All this and a great deal more to the same effect we cheerfully admit; but as we are sure that the presence of Bishops in the House of Lords has been in times past injurious rather than beneficial to the nation, so we believe that in the time to come their presence there will be detrimental not only to the general interests, but to the particular interests which they are supposed to have most at heart. We shall therefore welcome the reappearance of Mr. Somerset Beaumont, or of any other gentleman disposed to take the subject in hand, and to furnish the country, through its accredited representatives, with another opportunity of discussing it in public.

It is not, of course, our intention to attempt even a sketch of the history of the Episcopal bench. Such a sketch, to be of any value, could scarcely be condensed into narrower limits than those of a moderately-sized volume. A few salient points and prominent landmarks are all that can here be indicated. Before the Reformation, as is well known, the ecclesiastical element represented by mitred Abbots and Priors, as well as Bishops, usually predominated over the lay element in the Upper House. Nor can this be considered as otherwise than a fair arrangement at a time when it has been computed that over a half of the soil of England belonged to the Church, and the revenues of the suppressed monasteries amounted, according to the historian Neal, to a sum which would be equivalent to about fifteen millions sterling in the present day. The spoliations of Henry the Eighth at an early period of the great Reformation struggle, reduced to comparative insignificance the ecclesiastical element in the Upper House, and to this among other causes is owing the preservation of the Episcopal order in England. The bulk of the Bishops were cowed—as in times of revolution all but a few exceptionally strong heads are sure to be. They became, for the most part, pliable instruments in the hands of supreme power; and for this reason the Reformation which was fatal to them all over the rest of Protestant Europe spared them in England, where the reform had been commenced by those holding supreme power.

Before the suppression of the monasteries, and at the very commencement of the great religious change, the Bishops had stoutly maintained existing abuses, in their places in the Lords. They withstood the passage of the Clergy Discipline and the Residence and Pluralities Acts (provoked by their own discreditable administration of their sees) in 1529, and then disgracefully giving way, were, in the words of Mr. Froude, "dismissed into ignominy, and thenceforward in all Henry's dealings with them,

they were treated with contemptuous disrespect." They exhibited the same animus and the same feebleness on subsequent occasions, notably five years later when the Pope's authority was taken away ("Most of the Bishops," says Neal, "voted against the Bill, though all, except one, set their hands to it after it was passed, according to the custom of those times"): and again, on the passage of the famous Six Articles, when they would have done better to stand to their guns. "Oh, cursed Bishops!" was the expression of Melancthon in a letter to Henry VIII. In the reign of Edward VI. they seem to have sunk into a mere body of voters at the disposal of the Council, prepared at any moment to turn the scale against the popular party; though they made one vigorous attempt in the House of Lords to resume their former position—an effort which failed mainly from the extravagance of the pretensions which they put forth. In the succeeding reign they were a compact "tail," following Gardiner and the Court, utilized mainly for the passage of any measure of severity and persecution that might be required; a circumstance which should have been recollected by Mr. Gladstone when, in the debate on Mr. Somerset Beaumont's motion, he lauded these same Roman Catholic Bishops for not submitting to Elizabeth. To say that a body of prelates who had spent some years of their lives in propagating by force the Roman Catholic religion, under a Roman Catholic sovereign, did not immediately fall on their knees before a Protestant Princess and an heretical creed, is simply to say that they were not infamous, and we do not accuse the average Bishop in times past of having been infamous. We take him to have been neither better nor worse than the average man, in point of character; while, from the circumstances of his position, we consider him to have been more objectionable than almost any other kind of man in the capacity of a legislator. Moreover, Mr. Gladstone did not happen to recollect, what is patent to every one who looks into the history of that period, that the "firmness" of these Bishops was due to their expectation of an immediate revolution, under the auspices of Philip, which would restore them to their sees. Their traitorous designs are known, and their treasonable correspondence was actually discovered.

The Episcopal Bench, almost entirely renovated soon after the accession of Elizabeth, immediately sank into a mere engine for carrying out the projects of the Court in ecclesiastical matters. We are not inclined to press hardly upon the Bishops on account of the course which they then pursued. The nominees of a powerful monarch must necessarily enforce the views of the monarch. Whatever doubts may hang over the religious views of Elizabeth, it is certain that she was bent on enforcing her own

supremacy over the Church, and as far as possible—in the words approved by her father—on “extirpating religious differences from this kingdom.” The Bishops, with a few notable exceptions, lent themselves as ready instruments to this policy, and with perfect sincerity, since upon the whole it was that which best suited their own interests. What must be a source of regret, though not of surprise, is that they should actually have bettered their instructions, and that they should have thrown their ægis over abuses which did not necessarily form a part of this ruthless policy. Their scandalous government of their dioceses and their still more scandalous lives brought them into more than one quarrel with the House of Commons. In the Lords they succeeded in throwing out the Bill against pluralities which had passed through the popular House. Outside the House of Lords they let loose their officers upon every unlicensed congregation, whence their victims were selected, sometimes to rot in prison, sometimes to perish by the rope or the fire. They ejected everywhere such of the clergy as were suspected of Puritanism, and advanced every drunkard, gambler, and whoremonger who was a sound Episcopalian. This is no exaggeration, for the very expression just used is to be found in substance in the remonstrance which the Council, including Lord Burleigh, was at length obliged to address to them. At the close of the sixteenth century, when the Church may be said to have become “established” in the sense of including in its fold by far the greater portion of the inhabitants of this country, they felt themselves strong enough to invent the doctrine of the divine right of Episcopacy. “Scornful, if not openly hostile upon all occasions to the claims of the people, from whom they are generally sprung,” to use the words of the late Lord Jeffrey in speaking of them, they surrounded James the First on his arrival, and urged him to make himself absolute. They persuaded him to establish Episcopacy in Scotland, where the very name of it was loathed. They were the prompters of the “No Bishop, no King” cry. How, under the ascendancy of Laud, they blindly paved the way for the gravest national calamities, in the midst of which they themselves disappeared from the House of Lords and the political arena, is known to every schoolboy.

With the Stuarts came back, of course, the Bishops. And then were passed a number of Acts which, even in that age, were seen by sane persons to be erroneous in principle and destined to be fruitful of mischief. But though the Bishops were certainly not among the number of these, yet it would be unfair to do as some have done, and to make them responsible for what was after all the work of the nation. It cannot be denied that the Act of Uniformity, and the Conventicle Act, and the Five-

mile Act, and the Test Act, were passed amid general approval and a kind of general insanity. As little can it be denied that they were heartily endorsed, if not originally promoted by the Bishops; nearly every one of whom evinced in carrying them out the zeal of a Gardiner and a Bonner, without being entitled to any of the allowances which might be urged on behalf of the older prelates. This was a point specially noticed by their contemporaries.

"It was never known," says Lord Castlemain, "that Rome persecuted as the Bishops do those who adhere to the same faith as themselves, and established an Inquisition against the professors of the strictest piety among themselves; and however the prelates complain of the bloody persecutions of Queen Mary, it is manifest that their persecution exceeds it, for under her there were not more than two or three hundred put to death, whereas under their persecutions above treble that number have been rifled, destroyed, and ruined in their estates, lives, and liberties, being men for the most part of the same spirit with those Protestants who suffered under the prelates in Queen Mary's reign."

And here a consideration of great importance arises. In a discussion as to the propriety of investing any body of functionaries with such exceptional political privileges as those enjoyed by the Bishops, surely the weight of proof rests with those who uphold these privileges. It ought to be shown that at periods of great moment in the history of religion their influence was generally exercised on the right side. Yet the utmost that can be shown is that, although at such periods they were almost uniformly wrong, they were wrong in company with a great many other people. This appears to us to be tantamount to a condemnation of the system against which we are protesting. For the very reason, the *raison d'être* of the great legislative and social status of Bishops would seem to be this: that from their connexion with religion they are likely to be sound guides in religious matters of the assembly of which they form a part. They of course upheld the doctrine of Divine Right, and voted in a body against the Exclusion Bill. There was another doctrine, the corollary of the former, with which they loved to identify themselves, that of non-resistance: an ecclesiastical superstition against which Providence itself, in the constitution which it has assigned to man, has happily furnished a safeguard; and which, if generally believed in and acted upon, would have reduced the world to the condition of Dahomey. Only one prelate (Compton, Bishop of London) raised his voice in the House of Lords against the dispensing power. The Bishops and clergy themselves, driven by the remorseless logic of events, were soon obliged to throw overboard a portion of their "ecclesiastical rubbish," and in their

terror at seeing an alien religion forced upon them, lent a kind of half-hearted assistance to William the Third. When after the departure of James a debate took place in the Lords on the vacancy of the throne (the Commons had already declared for a vacancy) two Bishops only voted with the majority and nine the other way, the resolution being carried by three votes. On the establishment of William, the Whigs were extremely anxious to bring the great body of Nonconformists into the pale of the Church. But they were frustrated by the Tories and clergy, led by the Bishops. The Toleration and Comprehension Acts were the result of a kind of compromise between the two parties. Soon after this the sees of the seven non-juring prelates having been filled up by William, a decidedly liberal element was introduced into the Bench, with this further advantage that a liberal and amiable primate, Tillotson, was among the number. The result of this and similar infusions seems to have made itself felt in 1711, when the mischievous Bill for Occasional Conformity was opposed by several of the Bishops; and again, a few years later, in the last days of Queen Anne, when a protest was signed by more than one among them against the Schism Act. In 1719 the Episcopal Bench seems to have reverted to its normal condition, for, on the introduction of a measure for the relief of Protestant Dissenters, we find it opposed by both Archbishops and by the bulk of their suffragans, four only (including the estimable Hoadley) voting for it. The state of affairs during the ensuing fifty years rendered that period unfavourable for the introduction of any measures for the direct relief of conscientious objectors to the existing ecclesiastical system, though indirect relief was afforded them in the shape of annual Acts of Indemnity. However, in 1753 a Bill "for the naturalization of Jews" was, greatly to their credit, supported by the Bishops, but repealed in the following year. In 1772 and 1773 attempts were made to relieve dissenting ministers from the subscription required by the Toleration Act. The Bills passed through the House of Commons by overwhelming majorities, but were defeated in the Lords, principally through the action and in consequence of the speeches of the Right Reverend Prelates. At last a measure to this effect was passed in 1779. In 1787 they defeated an attempt to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts. Mr. Pitt was favourable to the measure, but (in the words of Sir Erskine May) "yielding to the opinion of the Bishops, he was constrained to oppose the motion." Again in 1790 they pursued the same course. In 1796, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, they succeeded in throwing out the Bill which had passed the Commons for the relief of the Quakers. The following year they opposed a Bill for admitting Roman Catholics and Dissenters to the

militia, at a time when England was threatened with invasion ! The Bill was lost. These specimens of the course pursued by the Bishops on all occasions in which their Church has been in any way involved, might, we believe, be greatly multiplied. We have not the space to pursue the matter in further detail ; nor, indeed, have we the power if space sufficed ; for we are writing these lines far from anything which can be termed a library. Yet if books of reference were within our reach, we have very small doubt as to what would result from an investigation of the Bishops' votes on such motions as Lord Grenville's in 1805, and other motions relating to the claims of Catholics and Dissenters during the first quarter of this century. In the year 1828 the Bishops consented to the repeal of the Corporation and Tests Acts, on the condition that a declaration should be substituted for the sacramental test. While on this particular subject, we may remark that in 1859 and for several subsequent years, they succeeded in throwing out Bills which were regularly passed by the Lower House for the abolition of this declaration, though Lord Derby, the Conservative chief, had spoken of it as not worth the paper on which it was printed. In a circular which was distributed to Members of Parliament on the occasion of Mr. Somerset Beaumont's motion, it is stated that twenty-one Bishops voted for retaining it. To Catholic emancipation the Episcopal Bench was of course violently opposed, nor could all the efforts of the Duke of Wellington, backed by his exceptional position in the country, induce them to give way. They offered a similar opposition to the Universities Bill in 1834. Their course, in recent years, with regard to all measures having for their object the furtherance of religious equality is too well known to be made the subject of detailed statement. Suffice it that twenty-one Bishops voted against the Irish Church Suspensory Bill in 1868. When the two Houses were brought to the verge of a serious collision in the following year, only one Bishop voted in the same sense as a preponderating majority in the popular assembly, and twelve the other way. In 1870 they turned the scale, by the votes of fourteen among their number, against the Bill for marriage with a deceased wife's sister, which had passed the House of Commons. At the very moment when these lines are penned, every Bishop present in the Upper Chamber has voted against the reasonable proposal that the rock of Cashel should be assigned to Roman Catholic trustees, on condition that all expenses shall be borne by them. And a similar fate awaits the Burials Bill whenever it shall be delivered into their hands.

Nor has the course pursued by the Bishops on questions which we term secular, during the last few generations, been of a character to entitle them to any extraordinary amount of grati-

tude on the part of the public. During the American War, while the great body of Dissenters (Wesley excepted, if he can be termed a Dissenter) sympathized with the colonists, and professed sentiments which, had they prevailed, would have averted the most serious blow ever inflicted on the greatness of England, the Bishops and the Church were enthusiastic supporters of the arbitrary power of the Crown. Porteus preached a sermon on the subject, as a reward for which he was elevated to the Bench. The Duke of Grafton, in the House of Lords, censured in the strongest terms the despotic spirit "preached up" by Archbishop Markham and other prelates. "Every measure for carrying on the war, and for adding renewed oppression to the colonies, was supported throughout by the Bench of Bishops. 'Twenty-four Bishops,' wrote Franklin, 'with all the lords in possession or expectation of places, make a dead majority that renders all debating ridiculous' "* The Bishops supported the slave-trade long after the Nonconformists had declared against it, and Lord Chancellor Eldon adduced this support of the Bishops as his reason for upholding it. They opposed Sir Samuel Romilly's reforms in the penal code, and defeated his Bill for abolishing the punishment of death in the case of shoplifting to the value of five shillings. When, in the time of our fathers, the country was brought to the verge of a revolution, the Bishops signalized themselves by their resistance to demands now admitted to be just, but which they termed "dangerous and mischievous." "Prepared to resist popular violence," they threw out the Reform Bill of 1831. "Twenty-two were present, of whom twenty-one voted against the Bill. Had they supported Ministers, the Bill would have been saved; but now they had exactly turned the scale—as Lord Grey had warned them that they might—and the Bill was lost by a majority of forty-one."†

From all this, and a great deal more which might be cited from the pages of history to a like effect, we see no particular charge which can be drawn against the Bishops, except this one, which is indeed the very point we are urging—viz., that from the character and constitution of their office they are peculiarly ill-suited to fill the post of *ex officio* legislators in a free State. "Very good men, no doubt, but very bad sailors," is the sportive subscription put by George Cruikshank at the bottom of one of his caricatures, representing a passenger steamer in mid-channel. So as to these Bishops, it may be allowed that they have been often good men, but we think it must be conceded that they have been

* Skeat's "History of the Free Churches," 2nd ed. p. 475.

† May, "Constitutional History of England," 3rd ed. vol. i. p. 310.

generally very bad senators. We just now spoke of secular as distinguished from ecclesiastical subjects, but, just as to the French *sapeur* it is said that nothing is sacred, so to the Episcopal mind hardly anything is purely secular. In such a mind nearly every proposal in practical politics must first undergo a comparison with certain infallible writings. We can suppose, for instance, that in a discussion in the House of Lords on the new Jury Bill, the opinion of a Bishop would be likely to be as sound and as sensible as that of any other educated man. The institution has been rooted among us for many centuries, and no one has found fault with it as being opposed to the Bible. As every one knows, there is nothing in the world about juries in the Bible, and Solomon with all his wisdom does not appear to have hit upon the invention. Here then is a measure, involving certain questions as to unanimity, &c., by no means too abstruse or technical for the consideration of the lay as distinguished from the legal mind, on which we should rather value the view of a Bishop, because it would not be likely to be clouded by any disturbing medium; and these, by the way, are the very sorts of questions from a discussion of which Bishops, as a general rule, feel it their duty to absent themselves. But supposing some obscure text could be raked up from the Kings or Chronicles to the effect that David once summoned twelve inhabitants of Judah to decide upon a cause and refused to take the verdict of eleven out of twelve of them, the judgment of the occupants of the Episcopal Bench would be quite disturbed, their minds would be upset, they would be as incapable of taking a sane view as poor Mr. Whalley. We should have them all driving down to Westminster in their state coaches and putting on their episcopal robes, to vote against any tampering with "the divine institution of unanimity in juries." Or suppose that the institution had never become acclimatized among us, and a proposal to introduce it were opposed, as certainly it would be, by a despotic Court, we are certain that the Bishops would take part with the Court, precisely on the ground that there was no warrant in scripture for any such tribunal. This illustration is by no means exaggerated; it was on grounds closely resembling these that they refused for a long time, quite conscientiously, to move against the slave-trade. Abraham owned slaves, and so did Job, and so did David and Hezekiah, and there was a great deal about slavery in the Mosaic legislation, and neither Christ nor Paul said a word against it; and the Bishops did not like to run their heads, full of these kinds of ideas, against what evidently had a sort of Biblical smack about it. Again, in opposing Sir Samuel Romilly's Bills, we may be sure that they were equally honest. With some such text as "The ruler beareth not the sword in vain" dangling

before their mental vision, or with a recollection of the condemnation of Ananias for fraud fermenting in their brains, they went calmly down to their places in the House of Lords, and supported a system which sent to the gallows young girls with babes at their breasts, who in the absence of their husbands, impressed for the King's service, had stolen some trumpery object in order to obtain a meal. But there is another much more serious objection to the union of political with episcopal functions, to the formation of "that creature of a monstrous and adulterous birth" as we think Mr. Bright once termed a spiritual peer. In supporting or opposing any political measure, such a personage is sure to look, above all things, at the interests of the Church Establishment. We are not making this a subject of reproach to him. It is natural and inevitable that this should be so. Yet it is certain as anything can be, and indeed admits of no dispute, that the interests of a religious establishment are intimately bound up with those of arbitrary rule and opposed to the spread of popular government. "It hath always," says Selden, "been the gain of the Church, when the Church can make use of the King's power, to bring all under the King's prerogative." To think of an Established Church in the midst of a democracy holding various religious opinions, is like thinking of a huge system of protection established in a community which has adopted universal free-trade. The Bishops have always been well aware of this connexion, and were perfectly logical, whatever may be thought of their prudence, in opposing a Reform Bill which was destined to increase the power of the people. We think that the Crown and the Established Church are likely to be quite sufficiently cared for by an assembly of hereditary peers, and that no sound Liberal can, on reflection, be in favour of keeping up an exceptional and hybrid class bound by its very nature to oppose liberal measures, and specially calculated to give emphasis to a religious inequality which it may be hard to get rid of, but which it is certainly not desirable to aggravate by artificial means.

It will be said that all this, if good for anything, is good for the disestablishment of the Church. But this is not the question which we are discussing, and the two subjects are quite distinct. It does not at all follow that, because a Church is established by law, it should have any representatives in one of the national legislative bodies. There are established Churches in other countries which have no such representatives. So neither does it follow that the exclusion of spiritual peers from the House of Lords would endanger the Establishment. On the contrary, we feel sure that coupled with an extensive remodelling of the Episcopate, it would give it some twenty-five years of additional life. We should in some respects regret such a result, but we are

of those who think it unfair to adopt any indirect means for undermining the Establishment, and who own that the State, so long as it is charged with the task of supervising the affairs of the Church, is bound to consult the best interests of the Church. Those are its worst friends who are for leaving the Bishops where they are. A hundred Bishops, with salaries say of fifteen hundred a year apiece, administering dioceses somewhat smaller than the present Archdeaconries, circulating perpetually through their districts, intimately acquainted with all their clergy, would form a phalanx possessed of ten times the moral power of the twenty-six present occupants of fashionable houses in West End squares and crescents. It would be an immense gain to them and to all the world if, the farce of Convocation being put an end to, they were precluded from coming up to London to concoct riders and gravamens about the Utrecht Psalter and the Athanasian Creed. If it were found desirable to discuss the affairs of the Church in common, they might form a voluntary assembly of their own, to meet occasionally; and if it be urged that such an assembly would have no legal power, the same may be said of the Wesleyan Conference and the present Convocation.

The evils which have been brought upon the Church and the country in times past by this union of baronial status with episcopal functions in the persons of a few religious chieftains, might form the subject of what it is now the fashion to call a monograph. It was the position of the Bishops as Peers, and their titles of "Your Grace" and "My Lord" which induced our long-suffering ancestors to view with so much composure their possession of enormous revenues and patronage and the pomp and state, ridiculous in their case, with which some of them loved to surround themselves. The Archbishop of Canterbury was, we believe, and may perhaps even now be, waited upon at table by pages in Court costume. But then he anointed the monarch, he was the first man in the realm next to the royal family, he walked into dinner before the Duke of Northolke. The Bishop of Durham enjoyed an income of some forty-five thousand a year; but then he was a Prince Palatine somewhere in the north, with castles and palaces to keep up. The Bishop of Winchester had twenty thousand a year (we have heard it put at twenty-seven) down to a very recent period; but then he preached about in the churches of his diocese decorated with the insignia of the Garter, to the delight of the incumbent and the awe of the chawbacons; and it was somehow felt that twenty thousand a year was not too much for any one who was connected with the Garter. Our ancestors looked on all these things as part of a system. The Bishops had a great deal of money to be sure, but then they had a great deal to "keep up." If these prelates had been merely

commoners, it is certain that an end would have been put to these abuses at a much earlier period. Unfortunately for the Church, they were not put an end to till incalculable mischief had been wrought her. Those who did not approve of the system—and they were many—shook the dust from off their shoes and deserted her gates. It is not too much to say that the “lording it,” in more senses than one, of the Bishops, was one of the prime motive causes of Dissent. For their great revenues and patronage were, as may well be supposed, not always administered in the best possible manner; and their peerages sometimes brought these men into society in which the Apostle Paul would have cut a strange figure. It was whispered about, even then, how Bishops stood round the card-table of the Prince Regent on a Sunday evening, prepared, we will not say hypocritically, but with that strange casuistry which is a distinguishing feature of the ecclesiastical mind, to take a hand as soon as the clock struck twelve.* Such conduct as this was, in any case, venial; but much darker stories have been told of the goings on of some of them in London. Without alluding further to these, which may very likely have been fabrications, we will give one or two illustrations of the manner in which the revenues of wealthy sees have been administered, and they shall be taken from the same diocese, that which we are fortunate enough to reside in. There sits at this

* We have heard, on the very best authority—that of an eminent lawyer who was with him in the case—a precisely similar story of a certain noble and learned lord during his career at the Bar. The papers in a heavy Indian appeal case were delivered to our friend late on Saturday night with an intimation that it would be heard before the Privy Council on the following Monday. Knowing the reputation of Sir A B, his senior, for the most rigid piety, and apprehensive that on himself would devolve the conduct of the appeal, he spent the whole of Sunday at his chambers, getting up the facts. On Monday morning, what was his surprise on hearing Sir A B deliver a most lucid and exhaustive argument on behalf of their clients, evincing a knowledge of the minutiae of the case infinitely superior to that which he himself possessed. As they walked home together, after the rising of the Court, he expressed his satisfaction that Sir A B had received his brief in good time, adding that he had felt sure there was some mistake about the delivery of his own, which had reached him less than forty-eight hours before. “I did not get mine till Saturday night,” replied his companion. “I thought,” returned our friend, “that you never read a brief on Sundays.” “I make a point of never doing so,” was the answer. “I went to bed at four o’clock yesterday, with orders to my servant to call me when the clock struck twelve. I then got up, and read my papers continuously for nine hours, and, after a hasty breakfast, came straight into Court.” To any but the casuistical and hair-splitting mind of the so-called religious, there would seem no distinction to be drawn between the act of working eight hours on a Sunday and the complete cutting off by oblivion of a portion of that day *in order* to be able to add a similar portion to the working hours of the next day. The time from twelve to nine that Sir A B devoted to his brief was surely *taken out of Sunday*.

moment a worthy gentleman, in the House of Commons—we are not certain on which side, but we think he is a Conservative, as certainly he ought to be—with an income of some sixty thousand a year. The source of all this fortune is, we have heard, to be found in the savings of his grandfather, the earliest Bishop of our diocese with whom living persons have come in contact, and who certainly commenced his career as a poor curate. We will call this Bishop Bishop A, and his successor we will call Bishop B. A short time ago we happened to be visiting an old, excellent, and strictly orthodox clergyman not many miles from where we are writing, when some one happened to remark, in the course of a conversation which led naturally that way, that the rectory was on a much grander scale than the value of the living warranted. That value was considerable; our estimable friend, who had been curate to and a great personal friend of a succeeding Bishop, whom we shall call Bishop C, having been presented to it by him, as about the best piece of preferment left in the diocese after his own sons had been provided for, as of course they were: in short, the house was a manor-house suitable for a man with several thousands a year. “You are right,” said our friend; “but did I never tell you the story of this rectory? It was built by Prebendary P., who held such and such preferments”—and he enumerated them. “His history is an amusing and an instructive one. He came into this diocese as a humble curate, but he managed to ride a horse to hounds, and he rode his horse well, and what is more he was a handsome man. The meet was in those days frequently at the Bishop’s Castle, and it appears that on these occasions he had exchanged a few words with one of the Bishop’s daughters. A clerical friend hinted to him one day as they were riding back from the finish that he had made an impression on the young lady, and advised him the next time the meet was at the Castle, to put on a scarlet coat, as particularly calculated to set off his manly figure, and to clinch the fair maiden’s affections. P. took the hint, and, to make a long story short, after the usual opposition, married the Bishop’s daughter. He was before long inducted into pluralities which yielded him seven thousand a year. He built this house; and with a committee of two others of his Lordship’s relations, managed the affairs of the diocese for some years, while Bishop B was living in retirement at Calais, in order to save up money to pay off the gambling debts of his wife—contracted in London society.” “This kind of thing,” we could not help remarking, “accounts for Dissent.” “Accounts for Dissent!” returned our venerable host, “it *created* it!”

The day of such occurrences is, as we all know, happily gone by. The ruthless layman has stepped in and dispersed these vast incomes through the agency of Ecclesiastical Commissions and

other devices. Nor, we cheerfully admit, would any of our present Bishops be likely to imitate the proceedings just mentioned—which merely amounts to this, that they have moved on in company with the rest of their countrymen. As Members of Parliament do not accept bribes, and judges do not swear on the bench, and country gentlemen do not stagger hiccuping into the drawing-room, so Bishops and their wives do not spend their time over the whist-table. Yet a good deal of the old superstition connected with their position as peers of the realm remains, and is continually productive of mischief. Thus we have heard it asserted that the excellent and laborious Bishop of Lichfield was anxious to take an ordinary three-storied house in the chief town of his diocese, but was obliged to acquiesce in a palace, as more befitting his position. Similarly we are told that a palatial residence has been provided at a great cost by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the Bishop of Rochester. In the “Clergy List” almost all these prelates are put down as inhabiting “palaces.” Their dignity of course accompanies them in their visits through their dioceses. They come forth to confirm and to consecrate in the carriage of the Lord Lieutenant, sometimes preceded by the outriders of his Grace. Indeed, we know of one prelate who recently wrote to a gentleman, possessor of a very pleasant country house, to the effect that he would be very happy to stay with him for a Confirmation “if Lord A could not take him in.” The effect of all this upon the masses may be dazzling at the time, but is not calculated in the long run to promote the cause of true religion, or (what we suppose some of their lordships would consider as much the same thing) to discourage Dissent. The Baptist or Methodist ironmonger in the street of the small country town blocked up by the episcopal retinue may run to his shop-door to get a sight of the great man; but he will listen with avidity on the next Sunday to a sermon on the text “My kingdom is not of this world,” from the lips of his own spiritual pastor, who preaches to half the inhabitants—a man it may be of real culture and true eloquence, as well as of fervid piety, but who has never set foot in the house of any one of the surrounding gentry, who dines at one o’clock, and rides in a second-class railway carriage. Talking of railway carriages, we cannot refrain from an anecdote which is pertinent to our present remarks, and which we hope will not be thought unworthy of being registered in this Review. We have spoken of Bishops A, B, and C of our diocese, and we will now take the liberty of introducing for a moment Bishop D. He is a recent comer among us, and immediately exhibited himself as a worthy successor of those who have preceded him by inducting his son, a young man under thirty, into one of the two best livings in his gift. Well, some three days ago we were

leaving London for the country, and arriving at the station before any of the other passengers, we observed that one first-class carriage was marked "engaged." We had the curiosity to inquire of the head ticket-collector by whom had this carriage been engaged. He gave us the required information, and we at once acquiesced in the propriety of the personage named being so accommodated, even if travelling alone. "Why, bless your soul, sir," said the man, "Bishop D always sends down and orders a separate carriage for himself, even when he is quite by himself, and will allow no one else to be put in." "And quite right too," we replied, "provided he pays for the six places." "Oh, no, he only pays for his place." "Supposing then there is a great rush, as there often is at this station, and room is deficient, what happens?" "A separate carriage has to be put on at the cost of the company." We think this anecdote suggestive. Here is a prelate of no particular extraction so impressed with his dignity as a Peer and a Bishop that he shuns all contact with such plebeians as are usually to be found in first-class railway carriages, and being unable to travel in a coach and four at his own expense, does not hesitate to occupy five places at the expense of the shareholders, and in selfish disregard of the inconvenience which he may cause to the travelling public.

If in the observations which have immediately preceded we have suffered ourselves to lapse into an anecdotal vein, our subject must be pleaded as an excuse. It is impossible in the present age to contemplate for any length of time with seriousness the spectacle of a man claiming to stand in the shoes of a Galilean fisherman, and immediately becoming invested in consequence of that succession with earthly titles and dignities. These prelates are in a false position *quoad* these dignities, and whoever is in a false position is sure to be more or less ridiculous. "Anecdotes of the Bishops" would, we think, form as entertaining a volume as any that is to be found on Mr. Mudie's shelves. We have purposely avoided touching upon one consideration, in our anxiety to avoid altogether a discussion of State Establishments. But it merits a passing notice. The Bishops in the House of Lords represent the religious interests of less than one-third of the United Kingdom. More than this, if that one-third, amounting roughly to some ten millions, could be polled, we are inclined to agree with an opinion which has been expressed that not one-half of them would be in favour of the retention of spiritual peerages. If this estimate be anywhere near a correct one, not one-sixth of the inhabitants of the British Isles are in favour of the existing system. We should expect such a result from the known good sense of Englishmen; but we should also expect from their known aversion to change, that the Bench of Bishops

will for some time to come remain, built on the rock of usage and prescription.

Four times since the passage of the great Reform Bill has this subject come up for discussion in the House of Commons. In 1834 leave to bring in a Bill for excluding the Bishops was refused by a majority of 125 to 58. In 1836 a similar motion was defeated by 180 to 53. In 1837 another motion to the same effect was lost by 197 to 92 votes. On June 21st, 1870, Mr. Somerset Beaumont went into the lobby with 102 supporters against 158 opponents, and the list of pairs was, we believe, a large one. This division was a remarkable one, inasmuch as it established the fact that a majority of the *Liberal* party then present were in favour of the motion. We have read through the debates of 1834, 1836, and 1837 without, it must be confessed, deriving much profit from them. In 1870 the Bishops had the advantage of being supported by Mr. Gladstone, "the greatest English Minister since the days of the Stuarts" in the opinion of Mr. Mill; at any rate, we say without fear of contradiction from those who might be disinclined to admit this view, by far the greatest English Minister of modern times who has been at the same time of an ecclesiastical turn of mind. Owing to his peculiar bent, every question connected with the Church presents itself to him as of extraordinary interest; as of infinitely greater moment than the subject matter of those vast achievements of his which will be remembered with admiration when his ecclesiastical proclivities shall be called to mind, and quietly dismissed as the amiable weaknesses of a noble nature. From Mr. Gladstone then by far the ablest defence of spiritual peerages that has ever been made might fairly be expected, and it will be no unfit termination of our paper if we examine briefly the arguments which he then brought forward.

Mr. Gladstone commenced by taking what we think a very fair objection to the terms of Mr. Beaumont's motion. That motion was for the exclusion from Parliament of Lords Spiritual "hereafter consecrated;" it being proposed to leave the existing Bishops in their places, to be gradually weeded out by the hand of time. The inconveniences attending such a mode of proceeding need hardly be indicated. It is clear that the Bishops must either remain in a body or go out in a body. And if ever the question should come up for practical legislation, the Irish Church Act will form a conclusive precedent for the course to be adopted. This, however, is a point of detail. The arguments adduced by the Premier against the main principle of the motion may be resolved into two. Firstly, that—

"By dismissing the Bishops from the House of Lords, you very greatly weaken the influence of the State over the Church. . . . The

possession of seats in the House of Lords brings the influence of opinion to bear on Episcopal administration. If it were necessary, it would not be difficult to cite cases in which Bishops have been directly called to account for the administration of their dioceses before the House of Lords. Any aggrieved clergyman, any aggrieved layman, directly if that layman be a peer—indirectly and through any member of the House of Lords, if not a peer—has always the means of calling to account for acts of injustice, acts of oppression, acts of bigotry, acts of misconduct or misjudgment, or whatever they may be, of the Bishops of this country. . . . This motion must be regarded as one which will greatly diminish, not the influence of the State only, but the influence of the external world, the influence of society, the influence of opinion, the influence of that which is called modern civilization outside of the Episcopal sphere over the Episcopal body.”*

We must confess that we do not see any great force in this reasoning, which would seem to be good not only for retaining the Bishops, but for introducing into the Upper House the Judges of the land, Generals commanding our home forces, Admirals at the head of our fleets, and other persons charged with like responsibilities. Will any one say that public opinion would not be sufficiently brought to bear upon the administration of the law, even though not one of our Judges had a seat in the Upper House, as in point of fact not one of the common-law occupants of the Bench at this moment has? Or if the intention be to advocate this kind of check upon the possessors of power, in reference to religious interests alone, how is it that two-thirds of the inhabitants of the country are forced to content themselves without any such safeguard against acts of oppression and tyranny? Archbishop Manning ought to be in the Upper House, and the President of the Wesleyan Conference, and the Chairman (if there be such a functionary) of the Congregational Union, and Cardinal Cullen, and the Bishop of Edinburgh; and the Archbishop of Armagh ought never to have been compelled to leave it. The fact is that Bishops such as we have indicated, or indeed the present Bishops if relieved from their attendance in Parliament, would be to all intents and purposes as much under the control of public opinion as they are now. For any act of injustice on their part, there would be for the aggrieved person the remedy—and it is the only remedy that he at present possesses—of an appeal to the Law Courts. As a protection against any objectionable acts of theirs which might fall short of a violation of the law, we have the presence of an ever-watchful press, and a correspondence in the *Times*, or the *Daily News*, or the *Daily Telegraph*, is as likely to be effective for the pur-

* Hansard's "Debates," vol. ccii. p. 693.

pose, and is certainly as much dreaded by our prelates, as any question put in the Upper House by a lay peer. There is one point, in this connexion, which Mr. Gladstone omitted to notice. The possession of seats by the Bishops, so far from being a safeguard to the inferior clergy and the laity, is constantly used as a means to an entirely opposite end. The Bishops are continually bringing ecclesiastical Bills into the House of Lords and inserting clauses in Bills introduced by lay peers, or those which reach them from the Lower House, in which, more or less ingeniously wrapped up, is to be found machinery for the extension of their own power. This is the cry of all the clerical journals. The Bishops in the House of Lords—these journals are continually telling us—are not the representatives of the clergy or the Church: they are the representatives of themselves and of their own interests. The other argument adduced by Mr. Gladstone was virtually this—that the Bishops infuse a “popular element” into the House of Lords. It is quite true that they occupy their seats, not because they are the eldest sons of their deceased fathers, but because they are nominated to them by the Crown; yet this mode of selection is not exactly consistent with our reading of the words “popular element.” There would be more force in the argument if the Bishops were elected, as they used to be, and as they ought to be still, by the body of the clergy, or by the clergy and Church laity combined. What is meant, however, is that it would be injudicious to get rid of the only portion of the Upper House which may be said to represent the non hereditary principle. We do not see why it would be injudicious. The word “non-hereditary” has no magic for us. We object to any seats in any other than ecclesiastical assemblies being held by an ecclesiastical tenure. We believe such a tenure to be entirely opposed to the spirit of the age. We should not object to seeing clergymen made eligible to the House of Commons. We should not object to seeing a couple of hundred of them there, elected by popular constituencies; because the mere fact of their being so elected would show that they were entitled to be there. Whatever anti-popular measures they might be the means of carrying—and we are not sure that under the circumstances they would be likely to favour any such—would have to be charged upon those who had entrusted to them the task of legislating. If these latter were dissatisfied with the conduct of their clerical representatives, they would have the remedy in their own hands at the next dissolution. Widely different from such a position as this is that of the spiritual peers in face of the British people. They are in theory the nominees of the Crown selected by the Crown from among the priesthood of a Church which is a minority in the nation, and at the same time is in the

enjoyment of enormous wealth. In practice they are chosen by the Ministry from among elderly clergymen who are not likely to give trouble to the Government or the Church, preference being given to such as have produced some creditable literary work—a commentary on St. Paul, or a book on logic—to divinity professors and head-masters, relatives of powerful noblemen not being left altogether out in the shade. It is easy to see how such a body must vote; and history tells us how in times past they have voted. It is no consolation for us to be informed that they owe their peerages to royal and ministerial favour, and not to the accident of birth.

Much more might be said with regard to this subject, upon which we only profess to have thrown out a few stray hints for the consideration of our readers. We must repeat that we have carefully avoided all reference to arguments which might seem to have a wider scope than that which we have had in view in our discursive remarks, and to point to disestablishment. Again we say that the two questions are altogether distinct. The Established Church of England is the Church established in England, not in Great Britain. We believe that a popular vote taken in England and Wales on the issue of its continued existence would result in a considerable majority in its favour. On the other hand, the Bishops sit as representatives of the English Church, in a Parliament which is not the Parliament of England only, but that of the Empire; and we repeat that if a poll could be taken to-morrow throughout these islands a large majority would be found against their remaining there. It may be asked why, if this be so, the constituencies have not made their voices heard on the subject. The answer is that the subject has never been brought home to the minds of the electors by the action of any prominent Liberal statesman, or by any of those other ripening causes, in the absence of which Englishmen continue to tolerate long-standing political anomalies. The history of the disestablishment of the Irish Church is one among recent illustrations of our meaning. Ten years before its downfall that Church seemed to be bound to the State as firmly as the Bishops now seem to be seated on their bench in the House of Lords. We believe that a similar unexpected fall is in store for the spiritual peers in the not remote future; or we would prefer to call it a change of condition which, by depriving them of an invidious distinction and removing them from uncongenial surroundings, will invest them with a more legitimate influence, and furnish them with the opportunity of affording what must always be a pleasing spectacle, even to such as might differ from them in their views—that of a body of men labouring on behalf of their own religious convictions, each in his appropriate sphere.

ART. VII.—THE PERSONAL LIFE OF GEORGE GROTE.

The Personal Life of George Grote. By Mrs. GROTE.
Murray: London. 1873.

THERE are a few men in every age whose privilege and glory it is, while standing aloof from practical politics, or taking no prominent share therein, to inform the thoughts and direct the aims of succeeding generations of their countrymen. The influence of such men is often less immediately manifest than that of practical statesmen, but in the end it is wider because it is indirect; and when the history of their time comes to be written it is they who will be regarded as the springs of the legislation and the sources of the progress in which they had perhaps no personal share. It is not given to them to sway senates or to guide the popular will, but it is their nobler task to be teachers of the teachers, and to replenish the fountains of the statesman's wisdom. England has lately lost two such men—George Grote, who died two years ago, and John Stuart Mill, whose untimely loss we are all deploring to-day. These two men were trained in the same school of thought, and received the lamp of wisdom from the same hand—that of Bentham; they cannot therefore be entirely compared with the two “seminal minds” of the earlier part of the present century, whose eulogy was so eloquently written by one of them many years ago in the pages of this *Review*;* for while Coleridge and Bentham represented two distinct, and in many respects antagonistic, currents of thought, Grote and Mill, though their lives of activity were in the main divergent, were cast in the same mould, professed the same philosophic faith, and shared the influence of the same great mind. Their works are the main channels through which the influence of Bentham has reached the present generation; and it is perhaps chiefly owing to them that that influence is still so great.

Of John Stuart Mill it is not our purpose to speak at length on the present occasion: in our next issue we shall hope to furnish our readers with an account of his Life and Writings which we shall spare no effort to make worthy of so great a man. But we cannot allow a number of the *Westminster Review* to appear without at least a passing tribute to the memory of one whose loss, so recent and deplorable, is a calamity not to us only but to England and to the world. One of the keenest intellects

* *Westminster Review*, Aug. 1838. Article on Bentham, by J. S. Mill.
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and one of the noblest characters which this generation has seen has passed away, and John Stuart Mill sleeps at Avignon by the side of her to whom his own life was offered as a willing sacrifice. But though he was cut off in the maturity of his splendid powers, his work still lives and will live in the thoughts and deeds of many a future generation. To have taught the flower of England's youth ; to have revived the study of philosophy in her schools ; to have moulded the policy of her greatest dependency ; to have guided and ruled the thought of a whole generation in one of the greatest of European states, and to have illumined the path of future progress for many a coming year—this is a task which it is given to few to attempt, to fewer still to accomplish. We who have seen it attempted without a shadow of mean ambition, and accomplished without a trace of ignoble exultation, must for ever cherish the name and exalt the memory of John Stuart Mill.

In the present paper we propose to give some account of the life of the elder of these two men—George Grote, whose *History of Greece*, together with the supplementary treatise on Plato and the unfinished fragment on Aristotle, is one of the noblest monuments of English scholarship which the present century has produced. The life of George Grote falls naturally into three periods: 1. His early life and private history from 1794 to 1833; 2. His parliamentary career from 1833 to 1841; 3. The period of literary production which lasted uninterruptedly from his retirement from Parliament in 1841, and from business in 1843, up to the last months of his life in 1871. We shall dwell at considerable length on the first of these periods because it is the one of which least is known to the world, and in which the seeds of that culture which bore so splendid a fruit in later years were sown: but the characteristic note of all three periods is the same, that of strenuous and unfailing devotion to one great purpose as a friend said in 1865, recalling perhaps unconsciously, the words of Goethe—

“ Wie das Gestirn
Ohne Hast
Aber ohne Rast,”

“ Grote's intellectual course always seems to me to resemble the progress of a planet through the firmament ; never halting, never deviating from its onward path, steadfast to its appointed purpose.”

Mrs. Grote has devoted the latter years of a not unproductive literary life to the preparation of a personal memoir of her distinguished husband: of his “intellectual achievements, whether as a Historian, Scholar, Philosopher, or Critic,” she does not

hold herself entitled to speak ; we are promised however that “ a more qualified exposition will supply her deficiency in this great field at no distant date.” Her work is therefore “ *The Personal History of George Grote*,” as it is called on the titlepage, and its origin is due to the anxiety expressed by many friends of the Historian to have some account of his early life. Yielding to their importunity, she began in 1866 to collect such old letters and journals as she had preserved, with the view of weaving them into a biographical form.

“ Being thus occupied on one morning of (I think) the year 1867, Mr. Grote came into the room.

“ ‘ What are you so busy over, there, H. ? ’ inquired he.

“ ‘ Well, I am arranging some materials for a sketch of your life, which I have been urgently invited to write by several of our best friends.’

“ ‘ *My* life ! ’ exclaimed Mr. Grote ; ‘ why, there is absolutely nothing to tell ! ’

“ ‘ Not in the way of adventures, I grant ; but there *is* something, nevertheless—your Life is the history of a mind.’

“ ‘ *That* is it ! ’ he rejoined, with animation. ‘ But can you tell it ? ’

“ ‘ It is what I intend to try. You see, unless *I* give some account of your youth and early manhood, no other hand can furnish the least information concerning it.’

“ ‘ Nothing can be more certain—you *are* the only person living who knows anything about me during the first half of my existence.’

“ This short colloquy ended, the subject was never renewed between us ; the Historian feeling, as I believe, content to leave his life’s story in my hands.

“ Thenceforth, whenever opportunities and strength allowed of my working at the biography, I did so, and the narrative had advanced, in 1870, as far as the year 1820, when it was unavoidably laid aside for the space of twelve months.

“ Since the commencement of the year 1872, it has been slowly continued in the intervals of leisure allowed me by my numerous obligations ; though often arrested by attacks of illness.

“ I have given a brief statement of the cause and growth of this modest memoir, to explain to my readers from what motives it came to pass that, notwithstanding the difficulties attending its composition, I had yet sufficient courage and industry to bring my work to an end. When they learn that no other pen could have produced it, they will surely accord to this book all the indulgence it needs.”—*Preface*, ii.—v.

The modesty of the purpose here expressed forestalls and disarms criticism ; it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to give a very artistic form to the story of a singularly uneventful life, for which the only available materials are family records, private diaries and

familiar letters; and Mrs. Grote has wisely refrained from the attempt. Notwithstanding a certain old-fashioned air of formality which is at times almost grotesque, the style is unpretending and in some cases homely even to bluntness; and if the general result is somewhat lacking in refinement, the defect is redeemed by genuine sincerity of purpose and the frank and undisguised admiration which Mrs. Grote everywhere manifests for the labours and studies of her husband. It is not perhaps inappropriate that the life of a writer whose style was pre-eminently plain and unadorned should be commemorated in an artless and homely narrative.

The founder of the Grote family in England, Andreas Grote, grandfather of the Historian, came to England and settled in business towards the middle of the eighteenth century. He came of a burgher family long established in Bremen, and it was a tradition in the family that Hugo Grotius was of their blood, though this, it seems, was scarcely credited by Mrs. Grote and her husband. Andreas Grote at first founded an agency business in Leadenhall Street, but the Banking-house so well known in the City for the last hundred years under the names of Grote and of Prescott, was founded in January, 1776, under two partners of that name, one of whom was Andrew Grote, as he called himself in later years. Andrew was twice married; his only issue by his first marriage was a son, Joseph; George Grote the elder, father of the Historian, and six daughters were the children of his second wife, a Miss Culverden. He died in 1788 leaving a well-established and lucrative business, and a fortune extensive enough to furnish portions of 20,000*l.* to 25,000*l.* to each of his daughters: his sons Joseph and George succeeded to the business, and the former inherited an estate in Lincolnshire, which his father had acquired by the foreclosure of a mortgage; he had also previously inherited an estate in Oxfordshire from his mother's brother, but as he died without issue in 1814, George Grote the elder succeeded to his landed property and acquired, though he soon relinquished for more congenial pursuits, the leading position in the firm. George married in 1793, Selina, the daughter of Doctor Peckwell, an eminent divine whose talents attracted the notice of the Countess of Huntingdon, and had secured him preferment through her favour. Selina's mother, whose name was Blosset or De Blosset, was descended from an ancient family in Touraine which had long been settled in Ireland.

George Grote the elder and his wife settled at Clay Hill, near Beckenham, and here on November 17th, 1794, their eldest son George the Historian was born: his infancy was passed at

Beckenham, but at the early age of five and a half years young George was sent to the Grammar School of Sevenoaks, and at ten he was transferred to the Charterhouse, of which School Dr. Matthew Raine was Headmaster—

“Among the pupils of Dr. Raine at this period, some were forward in the studies predominant in public schools, and indeed became eminent in mature life. The brothers George and Horace Waddington, Connop Thirlwall, H. Havelock (the soldier), Creswell Creswell, and a few others, were the familiar companions of George Grote's youthful days; the one whom he especially preferred, and with whom he maintained an affectionate intimacy throughout his after life, being George Waddington, the late Dean of Durham. During the six years that he passed at the Charterhouse, I believe that George Grote never got a flogging for any shortcomings in his performance of his tasks, though, in common with his fellows, he fell under Dr. Raine's rod in his turn for boyish offences, such as straying beyond the prescribed limits out of the school hours. Indeed, he actually underwent this punishment along with his friend Waddington and others, on the eve of quitting the school, and when he was almost at the head of it, viz. in 1810; the occasion being that Grote had given a farewell supper to his schoolmates at the ‘Albion Tavern’ in Aldersgate Street, where (as was natural under the circumstances) they had all indulged in somewhat ample potations. Such was school discipline early in the nineteenth century.”—*Life*, p. 7.

George's father had no sympathy with learning; beyond sending his sons successively to the Charterhouse, where he had himself been brought up, he seems to have taken little thought for their education. He was “fond of hunting, shooting, and exercise generally,” and as soon as his eldest son was of age to enter the business, he took him from school and set him to work in the City. It appears the youth had already distinguished himself in his studies, and his friends and his teachers had begun to suggest for him an Academical training: but his father wanted his services in the business and was anxious to withdraw himself from commerce to the pursuits and duties of a country gentleman to which he afterwards devoted himself.

“Accordingly, at the early age of sixteen, and indeed somewhat under it, young George Grote began the career of a banker.

“He lived with his father; that is to say, his father's house was his home. When he stayed in London, it was in Threadneedle Street that he resided, and, whilst Mr. Grote was in Oxfordshire (usually from September until April), such was his regular habit, diversified by visits to Badgemoor at intervals. During his family's residence at Beckenham, George used to pass the greater part of the week with them. He dined and slept at Clay Hill, riding to London daily (bating occasional exceptions) with his father, and riding back, ten miles,

to dinner. Young George was accustomed to go over a good deal of ground on foot also, besides the exercise of riding twenty miles per day. In those days, the junior members of the firm had to go forth, along with what was called 'the walk clerk,' carrying the various 'bills' for presentation, a duty involving some two or three hours of walking exercise.

"On the evening of the days when it was necessary for him to stay in the City to 'lock up,' George occupied himself principally with study. He had contracted a strong taste for the classics at Charterhouse, and felt prompted to cultivate them on quitting the scene of his boyish training.

"Looking forward to a commercial course of life, certain to prove uninteresting in itself, he resolved to provide for himself the higher resources of intellectual occupation.

"He was at the same time sensible to the charm of music, and frequented the concerts of the Philharmonic Society (then newly established), which made a pleasant variety in his City routine.

"He began to learn the violoncello, too, towards the year 1815, and on that instrument he frequently accompanied his mother, who was a fair musician, and they played Handel's compositions in the family circle with pleasure and good effect.

"Again, young George addressed himself to the study of the German language, under the tuition of Dr. Schwabe, a minister of the Lutheran Church (in Alic Street, Goodman's Fields). At that period very few young men (and scarcely any women, of course) knew German, and it furnished evidence of earnest devotion to literary pursuits when George Grote gave up his leisure hours, few as they were, to its acquisition."—p. 10.

Little more than half a century before Grote was removed from his youthful studies to the uncongenial pursuits of commerce, another historian, with whom perhaps it is Grote's highest praise that he can without disparagement be compared, was permitted to enjoy the privileges which were withheld from Grote; and this is Gibbon's estimate of the result:—

"The expression of gratitude is a virtue and a pleasure; a liberal mind will delight to cherish and celebrate the memory of its parents, and the teachers of science are the parents of the mind. I applaud the filial piety which it is impossible for me to imitate; since I must not confess an imaginary debt, to assume the merit of a just or generous retribution. To the University of Oxford I acknowledge no obligation; and she will as cheerfully renounce me for a son, as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother. I spent fourteen months at Magdalen College; they proved the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life: the reader will pronounce between the school and the scholar, but I cannot affect to believe that nature had disqualified me for all literary pursuits. The specious and ready excuse of my tender age, imperfect preparation, and hasty departure, may doubtless be alleged; nor do I wish to defraud such excuses of

their proper weight. Yet in my sixteenth year I was not devoid of capacity or application; even my childish reading had displayed an early though blind propensity for books; and the shallow flood might have been taught to flow in a deep channel and a clear stream. In the discipline of a well-constituted academy, under the guidance of skilful and vigilant professors, I should gradually have risen from translations to originals, from the Latin to the Greek classics, from dead languages to living science: my hours would have been occupied by useful and agreeable studies, the wanderings of fancy would have been restrained, and I should have escaped the temptations of idleness which finally precipitated my departure from Oxford.”*

We have set these passages in juxtaposition—the one describing Grote’s studious industry in the midst of commerce, the other Gibbon’s unchided indolence at the centre of learning—because we think it may be inferred from the contrast that Threadneedle Street was possibly a more favourable home for an earnest student than Oxford at the beginning of the present century. Gibbon, it is true, belongs to an earlier period, but the sloth and indolence which overwhelmed Oxford in his day had not been entirely cast off in 1810. It may truly be said that the Universities lost more in losing Grote, than Grote lost in missing the Universities; while it is her everlasting shame that Gibbon left Oxford with bitterness in his heart, which was never appeased.

On the other hand, the life on which Grote entered furnished training which was not to be despised. The sober restraints of commerce afforded a sound discipline to the character; and the leisurely course of a well-established business yielded many a quiet hour to the pursuit of learning. Still the pressure of uncongenial labour was severely felt; and this and the lack of cultivated society are pathetically expressed in an extract given from a letter to a friend in 1817:—

“My studies on other subjects have not been so regular as they might have been. A routine of business which stupefies the mind (*affigit humi divinae particulam auræ*), and engagements, if possible, more stupid still, fill up nearly the whole measure of my occupations. A numerous family and the present artificial state of society absolutely imprison me to such an extent, that I can enjoy but very little solitude. And it is dull and wretched to the last degree to a mind which has a glimpse of a nobler sphere of action, to witness the total exclusion of intellect which disgraces general conversation.

“O miseras hominum mentes! O pectora coeca!
Qualibus in tenebris vitæ, quantisque periculis
Degitur hoc ævi, quodcunque est!”

* Smith’s Gibbon, vol. i. p. 28.

In my present frame of mind I could preach for hours on the subject of those noble lines of Lucretius."—p.13.

The toils of business moreover were not relieved by the pleasures of a cheerful home; for though Grote continued to live with his father at Clay Hill, whenever his duties did not require his presence in Threadneedle Street, yet he was almost excluded from society by the religious fanaticism of his mother. Mrs. Grote was a Calvinistic recluse, and eschewed social intercourse of all kinds, and her husband, for the sake of domestic peace, yielded, though reluctantly, to her rigid seclusion. Fortunately for Grote, the neighbourhood of Beckenham afforded him the cheerful society which he sought in vain at home, and in the social and friendly intercourse of country life the foundations of more than one lasting friendship were laid. Two friends may especially be named as sharing and sympathizing with Grote's classical tastes and studious habits—George Warde Norman, and Charles Cameron; the former shared and encouraged Grote's taste for poetry and imaginative literature, the latter, whose turn of mind was analytic, stimulated and sustained his zeal for speculative inquiry.

Among the friends to whom Grote was introduced by Norman was a family of the name of Lewin, residing within a few miles of Beckenham: for Miss Harriet Lewin, one of the young ladies of this family, Grote soon conceived a profound and absorbing affection, which, as the result showed, was warmly returned. He was deterred however from telling his love by the misrepresentations of a treacherous friend who tried unsuccessfully to supplant him. His father perceiving the dejection which naturally followed on this disappointment soon ascertained the state of his son's affections, and exacted from him a promise that he would never propose marriage to any woman without his sanction. This promise was readily given at the time; but when Grote shortly afterwards discovered that he had been deceived, and that Miss Lewin was free, he appealed to his father to release him from the pledge he had so hastily given. His father, however, reluctant to incur the expense of establishing his son, who was dependent on him, inexorably refused, and all intercourse with the Lewin family was broken off. This happened in 1815; he did not see Miss Lewin again till he met her by accident in 1818, and though he had striven in the meantime to conquer his passion in obedience to his father's wishes, he was unable entirely to suppress it; he thus describes the meeting in which it was revived:—

"I had the happiness or misfortune (I know not which to call it, the feelings are so mixed) to see my dear friend and favourite,

Harriet Lewin, the other day, in Bromley. She was sitting with Charlotte and another lady in the carriage, which was waiting at the door of the 'Bell.' I stood there, and conversed with her for about ten minutes, but something—I know not what it is—kept me during the whole of the time in such a state of indescribable tremor and uneasiness, that I could hardly utter a rational sentence. She looked lovely beyond expression. Her features still retained the same life and soul which once did so magnetize me; I never have seen it, and I never shall see it, on any other face. My dear Harriet! It is terrible work. It is most cruelly painful to think that I can only appear to her in the light of one who has occasioned nothing but pain and uneasiness to her. Yet so it must be. I am sometimes tempted to wish myself an isolated being, without any family or relations, and nothing but those friends whom my own merit (little as that is) may attach to me, and to whom my affections flow spontaneously and ardently. Relations are a chain which drags a man on by means of his sense of duty. Happy is he who has fewest!"—p. 27.

After this meeting George appealed again to his father, and with such fervency and persistency that a grudging consent was given, on condition that his marriage should be postponed for two years. Miss Lewin's family were opposed to this long engagement, and were not unnaturally irritated at the evident reluctance of George's father to consent to the union: she herself shared this irritation, and could not entirely efface from her memory the mortifying circumstances which had brought her former intimacy with Grote to a close.

"Nevertheless, her long-cherished preference for George Grote, coupled with a discerning appreciation of his general character, and especially of its suitableness to her views of the value of literary communion and culture as an element of conjugal life, prevailed over all, and she acquiesced in the harsh conditions imposed by the elder Grote. Thus it came to pass that the future of these two young persons was stamped and irrevocably coloured by the events of the summer of 1818."—p.27.

While the course of this connexion remained broken, and George entertained no hopes of renewing it, he endeavoured with even added industry to occupy his thoughts with various kinds of study: in April, 1871, he thus writes to his friend Norman:—

"... Literature still continues to form the greatest attraction to my mind; it is the only pleasure I enjoy which leaves no repentance behind it. I send you down the best 'Lucretius' I have, and I think he will afford you much pleasure. Though the reasoning is generally indistinct, and in some places unintelligible, yet in those passages where he indulges his vein of poetry without reserve, the

sublimity of his conceptions and the charm and elegance of his language are such as I have hardly ever seen equalled. He is much superior to Virgil in every quality except chastity and delicacy of taste, wherein the latter has reached the utmost pinnacle of perfection. I likewise send you the Tragedies attributed to Seneca, which I think I have heard you express an inclination to read. I have read one or two of them, and they appeared to me not above mediocrity.

"I am now studying Aristotle's '*Nicomachean Ethics*.' His reasonings on the subject of morals are wonderfully just and penetrating, and I feel anxious, as I read on, for a more intimate acquaintance with him. Hume's *Essays*, some of which I have likewise read lately, do not improve, in my view, on further knowledge."—p. 19.

His studies seem as usual to have chiefly taken the direction of philosophy, history, and political economy, though his range was enlarged by wide excursions into the varied field of classical literature. His interest in political economy had secured him the acquaintance of David Ricardo, whose writings were at that time the chief authority on the subject. Through Ricardo he made the acquaintance of James Mill.

". . . I have breakfasted and dined several times with Ricardo, who has been uncommonly civil and kind to me. I have met Mill often at his house, and hope to derive great pleasure and instruction from his acquaintance, as he is a very profound thinking man, and seems well disposed to communicate, as well as clear and intelligible in his manner. His mind has, indeed, all that cynicism and asperity which belong to the Benthamian school, and what I chiefly dislike in him is the readiness and seeming preference with which he dwells on the *faults and defects* of others—even of the greatest men! But it is so very rarely that a man of any depth comes across my path, that I shall most assuredly cultivate his acquaintance a good deal farther."—p. 21.

The foundations of a lasting friendship were here laid, and the influence which James Mill exercised over Grote probably affected the whole of his future career. Few men saw much of James Mill without feeling his influence; Grote became his disciple as far as was possible for a vigorous and independent mind to acknowledge the sway of another, and in one of the latter years of his life it was his chosen task in the midst of his own strenuous activity to endeavour to rescue from unmerited neglect the works of one to whom he felt he owed so much. In 1863 he thus writes to John Mill:—

"I am glad to get an opportunity of saying what I think about your '*System of Logic*' and '*Essay on Liberty*;' but I am still more glad to get (or perhaps to *make*) an opportunity of saying something about your father. It has always rankled in my thoughts,

that so grand and powerful a mind as his left behind it such insufficient traces in the estimation of successors."—p. 278.

Through James Mill Grote made the acquaintance of Bentham, and he soon joined that band of ardent and enthusiastic disciples, who at the feet of the combative sage learnt those lessons of wisdom to which they were destined to give effect in the political struggles of the next generation.

In those days it needed not a little social courage to be a Radical; for Radicalism was then but a militant minority, against which all the forces of respectable society were massed in solid array. Though the Radicals were feared in politics, they were despised in society, and they were forced to meet contempt with defiance. Now that the struggle in which they engaged is over and the victory for which they fought is won, it is difficult for us who reap the benefit of their efforts to estimate the sacrifices by which it was obtained. But an instructive passage quoted by Mrs. Grote will help us to understand the obloquy which the early Radicals had to undergo, and will serve to explain the defiant attitude they were forced to assume. In 1837 the tide of political progress had begun—as in 1873—to ebb: the impulse which had passed the great Reform Bill was beginning to expend itself, and the lassitude which great impulses entail was creeping on. Grote, who in 1832 had been returned to Parliament by the City of London at the head of the poll with a triumphant majority, had in 1837 only distanced his Conservative opponent by a few votes, and in fact his return, until the poll-books had been finally cast up, was considered doubtful even by his friends. The *Times*, which was then as now the organ of respectability, timid when society pauses, rash when it is disposed to move, published a leader on the subject of the City election, from which the following extract is taken:—

"This gentleman has gained no ground with *any* class of Liberals in the City of London—yea, he has lost ground. Relatively to Mr. Wood, who is very fit to be a Radical Alderman, but has not wisdom to be anything beyond it; to Mr. Crawford, who is a commonplace jog-trot merchant; and to Mr. Pattison, who has just brains and respectability sufficient to qualify him for a banker's clerk, the showy speechmaker, Mr. Grote, has not so much as trodden upon the heels of any one of them.

"Now, we should like our readers to ask themselves wherefore is this stagnation, wherefore this retrogression? Possessed of every personal quality fitted to ingratiate him with his fellow-citizens of London, we must travel out of his social and private character to account for such a phenomenon of a few years' growth. It is therefore to the *political* attributes of Mr. Grote that we have to

turn for a solution of the difficulty. Messrs. Wood and Pattison and Crawford are Radicals, it is true—blind, stupid, mill-horses of the Democratic, or, as they fancy it, the Reforming Association. Nobody cares about them, nobody thinks about them;—whether they be in or out of Parliament, they are symbols of nothing—types of nothing; their re-election to the House of Commons, or their exclusion from it, would provoke no particle of speculation as to its causes, or of inference that those causes went beyond mere individual circumstances. But it is not so with Mr. Grote. That hon. gentleman has made himself the frontispiece of a revolutionary code. He has become the representative and the peculiar organ of whatever is most chimerical in theory, most reckless in experiment, most fatal and revolting in hostility to our national institutions. Mr. Grote personifies the *movement* system. He concentrates in himself the destructive principle, of which he is, substantially at least, if not vociferously, the most obstinate and incorrigible doctrinaire. Mr. Grote is one of those individuals of whom it may with truth be said that the progress of the public mind towards revolution would be most clearly developed as well as demonstrated by their increased authority over it: but that their political downfall or decline could originate in *nothing* else than a general reaction towards Conservatism amongst the people of England. Mr. Grote, if once more a member, which at midnight yesterday we were assured he was not, is still at the sag end of the City poll-book—still *boots* to the metropolitan concern. His station, even if returned for London, proves that there is something rotten in the state of Radicalism, that the principle of everlasting change begins to be abjured by its most zealous idolaters, and that if London does not advance, all the rest of England must ere long be retrograde. We heartily congratulate our countrymen on the decisive efficacy of this first great blow.”—p. 117.

This was written five years after the passing of the Reform Bill, twenty years after Grote first felt the influence of Bentham, and joined the Radical ranks. But its tone is a striking index of the mingled feeling of fear and contempt which the Radicals, even in their hour of triumph, inspired. If this was the feeling in 1837, what must it have been in 1820, when Radicalism was considered almost as criminal as treason, and quite as despicable as Dissent? Can we wonder at the defiant tone the Radicals adopted; at the narrowness of their creed; at the brusquerie which distrusted the advances of society, which admitted them only on sufferance to its ranks? We smile as we read Mrs. Grote's pathetic complaint, that in the early years of her married life she was compelled to forego the friendships she had made among the aristocracy, by the invincible aversion felt by her husband to everything tinctured with aristocratic tastes and forms of opinion; but the feeling was doubtless a sound one, and was the product not of pride but of self-respect. It is

pleasing, however, to find that in later years it was softened, and that Grote was an honoured guest at Holland House, at Bowood, and at Windsor; for it shows not so much that the austerity of the Radicals was in the first instance mistaken, but that society had recognised the utility of their efforts, and had appreciated the uprightness of their aims.

Having obtained the sanction of his father to his marriage, Grote set himself patiently to fulfil the conditions which had been imposed. Business and study—each strenuously and conscientiously pursued—marked as before the tenor of his life. His father steadily discouraged intercourse between his own family and that of the Lewins, and the lovers in consequence seldom met. In order therefore to keep Miss Lewin informed of the progress of his studies and thoughts, he kept a diary which was transmitted to her from time to time. Copious extracts from this diary are given by Mrs. Grote. We regret that we have not space to transfer them to our pages: they are the record of an industrious, patient, studious, and contented life. No word of impatience at the cruel obstinacy of his father escapes Grote, though he is occasionally dispirited by the long delay. He determines manfully to wait without repining, faithfully discharging his duties, and devoting his spare moments to systematic study. The final extracts from his diary will give a faithful picture of his life at this time:—

“*Friday, March 26th.*—Rose at 6. Read and meditated Kant for some time; wrote out my observations on foreign trade. Between 4 and 5 some more of Kant. Dined at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5; played on the bass for 1 hour; drank tea, and attempted to read some Kant in the evening, but found my eyes so weak that I was compelled to desist, and to think without book. Bed at 11. Journalized last 3 days.

“*Saturday, March 27th.*—Rose at 6. Finished my remarks on Foreign trade, and enclosed them to Ricardo. Studied some more of Kant. Went to Falcon Square and to Guildhall this day. Dined at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5; played on the bass for one hour; just as I was going to drink tea, George Norman appeared, and I was delighted to see him back again. Had some very interesting conversation about Ireland. After his departure I read a chapter in Ricardo’s ‘Pol. Econ.’ Bed at 11.

“*Sunday, March 28th.*—Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Studied Kant until $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, when I set off to breakfast with Mr. Ricardo. Met Mr. Mill there, and enjoyed some most interesting and instructive discourse with them, indoors and out (walking in Kensington Gardens), until $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3, when I mounted my horse and set off to Beckenham. Was extremely exhausted with fatigue and hunger when I arrived there, and ate and drank plentifully, which quenched my intellectual vigour for the night. Bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10.”—p. 36.

At last the two weary years came to an end, and George

Grote and Harriet Lewin were married in March, 1820, at Bexley Church, Kent. They soon settled in Threadneedle Street, in a roomy house adjoining the bank where Grote's father required that they should live. George was still entirely dependent on his father, who though abounding in wealth, granted him but a mean allowance so small as to entail much self-denial on the young couple. Mrs. Grote had been accustomed to a country life, and the confinement of the City soon began to tell on her health; a casual indisposition brought on a premature labour in January, 1821, and Grote's only child, a boy, lived but one week. Puerperal fever followed the premature delivery within three days, and Mrs. Grote's life was despaired of; she rallied however, and slowly recovered; but the effects of her illness lasted for years, and perhaps the violent neuralgic headaches to which she was always afterwards liable, may be traced to the same source.

By the bedside of his wife Grote's first public literary effort, a political pamphlet, was composed.

"It purported to be a reply to an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, by Sir James Mackintosh, and was expressly directed against the theory of class representation. As a piece of political controversial writing this work must be allowed a claim to respect, and moreover it is a creditable specimen of nervous correct English: though, as being a maiden essay, naturally over-laboured, and perhaps a trifle heavy in style."—p. 40.

Music, the practice of which he continued till 1830, when it was relinquished for more absorbing pursuits, study unremitting and intense, and an occasional excursion into the country in search of fresh air and healthful exercise, varied the monotony of commercial pursuits and gave a breadth and an intellectual purpose to the life of the secluded couple. They gradually gathered round them a group of friends of high intelligence and capacity, though the charms of society, even of converse with men of congenial pursuits, were never allowed to interfere with the more serious purposes which they both steadily kept in view. Independently of his own special studies which it appears from a letter to Norman in 1823 were beginning to be more directly devoted to the sources of Greek History, Grote undertook to direct the studies of his wife in those branches of knowledge which are generally neglected in a woman's education, "above all logic, metaphysics, and politics;" and their few moments of leisure were given to the society of those who could encourage and stimulate so laborious a life.

"George Grote having so little leisure, would not give up his time to any but such associates as were at once congenial and profitable. The elder Mill came frequently, dining in Threadneedle Street at least

once a week ; stimulating his younger disciple to continuous labour by his example and encouraging talk. Several eminent persons sought the choice society which from time to time met in that obscure corner of the City, and the influence exercised by their circle came to be felt* outside, with gradually augmented power. Mr. David Ricardo, Mr. John Smith, M.P., Mr. John Black (of the 'Morning Chronicle'), Mr. Cameron, Mr. Norman, Mr. Thomas Campbell (the poet), Mr. John Austin and his brother Mr. Charles Austin, Mr. John Romilly, Mr. Charles Buller, Lord William Bentinck, Mr. Bickersteth, Mr. Eyton Tooke, John Stuart Mill, John R. Macculloch, several instructed Italian refugees (M. de Santa Rosa, among others), Mrs. John Austin, and a few other female friends—all these, along with many more whom it is now unimportant to specify by name, contributed to form the society I speak of in Threadneedle Street, from 1822 down to 1830."—p. 42.

Mrs. Grote's health was so shattered by the results of her confinement, that though for a long time Grote had sustained the main burden of the business, and his presence in Threadneedle Street was almost incessantly needed, he found it necessary to take a house in the country, where he could live whenever his duties at the bank permitted. His first residence was at Fortis Green, beyond Highgate, and between this place and Threadneedle Street his time was passed until 1826, when he took another house at Stoke Newington. But the change of residence made no change in his studious habits ; he generally rose at six and spent all his spare hours in reading ; and it appears from extracts in his diary that he rarely read any work of an important author without taking copious notes and recording his impressions in writing. "The amount of notes, scraps, extracts, and dissertations which he wrote, and the greater portion of which is still preserved, attests the eager appetite for knowledge which devoured him."

But his purpose was beginning to take shape, and the subject of Greek history was already laying hold of his mind ; in January, 1823, he writes :—

"I am at present deeply engaged in the fabulous ages of Greece which I find will require to be illustrated by bringing together a large mass of analogical matter from other early histories, in order to show the entire uncertainty and worthlessness of tales to which early associations have so long familiarized all classical minds. I am quite amazed to discover the extraordinary greediness and facility with which men assert, believe, and re-assert, and are believed. The weakness appears to be next to universal, and I really think that one ought to write on the walls of one's dressing-room the caution of the poet Epicharmus—

Νῆφε, καὶ μέμνησ' ἀπιστεῖν ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρένων.—p. 41.

"Towards the autumn of the year 1823 Mrs. Grote, hearing the subject of Grecian History frequently discussed at their house in Thread-

needle Street, and being well aware how attractive the study was in her husband's eyes, thought it would be a fitting undertaking for him to write a new History of Greece himself; accordingly she propounded this view to George Grote: 'You are always studying the ancient authors whenever you have a moment's leisure; now here would be a fine subject for you to treat. Suppose you try your hand!'—p. 49.

Thus was the project conceived which thirty-two years later reached a glorious completion. During the time which elapsed between its first conception and the year 1845, when the first two volumes were given to the world, Grote never lost sight of his object, though his labours were long interrupted by the duties of political life which his fellow-citizens had laid upon him. Notwithstanding the wide range of his previous studies, many years were employed in the laborious preparation of materials, but the first fruits of his inquiries appeared in an article on Mitford's Greece, published in 1825 in the pages of this *Review* to which Mrs. Grote had previously been an occasional contributor.

In 1827 Grote projected a short tour to the Continent, which however, owing to the pressure of his business engagements, was never accomplished. One of his motives was a desire to seek the acquaintance of Niebuhr and to confer with him on the subject of their common historical studies. The two historians unfortunately never met; but Niebuhr, to whom Grote's name had been favourably recommended by his article on Mitford, wrote a most flattering letter from which we make the following extract, as furnishing evidence of the high reputation Grote had already gained as a scholar even beyond the limits of his own country and language:—

"To see you, Sir, to converse with you on the noble subject which occupies your leisure hours, and to which you have already shown yourself so eminently qualified to do justice, will be to me a most exquisite gratification. We both may be conscious, without personal acquaintance, that there exists between our principles and our views of history such a congeniality, that we are called upon to become acquainted, and to connect our labours.

"In Greek history, with perhaps a few exceptions of such points as I have been led to investigate, I have only to learn from you. If what I can offer you of the results of my researches about the later periods should contain anything worthy of your attention, I would feel happy and honoured."—p. 53.

In 1827 the first stone of the London University building was laid; Grote, who took to his dying day the keenest interest in this institution, and to whose fostering care not a little of its success was due, was one of the twenty-five members of the first council. Of these twenty-five one only now survives; the veteran statesman, Lord Russell. Much of Grote's time was occupied in

attending the meetings of the council, and in getting the details of the Institution into working order. At last, in 1828, it was opened with an inaugural address from Sir Charles Bell, and in a few weeks it attracted as many as 300 students. In the midst of these more congenial labours, the final withdrawal of his father from the banking business, in consequence of a stroke of paralysis, and the disturbed state of the commercial world, overwhelmed him with occupation and interrupted for a time the serious prosecution of his studies. Though keenly interested in political affairs, the pressure of other business, and the love of literary labour, compelled him for the present to hold aloof from active politics. So absorbed was he in business, that his attendance at the Council of the London University had for a season to be suspended; the only recreation he allowed himself is described in the following passage:—

“The study of Metaphysics and Mental Philosophy in general had always been one of the favourite pursuits of George Grote. In the winter of 1829, a small group of students in this branch of knowledge resumed the habit begun two years previous, of meeting at George Grote’s house on two mornings of the week, at half-past eight A.M.

“They read Mr. Mill’s last work, ‘Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind,’ Hartley on Man, Dutricux’s Logic, Whately’s works, &c., discussing as they proceeded. Mr. John Stuart Mill, Mr. Charles Buller, Mr. Eyton Tooke (son of Mr. Thos. Tooke), Mr. John Arthur Roebuck, Mr. G. J. Graham, Mr. Grant, and Mr. W. G. Prescott formed part of this class. Mr. George Grote was always present at their meetings, which lasted an hour, or an hour and a half, as time served.”—p. 59.

At last, in 1830, Grote found an opportunity to take the holiday he had long since earned and started with his wife for the Continent. The state of the weather deterred them from extending their tour to Switzerland and they only reached Paris, where they made the acquaintance of Charles Comte and Odillon Barrot. From Paris they returned rapidly in consequence of the illness of Grote’s father, who died before his son could see him in June, 1830.

Grote now found himself in a position of independence though for a long time to come circumstances prevented him from devoting himself exclusively to his self-appointed task. He became head of the family and inherited the Lincolshire estate together with a fortune of 40,000*l.*: but the affairs of the banking house still required his aid and he was embarrassed as executor with the administration and settlement of his father’s extensive property. He began too to take a more direct interest in public affairs, and the French Revolution of July called forth his most ardent sympathy; he at once opened a credit with his bankers

at Paris for 500*l.* for the use of the Committee who took the direction of affairs at the Hotel de Ville as representatives of the popular cause. The Reform agitation in England speedily followed and Grote was drawn into the vortex: still we find Mrs. Grote recording in December, 1830, that in the midst of all his pre-occupations and engagements he had managed to add several chapters to his "History" during the last five months. On February 1, 1831, she writes again as follows:—

"The 'History of Greece' *must* be given to the public before he can embark in any active scheme of a political kind. I have lately had, at times, a qualm of regret that I originally urged him to the undertaking. The crisis in public affairs is arrived more quickly than I then anticipated; but his reputation must be created by the 'opus magnum' (as John Mill calls the 'History'), and after it shall have reflected a literary renown upon its author, he may hope to derive an importance in the public eye adequate to sustain him in a political course."—p. 67.

A few weeks later he was strongly pressed to put him himself forward as member for the City; but after consulting with his friends he decided to refuse, though he gave willing support, personal and pecuniary, to the Liberal candidates.

In those days it was impossible not to feel keenly on politics; and though Grote must have felt that his true sphere of activity was literature, and though he continued to work steadily at his History, he could not refrain from taking an active part, at least with his pen, in the struggle for Reform. He addressed a letter to Earl Grey, earnestly deprecating any modification in the Bill; for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," had now become the cry from one end of the country to the other. At last the Bill was passed, and though Grote had previously shunned the struggle he now felt that his time was come, and that he was called upon to share the triumph of his friends. In June, 1832, he announced himself a candidate for the City of London in an address which formulated the Radical programme of the day. Parliamentary Reform to be completed by the adoption of Vote by Ballot and Triennial Elections, an inquiry into the constitution and revenues of the Church of England, the Abolition of Tithes, the removal of the Taxes on Knowledge, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, the extension of Education, and the elevation of the Labouring Classes, are the chief measures to which he promises his support. In his hesitation about the East India Company we may probably trace the influence of the Mills, while his cautious reserve about the Bank of England, and his solicitude for the trade of the City, are doubtless inspired partly by the prudence of the banker, and partly by consideration for the constituency he was anxious to represent.

After an exciting contest Grote was returned by a triumphant majority at the head of the poll.

The course of the History was now interrupted by the necessity of preparing for an active political life. Badgemoor the house Grote had inherited from his father had been sold in 1831, and in 1832 a house was purchased at Dulwich Wood which was considered not too far from London for the purpose of Grote's Parliamentary and commercial engagements. It was decided by several of his friends that Grote should be the person to undertake the Ballot question in the ensuing Session of Parliament, and much of the intervening time was spent by him in preparing his speech on the subject. He took lodgings close to the House of Commons, and spent there four or five days in each week, returning to Dulwich on Sundays, where he was generally joined by several of his political friends.

With the first Session of the Reformed Parliament begins what we have called the second period of Grote's life.

"A laborious youth, a studious manhood, and habits of seclusion, were the leading features of George Grote's personal life, up to the winter of 1832. That 'volume,' so to speak, is about to close, and a new one to commence of a very different character. His entrance upon public life came somewhat hurriedly, owing to the impetuous tide which forced him to step upon the stage earlier than he could have wished; but there was, for him, no drawing back, and Grote accordingly 'girded up his loins' for the task which awaited him.

"He had just completed his 38th year, and was consequently in the prime of manhood. His health was good, he had no children, and, though by no means free from burdensome obligations of the business kind, he calculated upon the possession of sufficient time to enable him to justify the expectations of his constituents, and the confidence of his friends."—p. 82.

Soon after Parliament met Grote gave notice of his motion on the Ballot for which he had been so long preparing. The debate was fixed for an early day in March, and it was the first occasion on which he addressed the House. He was heard attentively by a crowded house, and when he sat down, after speaking for more than an hour, he was greeted with cordial cheers which lasted several minutes. "The speech was immediately printed and circulated, and the Ballot question received an impulse which seemed to reach the farthest corners of the empire, judging from the letters which followed upon the debate." Grote's friends had every reason to be satisfied with his Parliamentary début, and he was speedily recognised by the Press as one of the leaders of his party in the House of Commons. The impression he made may be estimated from the following extract:—

"I may here mention in reference to this period that some twenty years later, the late Lord Broughton, talking with Mrs. Grote respecting the public career of her husband, used these words, 'I have been in Parliament all my life, have listened to the orators of the century, Mr. Canning among the rest, and I long ago made up my mind that the two best speeches I ever heard within those walls were (1) Macaulay's speech on the Copyright question, and (2) Grote's first speech on the Ballot; in this opinion (Lord Broughton added) the late Speaker, Mr. James Abercrombie, concurred with me.'—p. 84.

It is not necessary that we should dwell at length on Grote's Parliamentary career: it is the portion of his life which is well-known from sources independent of Mrs. Grote's book, and, viewed in the light of his subsequent history, it can but be regarded as a deviation from his appropriate course, an inevitable sacrifice to the stirring exigences of the times. Still it is not without its importance, for through it Grote acquired that practical conversance with great affairs, that familiarity with the working of free political institutions, that ready tact of the statesman, which stood him in such good stead when he came to deal with the political problems of antiquity. He was re-elected in 1835, and again in 1837, though on this last occasion he stood last on the poll, and only distanced his Conservative rival by a score of votes. He remained to the last a sturdy champion of the Radical programme, and he proposed annually his motion on the Ballot, though the support he received gradually diminished. The great impulse of 1832 was rapidly spending itself, and the Radical party found itself constantly dwindling in numbers and diminishing in influence. In 1836 Mrs. Grote writes:—

"Mr. Grote, and about five others, find themselves left to sustain the Radical opinions of the House of Commons. One evening, after all other guests had departed, Sir W. Molesworth and Charles Buller remained late at our house, talking of the present aspect of affairs. 'I see what we are coming to, Grote,' said Charles Buller; 'in no very long time from this, you and I shall be left to "tell," Molesworth!'—p. 111.

Still Grote maintained his strenuous activity and gave a powerful support to the great Liberal measures which occupied the attention of Parliament. He gave up his house at Dulwich Wood and established himself in Eccleston Street in order to be nearer to the scene of his labours; and during the Parliamentary recess he sought relaxation more than once in Continental travel. Of course his severer studies suffered serious interruption from his close attention to public affairs, and the *History* was perforce laid on the shelf for a time. But his

interest in literature, though dormant, was not extinct. About the year 1835 he made the acquaintance of Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Cornwall Lewis, and laid the foundation of a friendship which in after years was cemented into the closest intimacy by similarity of tastes and pursuits. Some of the most interesting letters in Mrs. Grote's volume are those which Grote wrote to Lewis during the composition of his History.

After his third election Grote speedily began to feel, partly from a change in his own sentiments, and partly from a gradual decline in political enthusiasm, that it was time for his Parliamentary career to draw to a close. In 1838 Mrs. Grote writes :—

“Grote is disheartened at the course taken by the Liberal party, so much so, that he turns wistful eyes upon his long-neglected books, and tries to solace his wounded spirit by communion with the sages and heroes of yore.”—p. 126.

And we find in letters and extracts that his interest in speculation and study was beginning to revive. He writes to Sir W. Molesworth :—

“Have you read Comte's ‘*Traité de Philosophie Positive*,’ of which a third volume has just been published? It seems a work full of profound and original thinking, and will be of service to you when you come to appreciate the physical and mathematical orbit of Hobbes. I am sorry to say, however, that I do not find in it the solution of those perplexities respecting the fundamental principles of geometry which I have never yet been able to untie to my own satisfaction. Nor can I at all tolerate the unqualified manner in which he strikes out morals and metaphysics from the list of positive sciences.”—p. 129.

In 1840 he is closely engaged in the systematic study of Aristotle: “The more I read of Aristotle, the more I am impressed with profound admiration of the reach of thought which his works display.” The following extract from a letter to Lewis shows also the direction of his reviving studies at the same period :—

“Since you departed from London, I have been reading some of Kant's ‘*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*,’ a book which always leads me into very instructive trains of metaphysical thought, and which I value exceedingly, though I am far from agreeing in all he lays down. I have also been looking into Plato's ‘*Timæus*’ and ‘*Parmenides*,’ and some of Locke, and have been writing down some of the thoughts generated in my mind by this philosophical *mélange*. I think it is somewhat to be regretted that the ancient distinction between *Form* and *Matter*, and the use of those two technical terms (which is necessary to preserve the idea of the distinction), has been so much discontinued of late years, so that the use of the words now is not understood, and subjects a man to the imputation of being crabbed

and pedantic. It is really a most important distinction, and one without which the *Methodus* of any large subject can never be comprehended; always, however, remembering that it is a distinction *purely logical*, and that the severance between the two cannot take place in reality. The two words are correlatives: neither Matter can exist without Form, nor Form without Matter; but yet the logical distinction is of the highest value, and pervades the whole mental process in philosophy—*Matter*, that which is not classified nor distributed, but is susceptible of being so; *Form*, that which classifies and distributes it, and constitutes the basis of *Denomination*. In the treatises of formal Logic, the Predicables occupy exclusive attention, to the exclusion of this correlation of *Form and Matter*, which is, in point of fact, presupposed, before the distinction of Genus and Species can be arrived at.

“Sensation seems to me to constitute all that can be called the *Matter* of our knowledge, as contradistinguished from its *Form* (both in *ordination* and in *combination*), which is something distinct from the elements of sense; this is the grand and primary distribution in all metaphysical analysis.

“The word *Class* has of late years been in part substituted for Form; but there, unluckily, the word *Class* has no correlate like *Matter*, and without such a word as *Matter*, the thorough import of Form, and the application of the formative or classifying process cannot be thoroughly understood. When I see you, I shall be glad to converse with you about this matter a little more in detail. It is a subject on which one can hardly talk intelligibly in a few words.”—pp. 134, 135.

In 1841 Parliament met in January, and during the debate on the Address Grote, in almost his last speech, made a powerful attack on the foreign policy of the Government; but a general election was impending, and Grote shortly afterwards announced his intention of retiring from the representation of the City.

“He had for some time recognised the inutility of devoting his best faculties to the maintenance in office of a party which he conceived to have failed to entitle itself to the approbation of sincere Liberals; and he felt indisposed to remain as one of so very small a number as now constituted the Radical cluster—public life being, to men like himself, only sweetened by the consciousness of performing effective service, and by sharing the sympathy of others bent on similar objects.”—p. 140.

In June of the same year he was replaced by Lord John Russell, while two of the other seats for the City were occupied by Conservative candidates. After spending the summer months in close attention to his banking affairs Grote set off in October with his wife for a prolonged tour on the Continent, which extended as far as Naples. They returned to England in April, 1842, taking Paris in their way, where they happened to be present

at the reception of their friend, Alexis de Tocqueville, as a member of the Academy.

After another spell of work at the bank, Grote settled down in the autumn of the same year at a residence which he had lately acquired at Burnham Beeches and applied himself steadily to his long-neglected studies. The first fruits of his hard-earned leisure appeared in an essay on Niebuhr's "*Griechische Heroen Geschichten*," which was published in this *Review* in May, 1843.

"This article, wherein the collected store of Grote's long and assiduous studies on the subject found a vent, was written with uncommon zest, and he anticipated with lively curiosity the effect it would produce on the learned world. It broke ground, avowedly, in the field which he proposed to enter upon yet more seriously in his History, and served as a kind of foretaste of the treatment of those remote ages in preparation for his readers.

"This striking essay, well known to all scholars, excited great attention at the time, and has repeatedly been referred to since, as a most finished piece of learned, critical inquiry."—p. 152.

In the summer of 1843 Grote determined to retire from the banking-house of Prescott, Grote, and Co. with which he had been connected for nearly thirty years. He was now working hard at his History, devoting at least eight hours a day to its composition, and he felt that all other considerations became secondary to this main object. His fortune was ample and secure, though it was diminished in amount by his retirement; but he had now found and was bent on realizing his life's purpose without let or hindrance. He received on his retirement a most gratifying letter of farewell from the clerks in his employ.

From this time forward the history of Grote's life is the history of his works; and it is to this period that the passage from Goethe, which Mrs. Grote quotes, on the death of his father, may be more appropriately applied :—

"All men of elevated nature, in the course of their development, acquire the consciousness that they have a double part to play in the world—an actual and an ideal; and in this feeling the ground of all nobleness is to be looked for.

"Man is, with regard to his higher destiny, always the subject of internal uncertainty until he, once for all, determines to regard that as the right course which is adapted to his character and abilities."—p. 62.

In 1847 he visited Paris where he made the acquaintance of Auguste Comte :—

"M. Comte was scarcely known to any one with whom we habitually consorted. He attracted, in fact, little or no attention; insomuch that some of our friends, MM. Cousin and F. Arago among the number appeared to wonder what pleasure we could find in the company of

this obscure uncouth person. He was, at this period, employed as mathematical examiner at the 'École Polytechnique' in Paris; a post of which the Government thought fit to deprive him, not long afterwards.

"Mr. Grote found M. Comte's conversation original and instructive, and on returning to London he became active in promoting the circulation of M. Comte's works, as being calculated to expand the circle of speculative investigation among English students."—p. 158.

We have already seen that Grote had been greatly attracted by Comte's speculations, and it is well known that he together with Sir W. Molesworth and Mr. Raikes Currie contributed generously to the support of the philosopher when he was deprived of his post by the French Government; but it does not appear that he was ever a sworn disciple of Positivism; his attitude towards it was similar to that of Mill—one of friendly and appreciative criticism; in a letter of later date addressed to Lewis, we find the following remarks—the interest of the subject will excuse the length of the extract:—

"In Comte's fifth volume there is a great deal which is as unsatisfactory to me as it is to you. In his speculations respecting what he calls *sociology* and the progress of society, I find more to dissent from than to agree with. I respect very much his conception of philosophical method, especially with reference to the physical sciences; but his views respecting history and the moral sciences are, in my judgment, on many points faulty and untenable. I agree with you in thinking that 'an *abstract history*,' independent of time, place, and person, is a chimera. But there are, nevertheless, certain general conditions and principles, common to all particular histories, and which are essential to enable us to explain and concatenate the facts of every particular history. These general principles and conditions of human society may be presented by themselves, with illustrations from this or that particular history. In this way you may have what may be called (very improperly, I think) an *abstract history*, or, what I should call, a philosophy of history.

"John Mill says more in praise of Comte's speculations on history than I think they deserve. You say you have no distinct notion of *fetichism*, as representing a stage of the human mind. I have (at least so it seems to me) a very distinct *notion* of it, but I doubt very much, as matter of fact, whether it ever constituted so marked a stage of the human mind as Comte would make out. His affirmations on this point,—positive beyond all reasonable estimate of the existing evidence,—indicate that he has not himself got rid of that tendency which he so justly condemns in others—the hankering to divine the mysteries of inchoate or primordial man, where there is no torch to light up the dark cavern.

"I agree with you also in thinking that much of what he says about polytheism is fanciful and incorrect. Think of a man assuming it as an *attested fact* (*un fait capital*, v. 254) that Thales actually taught

the Egyptian priests to measure the height of the pyramids by the length of the shadows! I set little value upon what he says respecting polytheism and monotheism: but I agree entirely with his classification of the two stages of the human mind, *l'état théologique* (either polytheistic or monotheistic), and *l'état positif*, together with what he calls *l'état métaphysique*, to form a bridge between them, and I think he has the merit of having set forth the radical antithesis and incompatibility between these two modes of interpreting phenomena better and more emphatically than it had ever been done before. He keenly feels and clearly perceives where it is that religion traverses and perverts the interpretation of physical phenomena. But as to *moral* or *social* phenomena, he recognises no standard except his own taste and feeling; and this has been passively adopted, in him, from the Catholic teaching of his youth, though he has eliminated all the religious *échafaudage* with which it was once connected.

"What he calls *progress* is often, in my judgment, change for the worse, and the general indications which he holds out of what is to be aimed at (for he never sets down or defends *any* rational standard) are just what you would hear from a Catholic priest, always excepting the religious doctrines. His morality is the commonplace of Catholic divines of the present day—divinizing chastity, and making light of individual prudence; and he applies this standard to judge of the morality of Athens and Rome, as if all the points on which they differed from it were points of comparative corruption.

"Moreover, I do not at all trust his knowledge of the *facts* of history. He has never gone through any careful study of the evidence nor ever read anything beyond the expositions of Bossuet and Montesquieu, and a few such others—certainly men deserving of much respect, but by no means to be implicitly followed, and both immersed in that Catholic atmosphere which Comte takes to be the *true Olympus*, or region of pure air, to which the moral man has at length ascended, and beyond which he cannot and ought not to aspire. Comte has banished *the Gods*, but he breathes and extols their atmosphere of morality as if it were purity itself. I do not know whether you will understand or follow the remarks which I have made on Comte; the subject is almost too wide to be touched on in a letter."—pp. 203–205.

In January, 1845, the first two volumes of the "opus magnum," as it was playfully called by Grote's friends, were ready for the press, but it was not till March, 1846, that they were given to the world by Mr. Murray.

"Grote was unusually agitated and curious as to the result. He had not long to wait, however; for the perusal of these original and learned disquisitions upon the early history and legends of the ancient Greeks awakened among students and literary societies the liveliest impression. From all sides congratulation and eulogy flowed in upon the author; insomuch that he himself now began to entertain something like confidence in the success of his long cherished work. Thus I became, for once, witness of a state of feeling on his part approach-

ing to gratified self-love, which at times would pierce through that imperturbable veil of modesty habitually present with him.”—p. 163.

The work, as it well deserved, was most favourably received. George Lewis and Hallam among the author's friends were delighted with it, and the latter declared that its reception and appreciation by scholars was one of the most striking facts within his literary experience. Unelated by his sudden success Grote at once set himself to renew his labours with such assiduity that the third and fourth volumes made their appearance in April, 1847. Volume succeeded volume in rapid succession considering the wide extent of ground to be covered and the vast mass of materials to be digested. The fifth and sixth came out in 1848, the seventh and eighth in 1850, the ninth and tenth in 1852, the eleventh in 1853, and the work was finally completed by the publication of the last volume at the end of 1855. Thus ten years had been devoted to the composition and publication of this great work; but it was the result of a long life of study, and many years had, as we have seen, been previously spent in its preparation. Grote's reputation as a scholar, already high, had been enormously raised during the publication of the work. In 1853, when his name was already reckoned in the first rank of European scholars, the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred on him by the University of Oxford at the installation of Lord Derby as Chancellor. It was Grote's first visit to Oxford, and it is pleasing to find that the impression which he carried away from the University, whose learning he had done so much to revive, was a pleasant one.

“Grote, personally, was a *little* nervous on finding himself in the thick of the Academic throng for the first time in his life; all the circumstances of his own literary career having run in a channel so distinct from that in which college men travel, he felt like a stranger introduced into the privileged fraternity. But I am bound to add that he returned from Oxford full of grateful and complacent feelings; the cordial welcome given to the non-academic scholar seemed to tell upon his mind, whilst his classic taste was moved to lively relish by the few sentences of elegant Latin addressed to him on his reception, by Lord Derby, of which he expressed much admiration.”—p. 216.

The ten years during which Grote was chiefly engaged in the composition of his *History* were not spent in absolute seclusion: his retirement from business had rendered him master of his time, and though his application to work was continuous yet he occasionally found leisure for intellectual and social converse with his friends.

“Grote never deviated from his system of daily labour; he retired after breakfasting at 9 A.M., to his library, whence he rarely emerged until the afternoon hours. His guests always respected his studious

ways, and accepted the pleasure of his company with all the more relish, since it was limited in its measure."—p. 170.

He continued to live at Burnham, first at his house at the Beeches, and afterwards at a small cottage which he had built out of the profits of his literary work and which had come to be called in consequence "History Hut." Here, and at his house in London (he removed from Eccleston Street to Savile Row in 1848), he received much society, including Jenny Lind and Mendelssohn, with both of whom a warm friendship was established during their visits to England. In 1847 he undertook a solitary journey to Switzerland.

"The dissensions between the Cantons appeared to him so curiously to resemble those which went on in the old Grecian world between neighbouring 'states,' that he resolved to make a personal investigation of the actual facts. Taking a letter or two of introduction to some individuals, persons of importance in Aargau and Appenzell, but advisedly refusing those offered to him addressed to leaders of either party, George set forth, quite alone, at the beginning of July, for Geneva.

"I received a letter from him, within a fortnight after his arrival in Switzerland, containing an outline of the 'situation' of the contending parties; and it seemed to me so striking and instructive, that I sent the letter for publication to the *Spectator*. Another followed at no long interval, which duly appeared in that excellent paper.

"After Grote's return, he judged it desirable to add to these first statements his general impressions of the civil war, and in the autumn we printed the whole series—Newby of Mortimer Street being our publisher. Some months subsequent to this volume's appearance, Mr. Newby was applied to one morning by Lord Palmerston's private secretary, for a copy of the 'Letters on Switzerland.' 'Have not a copy left, sir!'—'Well, but you *must* get me one somehow or another.'—'Wherefore so urgent, sir?'—'Because,' replied the Secretary, 'Lord Palmerston, being at Windsor yesterday, Prince Albert manifested unusual earnestness on the subject of Swiss disputes, and soon asked Lord Palmerston whether he had read Grote's little book. Lord Palmerston replied he had not seen it. 'Then,' said the Prince, 'you cannot be qualified to enter fairly upon the discussion of the affairs of Switzerland; pray go and study it directly.'"—pp. 175, 176.

Mrs. Grote's pages devoted to this period of her husband's life are full of interest; Grote was now in the zenith of his fame and was surrounded by friends of mark in literature, politics, and society. But his own life was tranquil and uniform and furnishes little of note to the reader save the friendships which adorned it. We cannot refrain from extracting the generous tribute paid by the venerable Bishop of St. David's, himself a Historian of Greece of no mean fame, to the more elaborate work of his old schoolfellow:—

"I must reproach myself for having allowed you to remain so long

in any degree of uncertainty as to my opinion of your work ; but I have found it easier to express it to others than to yourself.

“ I will now only say that my expectations, though they had been raised very high, were much more than fulfilled by your first two volumes ; and in its progress the work appears to me to have been continually rising, not perhaps in merit, but in value. And when I consider that the most interesting part of your subject lies still before you, I cannot doubt that the feelings of admiration and delight with which I have hitherto accompanied it, will grow stronger and stronger as it proceeds.

“ I should have been ashamed of myself if those feelings could have been stifled or abated by my necessary consciousness of the great inferiority of my own performance.

“ When I reflect on the very unfavourable condition of a gradually enlarged plan and other adverse circumstances under which it was undertaken and prosecuted, I may well be satisfied with that measure of temporary success and usefulness which has attended it, and can unfeignedly rejoice that it will, for all highest purposes, be so superseded.”—pp. 173, 174.

Grote’s incessant labour only increased as the work drew to a conclusion, for the excitement of finishing his great undertaking irresistibly drew him on. Mrs. Grote thus chronicles the end of all the toil :—

“ I remember that I had a bowl of punch brewed at Christmas for our little household at History Hut, in celebration of the completion of the ‘ opus magnum ;’ Grote himself sipping the delicious mixture with great satisfaction whilst manifesting little emotion outwardly, though I could detect unmistakable signs of inward complacency as I descanted upon ‘ the happiness of our living to see this day,’ and so forth.”—p. 224.

“ I have presumed,” says Gibbon, “ to mark the moment of conception ; I shall now commemorate the hour of my final deliverance. It was on the day, or rather night, of the 27th of June. 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve, that I wrote the last lines of the last page, in a summer-house in my garden. After laying down my pen, I took several turns in a *berceau*, or covered walk of acacias, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake, and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene, the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all nature was silent. I will not dissemble the first emotions of joy on recovery of my freedom, and perhaps, the establishment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind, by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that whatsoever might be the future date of my history, the life of the historian must be short and precarious.”*

These two passages mark with emphatic contrast the tone and the temper of the two historians. Gibbon in his *berceau* at

* Smith’s Gibbon, vol. i. 117.

Lausanne calmly contemplating nature, Grote at History Hut sipping with great satisfaction a "delicious mixture" of punch.

No sooner was the history completed, than Grote set himself to prepare for the second part of his great design, an account of the Philosophy of Plato; but he consented to afford himself a short recreation and holiday, of which no doubt he stood greatly in need, and started with Mrs. Grote for a short tour in France and North Italy, in the spring of 1856. In the winter of 1857-8, he became a member of "The Club," an association of literary men which, founded in the time of Johnson, still survives: it was only by a sort of playful stratagem suggested to Lord Overstone by Mrs. Grote that the Historian was induced to allow himself to be nominated a member; but he gradually became attracted by the meetings where he found as he said "the best literary *talk* to be had in London." In 1858, while staying at St. Germain's for the benefit of his wife's health, he was attacked by a painful inflammation of the eyes, which for the time forced him to suspend all literary labour.

"The only drawback to me—and a terrible drawback it was—presented itself in the shape of an inflammation of my eyes, the exterior membrane called the *conjunctiva*. For nearly a month I could neither open a book nor take up a pen: even in the open air I was obliged to wear a shade, and could see very little. I was made keenly to feel the value of good vision to an intellectual man, and the justice of that Greek tragic metaphor by which *βλέπων* is used as equivalent to *ζῶν*."—p. 243.

In 1859 being anxious to try the experiment of living in the country the Grotes took and occupied Barrow Green House, which had formerly belonged to Bentham; here they entertained many friends during the two succeeding winters, though the work on Plato was prosecuted with little interruption. Grote had been nominated in 1859 a trustee of the British Museum, occupying a vacancy which had been caused by the death of his friend Hallam, and his attendance at the meetings, which was always very regular, afforded him useful relaxation from his more serious mental exertions. In 1861 he refused in the interest of his studies the pressing request of his friend Sir G. Lewis, at that time Home Secretary, that he would extend his sphere of public duty by taking a place on a Commission of Inquiry which was about to be appointed: his letter to his friend is so characteristic that we extract a considerable portion of it.

"The Commission of Inquiry to which you allude in your note is one of importance, and one to which it would be an honour to belong; but I regret very sincerely to say that I cannot serve on it.

"My reason is simply this: I am already a member of three administrative Boards, which, taken together, absorb quite as much of

my time as I can possibly abstract from study. On all of them I attend regularly, and perform an active part; for I have always had strong objection to being enrolled on a Board and not attending to it regularly; and, in point of fact (as you know well), members who do not attend *regularly* might as well not attend at all.

"The three Boards are, the British Museum—the University of London—University College. The two last of the three I cherish especially, because they openly proclaim and sincerely carry out the principle of purely secular instruction, literary and scientific,—without any reference to religion. In the British Museum also I take a warm interest, partly from the same absence of the religious element, partly from the great force of positive association with its prodigious treasures of art, literature, and science. Last month, when the Standing Committee were re-elected, and when the attendances of all the members for the past year were numbered and laid on the table, my number of attendances were thirty-two exceeding that of any other trustee.

"You will easily understand that the total amount of my time taken up by these three Boards is very considerable, seeing that I not only regularly attend, but assume as much of the initiative as becomes me. I have the satisfaction of feeling, too, that I exercise as much influence as I can reasonably pretend to. In this respect an Administrative Board conveys much more satisfaction than a Board of Inquiry, in which latter, after all, you end only in recommendations, and the *best* recommendations are never carried out.

"My work on Plato and Aristotle proceeds, but it proceeds much more slowly than I like; and if I undertake any more public duties I fear it will hardly proceed at all. At my age, I cannot count on a long continuance of mental energy."—p. 251.

As it was, his close attention to public business and to study seriously affected him, and he went to Barrow Green in June, 1861, thoroughly out of health. Country air, quiet, and medical treatment soon restored him however, and after a round of visits in the autumn he resumed his labours as before. In 1862 he was strongly urged by his friend John Mill to join him in a projected tour in Greece. The temptation must have been a powerful one; to visit the scenes with which in thought he was so familiar in the company of one of his most cherished friends was an attraction which it required some fortitude to resist. But his age and his health forbade him to think of so long and exhausting a journey, and he felt himself reluctantly compelled to forego the proffered enjoyment. Age was coming upon him, and his one anxiety and care was to be spared to complete his "Trilogy" as he was wont to call the History, and the projected works on Plato and Aristotle. In April, 1863, his beloved friend Sir George Lewis died, and Grote was plunged in grief for the devoted friends were fellow-labourers in the same field, and had lived in the closest communion of study and reflection. In

order to revive his spirits, Mrs. Grote proposed that they should accept an invitation from Dr. Stanley, now Dean of Westminster, to pay him a visit in Oxford. Grote consented, though with reluctance, for he was always averse to social exertion, and several happy and memorable days to which Grote always reverted with pleasure, were spent in Oxford. We have not space to extract the account of the visit, which is extremely interesting, but Mrs. Grote's summary of her conversation with Oxford teachers may be given:—

“Grote and Mill may be said to have revived the study of the two master sciences—History and Mental Philosophy—among the Oxford undergraduates. A new current of ideas; new and original modes of interpreting the past; the light of fresh learning cast upon the peoples of antiquity; such are the impulses given by those two great teachers, that our youths are completely kindled to enthusiasm towards both at the present time.”—p. 268.

In 1864 Grote was elected a Foreign Member of the Institute of France in the place of Lord Macaulay; this was a distinction which he highly prized not only for itself but for the flattering letters of congratulation which he received from personal friends as well as from distinguished Continental *savans*. Another and a last change of country residence took place at this time. Barrow Green had been found too far from London and had been disposed of, and now a house near Albury Park, ultimately called “The Ridgway,” was selected by Mrs. Grote and purchased by her husband. In the spring of 1865 the long-expected volumes on Plato were published, and while the work was greeted enthusiastically by the author's friends, it was favourably received by independent scholars. Mill wrote a notice of it which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, and attracted much attention. We shall speak of this work more at length when we have brought our account of Grote's life to a close.

There remains little more to tell. Grote was now advanced in years, and the inevitable end could not be far distant, but he did not abate his labours. Even before the Plato was published he set to work on Aristotle, for he felt that his time was growing short.

“No sooner had the Plato been completed, and the printing begun, (viz in Sept. 1864), than the author ‘set the loom’ afresh for his Aristotle. Scarcely permitting himself breath, as it were, he applied his spare hours to the preparation of the third part of what he used to call ‘my Trilog.’ ”—p. 277.

As is well-known, this last work was never completed, and English scholarship has suffered an irretrievable loss. Much of

the material on which it would have been based had no doubt been long since collected; for we have seen that even before the publication of his History Grote had been an ardent student of Aristotle's works. But the Aristotelian literature, ancient and modern, is of itself almost the study of a lifetime, and we can but admire the indomitable spirit which urged Grote in his seventieth year, though fully aware of its extent, to undertake so gigantic a labour. It would appear from the posthumous fragment, which has been edited by the historian's friends Professors Bain and Robertson, that he had accomplished before his death much of the preliminary labour, and had made some progress in his account of the separate treatises of his author, though none of his work had received his final revision. But he frequently interrupted the course of his labours in order to prepare special dissertations on various points, more or less connected with his main purpose—such as "Realism and Nominalism," "The Epicureans and Stoics," "The Doctrine of Common Sense," "The *De Animâ*," of Aristotle—to be published in the works of his friend Professor Bain. In this last paper we probably have the most valuable results of Grote's Aristotelian studies; indeed it is evident from the following passage that it was so regarded by himself:—

"Over and above the contributions to Mr. Bain's 'Manual,' already enumerated, the paper, or whatever it may be called, on Aristotle's *De Animâ*, occupied Grote's studious hours for not less than eight months; thus suspending the course of his main work for an equal period. To my affectionate remonstrances against his over-generous sacrifice of time and labour in the service of another man's books, he would reply, that, in elaborating the subject for Mr. Bain, he was in some sort enlarging his own conceptions, and acquiring a greater mastery of the field on which he hoped to enter later on his own account. Once he said, with a slight accent of solemnity, 'Should I not live to complete my Aristotle, those who follow me will find, in my paper on the *De Animâ*, the soul and essence of that great Philosopher's thought and speculations, and they will be assisted to work out the vein for future students by what I have done before them.'

"In truth, I feel a profound conviction that Grote himself regarded these 70 pages (they occupy this space, as reprinted from 'The Senses and the Intellect' of Bain, in the published volumes of his Aristotle, 1872) of the *De Animâ* as the purest product of his own mental crucible. Never had he bestowed more intense, more sustained meditation, on any piece of intellectual work, than was concentrated upon this favourite *morceau*. It was so absorbing, that he would even familiarly talk about it when we were taking our walk together. I could plainly perceive, in short, that he felt inwardly conscious of having hung up his shield in the Temple of Philosophy, when he completed this paper."—p. 293.

We can scarcely share Mrs. Grote's regret that his own special work was interrupted for the preparation of this paper; for it is but too probable that had he not for the sake of Professor Bain's treatise taken the subject out of its proper order, it would never have been reached at all, and its omission would have been a serious loss to all students of Aristotle.

The year 1866 was marked for Grote by the controversy concerning the Chair of Logic at University College. This controversy raged violently at the time, and Grote was in the thick of the fray; but it is happily well-nigh forgotten now nor do we feel disposed to revive its memory. Perhaps neither party gained much credit from the struggle; and we know not whether least to admire the conduct of Mr. Martineau's supporters who would have preferred the suppression of the chair to the nomination of his rival, or that of his opponents who veiled their distrust of his philosophical teaching under the technical objection that he was an Unitarian minister, and a theological professor in a totally independent institution. To Grote, the life-long champion of that school of philosophy which Mr. Martineau had often so powerfully opposed, the question at issue seemed to be a vital one, and he perhaps forgot his habitual fairness in the ardour of so keen a struggle: inductive philosophy was to him what orthodoxy is to a theologian.

In 1868 Grote's health was manifestly giving way, though he still continued his close attention both to study and to public business. In the following year his medical adviser recommended a course of the Homburg waters, and they were tried but only with injurious effect. In the autumn of the same year the offer of a peerage was made to him in the most flattering terms by Mr. Gladstone; but Grote "respectfully, yet *very decidedly*" declined it on the ground that he was unwilling to extend the area of his public duties:—

"I am engaged in a work on Aristotle, forming a sequel to my work on Plato: and as I am thoroughly resolved to complete this, if health and energy be preserved to me, I feel that (being now nearly seventy-five) I have no surplus force for other purposes.

"When I was in the Commons formerly, I well remember the dissipation of intellectual energy which the multifarious business of legislation then occasioned to me. I must therefore now decline a seat in the House of Lords, for the same reasons which have induced me, more than once, to decline the easy prospect of a renewed seat in the Commons."—p. 307.

Grote did not live to see the Ballot become the law of the land; but he lived to change his own opinion on the question which he had been the first to raise in the region of practical

politics. In 1870, when the Ballot agitation was beginning to be renewed, the following conversation with his wife is reported :—

“ ‘ Well, then, you will have lived to see your own favourite measure triumph over all obstacles, and you will of course feel great satisfaction thereat ? ’

“ ‘ I should have done so had it not been for the recent alteration in the suffrage. Since the wide expansion of the voting element, I confess that the value of the Ballot has sunk in my estimation. I do not in fact, think the elections will be affected by it, one way or another, as far as party interests are concerned. ’

“ ‘ Still, you will at all events get at the genuine preference of the constituency in choosing their candidate. ’

“ ‘ No doubt ; but then, again, I have come to perceive that the choice between one man and another, among the English people signifies less than I used formerly to think it did. Take a section of society, cut it through from top to bottom, and examine the composition of the successive layers. They are much alike throughout the scale. The opinions, all based upon the same social instincts : never on a clear or enlightened perception of *general interests*. Every particular class pursuing its own, the result is, a universal struggle for the advantages accruing from *party* supremacy. The English mind is much of one pattern, take whatsoever class you will. The same favourite prejudices, amiable and otherwise ; the same antipathies, coupled with ill-regulated, though benevolent efforts to eradicate human evils, are well-nigh universal : modified, naturally, by instruction, among the highly educated few ; but *they* hardly affect the course of out-of-doors sentiment. I believe, therefore, the actual composition of Parliament represents with tolerable fidelity the British people. And it will never be better than it is, for a House of Commons cannot afford to be above its own constituencies in intelligence, knowledge, or patriotism. ’ ” — pp. 312, 313.

The ardour and enthusiasm of the old Benthamite radical is here softened by the maturer wisdom of the philosophic historian, and we find that on other points his opinions had considerably changed. He would own, not however without a mournful tone and manner, in 1870, that “ I have arrived at the conviction that it will never be possible to govern Ireland otherwise than as a conquered country. ” He never shared the keen sympathy of his friend Mill with the cause of the North in the American Civil War, and in 1867 his views on Republican institutions were expressed as follows :—

“ I have outlived my faith in the efficacy of republican government regarded as a check upon the vulgar passions of a majority in a nation, and I recognise the fact that supreme power lodged in their hands *may* be exercised quite as mischievously as by a despotic ruler like the first Napoleon. The conduct of the Northern States, in the late con-

flict with the Southern States, has led me to this conclusion, though it costs me much to avow it, even to myself."—p. 314.

"Those who knew George Grote," Mrs. Grote justly remarks, "will appreciate the homage rendered to reason when, in deference to its force he could bring himself to put aside the long-cherished impulses of his generous nature."

His sympathy and love for France received a rude shock from the wanton declaration of war in 1870, for he could not persuade himself that France was in the right; but as the war went on he was extremely pained by the cruel reverses which France had to suffer.

Though now a very old man, Grote's health remained substantially unimpaired till the end of 1870; but he was able to endure less continuous study than before and indulged more freely in sleep during the intervals of his labour. His intellectual vigour was undimmed though his power of continuous work was diminished. One of his last public acts was to maintain by his advocacy and vote the integrity of classical studies at the London University against a motion proposing to render Greek optional at the Matriculation Examination brought forward by Mr. Hutton. He had always been a strenuous opponent of the anti Humanists on the University Council. The rejection of Mr. Hutton's motion was no unfitting close to his active connexion with the institution he had so loved and cherished.

In November, 1870, Grote took a chill while sitting for his portrait in Mr. Millais's studio, and this was the beginning of the end. He long refused to consider himself an invalid, but his health was gradually failing, and though with returning spring he was able to quit his house, and even once or twice to attend to business, yet the hand of death was upon him. On the 18th of June he died tranquilly and painlessly at his house in Savile Row. On the 24th of June he was buried, in accordance with the request of his friends, in Westminster Abbey, his funeral being attended by a throng of scholars and statesmen. His resting-place is near that of Gibbon. "I selected the spot in the south transept," wrote the Dean of Westminster, "in what Fuller calls the 'learned side' of Poets' Corner. Camden and Casaubon look down upon the grave, and Macaulay lies a few feet distant."

Thus lived and thus died one of the first of English scholars. Uneventful as his life was, it reads throughout the great lesson of blameless integrity of purpose, and earnest devotion to noble objects. We have written the foregoing pages to little purpose if it has not been made abundantly clear that here was a life, not splendid in fame, but solid in achievement, not stirring in adventure, but

happy in its contented peace, and informed and beautified by the disciplined enthusiasm of its unwearied activity. Our account of it may be most fitly concluded with the beautiful and touching lines of Chaucer, which Mrs. Grote writes, as it were, on the grave of her husband :—

“And though that he was worthy, he was wise,
And in his port as meek as is a maid.
He never yet no vilanie ne said,
In all his life, unto no manner wight.
He was a very parfitt gentle knight.”

We have left ourselves but little space for an account of the works which were the fruit of Grote's lifelong labours, and anything like an adequate critical estimate of them is at present quite out of the question. Perhaps, however, we may be permitted very briefly to indicate the view which such an estimate should in our judgment adopt, and to illustrate that view by a few quotations from the works themselves.

The “History of Greece” has been described as a pamphlet in twelve volumes in defence of democracy. There is about as much truth in this as there is in such epigrammatic judgments generally, for it sets in not undeserved prominence one, but only one, of the special characteristics of the work. Grote, as we have seen, was an ardent politician, and a foremost disciple of that school which, under the guidance of Bentham, was destined first to divert and then to direct the current of political thought in England. Though all the immediate followers of Bentham were able and most of them learned in their own special line, Grote was probably the only distinguished classical scholar amongst them. So, while Austin and Romilly devoted themselves to law, the Mills, father and son, to logic and mental philosophy, the sphere of history and of classical antiquity fell naturally to Grote, whose early studies, as we have seen, had taken, not exclusively, but chiefly, that direction. To this must be added the fact that the “History of Greece” had been written by one of Grote's immediate predecessors, not merely with political bias, but with violent political passion in the anti-democratic sense. It was Grote's task to redress the balance, and to show how history could be written by a man of strong political feeling in such a way that, while his sympathies were manifest, his judgments and conclusions could rarely be impugned. The result resembles less the pleading of an unscrupulous advocate, paid to make the best of his case and at the worst to blacken his opponent's character, than the summing up of an upright judge, whose decision points to a certain verdict because the facts of the case demand it. We may see the difference in a moment

by comparing Mitford's work with that of Grote. Whatever may be the value of the purely historical narrative of Mitford (and there can be no doubt that he was a learned scholar) no one would dream for a moment of paying any attention to his political judgments. On the other hand, all students of Greek history must confess that, valuable as is the whole of Grote's history, its political judgments are incomparably its most valuable part. Its learning, prodigious as it is, is matched by many an obscure German, and is drawn largely from German sources; its style, to say the least, is simple, and is surpassed by more than one historical writer of far inferior eminence; but it is the work of a political philosopher and of a statesman conversant with great affairs, who never concealed his political sympathies, though he rarely, perhaps never, allowed them to obscure his judgment. Hence political sagacity is the glory of Grote, as political passion was the shame of his predecessor. The following remarks by one well qualified to judge, so admirably illustrate this view, that we cannot refrain from quoting them:—

“Grote himself was a great German scholar, and all the *learning* on which his History is founded, is almost exclusively drawn from German sources. I lay stress upon the word ‘learning,’ because there are many valuable parts of Mr. Grote's history which are certainly English, and personal to himself. In talking of his work with Germans, I have always found them take this tone: they consider it a most valuable work, and it is one of their main school books. They say, ‘The learning is nothing new to us; it is all derived from German sources. We can put our hands upon everything that he says in previous German works; but as a member of the English Parliament as a citizen of a free country, and an imperial country, having lived in great circumstances, and having himself taken part in great affairs, he stands at a point of view which no comparatively enslaved and confined German could ever reach.’ They consider his work immensely valuable for that reason, because he, as a citizen of a free country, was better able to understand the times, we may say of Pericles and the republicans of Athens, than any German could do who has been a political serf.”*

This gives accurately the “note” of the “History of Greece,” the sagacity of the statesman sustained by the learning of the scholar. Athenian democracy lives again in the pages of Grote. We look in vain, it is true, for the consummate art which adorns the page of Gibbon,† for the almost religious enthusiasm which

* Report of Parliamentary Committee on Oxford and Cambridge Universities Education Bill. July, 1867.—Evidence of Dr. W. C. Perry, p. 249.

† It is worthy of note that Grote, in a conversation which Mrs. Grote reports, while doing full justice to Gibbon's massive learning, his conspicuous

inspires the pen of Arnold ; but the vivid portraiture of institutions and of men, the vigorous realistic imagination which recalls antiquity into life, the single-minded honesty of purpose—these give to the work, in the eyes of earnest students, an irresistible and inexhaustible charm. We select two passages in which these qualities are conspicuously manifested.

One of the most extraordinary events in all Grecian history, says Grote, was the mutilation of the *Hermæ*, which took place at Athens just before the departure of the Sicilian expedition during the Peloponnesian war. In one night all the images of the *Hermæ* throughout the city were found to have been defaced. The consternation of the citizens was intense, and the historian thus estimates the effect of the sacrilege on the religious imagination of the Athenians :—

“ It is of course impossible for any one to sympathize fully with the feelings of a religion not his own ; indeed the sentiment with which in the case of persons of different creeds, each regards the strong emotions growing out of causes peculiar to the other, is usually one of surprise that such trifles and absurdities can occasion any serious distress or excitement. But if we take that reasonable pains, which is incumbent on those who study the history of Greece, to realize in our minds the religious and political associations of the Athenians—noted in ancient times for their superior piety, as well as for their accuracy and magnificence about the visible monuments embodying that feeling, we shall in part comprehend the intensity of mingled dismay, terror, and wrath, which beset the public mind on the morning after this nocturnal sacrilege, alike unforeseen and unparalleled. Amidst all the ruin and impoverishment which had been inflicted by the Persian invasion of Attica, there was nothing which was so profoundly felt or so long remembered as the deliberate burning of the statues and temples of the Gods. If we could imagine the excitement of a Spanish or Italian town, on finding that all the images of the Virgin had been defaced during the same night, we should have a parallel, though a very inadequate parallel, to what was now felt at Athens—where religious associations and persons were far more intimately allied with all civil acts and with all the proceedings of every-day life—where too, the God and his efficiency were more forcibly localized, as well as identified with the presence and keeping of the statue. To the Athenians, when they went forth on the following morning, each man seeing the divine guardian at his doorway dishonoured and defaced, and each man gradually coming to know that the devastation was general,—it would seem that the town had become as it were godless—that the streets, the market-place, the porticos, were robbed of their divine protectors ; and what was worse still, that these protectors, having been grossly insulted, carried away with them alienated sentiments, wrathful and vindictive instead of tutelary and sympathizing.

impartiality and his other historical merits, expresses great dissatisfaction with his style.

It was on the protection of the gods that all their political constitution as well as the blessings of civil life depended ; insomuch that the curses of the gods were habitually invoked as sanction and punishment for grave offences, political as well as others : an extension and generalization of the feeling still attached to the judicial oath. This was, in the minds of the people at Athens, a sincere and literal conviction,—not simply a form of speech to be pronounced in prayers and public harangues, without being ever construed as a reality in calculating consequences and determining practical measures. Accordingly they drew from the mutilation of the Hermae the inference, not less natural than terrifying, that heavy public misfortune was impending over the city, and that the political constitution to which they were attached was in imminent danger of being subverted.”*

This has always seemed to us one of the happiest efforts of Grote’s historical imagination. In the passage we are about to quote, we shall find no less eminently displayed the soundness of his historical judgment.

The severe and impartial Thucydides in his account of the disastrous failure of the Athenian expedition to Syracuse treats with unwonted tenderness the failings of Nikias the commander-in-chief of the expedition. There is no doubt that Nikias was an amiable and an honest man, but there is unfortunately as little doubt that the disaster at Syracuse was largely due to his incapacity. In ordinary times and under circumstances of less urgent responsibility his character would have redeemed or at least veiled his incapacity ; but not even his tragic death nor the dishonour with which the Athenians visited his memory can excuse the historian who is blind to his conspicuous demerits. It is greatly to the credit of Grote that he had the good sense and the courage to reverse the judgment of Thucydides.

“The opinion of Thucydides deserves special notice in the face of the judgment of his countrymen. While he says not a word about Demosthenes beyond the fact of his being put to death, he adds in reference to Nikias a few words of marked sympathy and commendation. ‘Such, or nearly such (he says), were the reasons why Nikias was put to death ; though *he* assuredly, among all Greeks of my time, least deserved to come to so extreme a pitch of ill-fortune, considering his exact performance of established duties to the divinity.’

“If we were judging Nikias merely as a private man, and setting his personal conduct in one scale, against his personal suffering in the other, the remark of Thucydides would be natural and intelligible. But the General of a great expedition, upon whose conduct the lives of thousands of brave men, as well as the most momentous interests of his country, depend, cannot be tried by any such standard. His private merit becomes a secondary point in the case, as compared with the discharge of his responsible public duties, by which he must stand or fall.

* “History of Greece,” vol. v. p. 147 (edition in 8 vols.).

"Tried by this more appropriate standard, what are we to say of Nikias? We are compelled to say that if his personal suffering could possibly be regarded in the light of an atonement, or set in an equation against the mischief brought by himself on his army and his country, it would not be greater than his deserts. . . Admitting fully both the good intentions of Nikias, and his personal bravery, rising even into heroism during the last few days in Sicily—it is not the less incontestable, that first, the failure of the enterprise,—next, the destruction of the armament—is to be traced distinctly to his lamentable misjudgment. Sometimes petty trilling—sometimes apathy and inaction—sometimes presumptuous neglect—sometimes obstinate blunders, even to urgent and obvious necessities—one or other of these, his sad mental defects, will be found operative at every step whereby this fated armament sinks down from exuberant efficiency into the last depth of aggregate ruin and individual misery. His improvidence and incapacity stand proclaimed, not merely in the narrative of the historian, but even in his own letter to the Athenians, and in his own speeches both before the expedition and during its closing misfortunes, when contrasted with the reality of his proceedings. The man whose flagrant incompetency could bring such wholesale ruin on two fine armaments entrusted to his command, upon the Athenian maritime empire, and ultimately upon Athens herself, must appear on the tablets of history under the severest condemnation, even though his personal virtues had been loftier than those of Nikias.

"And yet our great historian—after devoting two immortal books to this expedition—after setting forth emphatically both the glory of its dawn and the wretchedness of its close, with a dramatic genius parallel to the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophokles—when he comes to recount the melancholy end of the two commanders, has no words to spare for Demosthenes (far the abler officer of the two, who perished by no fault of his own), but reserves his flowers to strew on the grave of Nikias, the author of the whole calamity.—'What a pity! Such a respectable and religious man!' " *

We have said that grace of style is not the most conspicuous merit of Grote's work; but there is a straightforward simplicity about his manner of writing, which sustains the reader's interest and keeps his attention alive. The passages quoted above are no unfavourable specimens of this his habitual mode of work. Who that has ever read them can forget the manly defence of Cleon, the vigorous criticism of the popular view of the Sophists, the noble portrait of Socrates, and the matchless disquisitions on the growth of the Athenian constitution? Most of these it is true are points which have more interest for the critical student than for the general reader: but the scale on which the *History* is constructed makes it altogether a book rather for students and scholars than for a wider circle of less instructed

* "*History of Greece*," Vol. v. p. 306, (edition in 8 vols).

readers. That it is not however incapable of attracting the attention and even stirring the imagination of men whose ordinary pursuits and interests are widely removed from scholarship, the following passage from Mrs. Grote's book most completely shows:—

“Sir William Gomm served for some time in India, and indeed had been commander of the forces there. Being at Simla, he occupied himself with the study of Grote's ‘History of Greece,’ having got hold of the first five volumes. He was so absorbed in the book, that he made copious notes upon portions of it; which notes I have since had the privilege of reading, and Mr. Grote also looked through them. The observations and comments indicate an attentive following of the author's text, especially in connexion with the military incidents, on which Sir W.'s remarks are pertinent and even instructive. He said he had burned with desire to go and view the site of the battle of Marathon with Grote's book in his hand. ‘It has been objected,’ I observed, ‘by critics, that the story of Marathon was too coldly narrated in Grote.’

“‘Not at all!’ replied the veteran, ‘it is excellently told, and I have read it over often with delight.’

“When I mentioned my conversation with Sir William Gomm to Grote, he obviously felt flattered at finding he had stirred up so much enthusiasm in the old soldier's breast by his description of that immortal combat. The author and his admirer met more than once afterwards, and exchanged conversation with mutual interest; ‘the Greeks’ being the chief topic of course.”—p. 298.

It was not without misgiving that the admirers of the “History of Greece” heard that its author was about to turn his attention to the philosophy first of Plato and secondly of Aristotle. For it was not known then, as we have learnt since, how prominent a position speculative literature had occupied in Grote's early studies, and it was even doubted whether the qualities of mind which he had shown in his previous work were exactly those which would qualify him as a successful expositor and critic of Plato. Still the chapters on the Sophists and on Socrates in the History and a pamphlet which had been published on the cosmogony of the *Timæus* of Plato sufficed to show that Grote would bring his habitual soundness of judgment and his unrivalled industry and learning to the elucidation of a subject, which had been rather forced upon him as a branch of his main purpose, than chosen by him as one to which his powers were specially adapted. When the second part of the “Trilogy,” the work on Plato, was published, it was found that these anticipations were realized. Regarded as the work of a professed historian, as an excursus or supplement to his main treatise, the “Plato” is a remarkable success, but it is scarcely entitled to the almost unqualified admiration which every candid student will

yield to the History itself. The style is distinctly inferior—less finished, more involved and diffuse, resembling more the out-pouring of a well-filled note book than the harmonized issue of sustained reflection. Of Plato's thoughts and teachings we have an adequate picture, and many criticisms, all acute, some profound, of his distinctive doctrines; but of the man himself, his ethereal charm, his exquisite grace, his subtle humour, his distinction, his urbanity, scarcely a trace; all has vanished in the crucible of a destructive analysis. It may be urged that this is inevitable; but Professor Jowett has shown in his masterly and exquisite introductions to the Dialogues of Plato, translated by him, that it is not so: and though his graceful deference to his "father Parmenides" withholds him from direct criticism of Grote's work, his own more finished performance is an indirect criticism which is all the more telling because it is unintentional. The fact is that though Grote's studies lay at one time in the direction of poetry and imaginative literature, yet the æsthetic side of his mind was the side which if not the least cultivated at any rate bore the least fruit; and to the critic of Plato, the æsthetical faculty is that which, next to a sound judgment, is unquestionably the most indispensable. Moreover Grote had early adopted the tenets of a somewhat narrow philosophy, and he never entirely shook himself free from the trammels of pure Benthamism, a philosophy which however adequate within its legitimate sphere, is scarcely coextensive with the whole of human life. That Mill, the stern and passionate advocate of morality at all costs, should consider his friend's criticism on the 'Republic' as the most striking part of the whole work fills us, we confess, with astonishment; it appears to us, on the contrary, that in the chapter entitled "Remarks on the main Thesis" (of the "Republic") the inadequacy of Grote's criticism and the insufficiency of his views, are most clearly manifest. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul," is the burden of Plato's teaching; and it can scarcely be considered an adequate answer to say, as Grote substantially does, that if he redeem his soul a man may reasonably expect to inherit the world as well and that the expected inheritance is an indispensable motive to the sacrifice.

Still, with all its drawbacks, the "Plato" is a great and notable work, and a worthy sequel to the "History of Greece." The same qualities are manifested in both,—sober and acute judgment, massive and profound learning, sound common sense and transparent honesty, though, as we have said, these furnish a less adequate equipment for the critic of philosophy than for the general historian. We can only permit ourselves space for a single extract—not so much a brick from a house, as a stone

from a quarry, for the work is rather a collection of materials than a finished building. Grote is analysing the Greek conception of *Nóμος* :—

“ This aggregate of beliefs and predispositions to believe, ethical, religious, æsthetical, social, respecting what is true or false, probable or improbable, just or unjust, holy or unholy, honourable or base, respectable or contemptible, pure or impure, beautiful or ugly, decent or indecent, obligatory to do or obligatory to avoid, respecting the status and relations of each individual in the society, respecting even the admissible fashions of amusement and recreation—this is an established fact and condition of things, the real origin of which is for the most part unknown, but which each new member of the society is born to and finds subsisting. It is transmitted by tradition from parents to children, and is imbibed by the latter almost unconsciously from what they see and hear around, without any special season of teaching, or special persons to teach. It becomes a part of each person’s nature—a standing habit of mind, or fixed set of mental tendencies, according to which, particular experience is interpreted and particular persons appreciated. It is not set forth in systematic proclamations, nor impugned, nor defended : it is enforced by a sanction of its own, the same real sanction or force, in all countries, by fear of displeasure from the Gods, and by certainty of evil from neighbours and fellow citizens. The community hate, despise, or deride, any individual member who proclaims his dissent from their social creed, or even openly calls it in question. Their hatred manifests itself in different ways, at different times and occasions, sometimes by burning or excommunication, sometimes by banishment or interdiction from fire and water ; at the very least, by exclusion from that amount of forbearance, goodwill, and estimation without which the life of an individual becomes insupportable : for society, though its power to make an individual happy is but limited, has complete power, easily exercised, to make him miserable. The orthodox public do not recognise in any individual citizen a right to scrutinize their creed, and to reject it if not approved by his own rational judgment. They expect that he will embrace it in the natural course of things, by the mere force of authority and contagion as they have adopted it themselves : as they have adopted also the current language, weights, measures, divisions of time, &c. If he dissents, he is guilty of an offence described in the terms of the indictment against Sokrates.—‘ Sokrates commits crime, inasmuch as he does not believe in the Gods, in whom the city believes, but introduces new religious beliefs,’ &c. ‘ Nomos (Law and Custom), King of all ’ (to borrow the phrase which Herodotus cites from Pindar), exercises plenary power, spiritual as well as temporal, over individual minds ; moulding the emotions as well as the intellect, according to the local type—determining the sentiments, the belief and the predisposition in regard to new matters tendered for belief, of every one—fashioning thought, speech, and points of view, no less than action—and reigning under the appearance of habitual, self-suggested tendencies. Plato, when he assumes the function of Constructor, establishes special

officers for enforcing in detail the authority of King Nomos in his Platonic variety. But even where no such special officers exist, we find Plato himself describing forcibly (in the speech assigned to Protagoras), the working of that spontaneous, ever-present police, by whom the authority of King Nomos is enforced in detail, a police not the less omnipotent, because they wear no uniform, and carry no recognised title."*

Of the "Aristotle" we have neither space nor inclination to speak at length; it is a fragment, a torso, and from the broken outlines that remain we can but faintly conjecture what the finished work would have been. It is matter for sincere regret that Grote thought himself called upon to devote his attention to Plato before he began to work on Aristotle, for there can be little doubt that the turn of his mind would have rendered him a better critic of Aristotle than he could ever have been of Plato. It is the more to be regretted, perhaps, that having reached Aristotle he spent his energies on the somewhat unprofitable technicalities of the later treatises of the "Organon," and postponed, till it was too late, the consideration of those ethical and political treatises, whereon his rare political experience and his unrivalled knowledge of Greek life would have entitled him to speak with the authority of a master. But it was not to be. The "Ethics" and "Politics," those matchless works whose wisdom is never exhausted, have missed a commentator whose like we shall long seek in vain.

One word in conclusion. It is the distinction of England among the nations of Europe that, outside her academical ranks, and independently of her professional teachers, there have always been found a few men in every generation able and willing to devote themselves to mature study and research unsupported by endowment and unstimulated by the hope of gain. We may look in vain in England for the all-pervading activity in every department of thought which marks the Universities of Germany, for the august but exclusive Academy which rules the literature of France. But neither France nor Germany can show a parallel to the Grotes, the Mills, the Darwins, the Spencers—to that academy without restrictions, to that university without endowments, which rules the thoughts and moulds the destinies of England.

* "Plato," vol. i. p. 249.

ART. VIII.—FRANCE AND ITS GOVERNMENT.

IN his "Literature and Dogma," Mr. Arnold professes to explain why France is the object of attraction to other nations. She is the representative of "the average sensual man," and as we all have in us the lower self which is developed and nurtured by gratifying the "wishes of the flesh, and of the current thoughts," we all have an affinity with her. The affinity grows into admiration when we see how confidently and harmoniously France develops this lower self. Instead of developing it hesitatingly, or it may be grossly, France does it equally and systematically, making the most of the sensual man, because, Mr. Arnold says, she knows what she is about and keeps in a mean, as her climate is in a mean, and her situation. "Her famous gospel of the Rights of Man" is but the definition of "the wishes of the flesh and of the current thoughts," and the gratification of these wishes as equally and as much as possible is the goal of human happiness and the perfection of society. So France, more than any country, in the entirest good faith keeps cherishing and pampering the senses, or the apparent self of man, and does it with such logic and clearness and moderation as to excite universal admiration. In other countries there are other ideals which have influence over men, and these interfere to prevent the same harmonious nurturing of the ideal of "the average sensual man." Still we all, of whatever nation, feel the sweetness of the French ideal and hanker after it, often desiring to try it. The attraction of which France is thus made the centre, and the admiration which she knows she excites react upon the French people, intensifying their faith in their own mission, and their zeal for propagating French civilization so as to make it everywhere predominant. "Since everybody has something which conspires with this Ishmael, his success, again and again, seems to be certain; again and again he seems drawing near to a world-wide success, nay, to have succeeded;—but always, at this point, disaster overtakes him, he signally breaks down. At this crowning moment, when all seems triumphant with him, comes what the Bible calls a *crisis*, or judgment."

Mr. Arnold has allowed free play to his fancy in this sketch. It contains a certain amount of truth, for France both continues to draw the eyes of the nations in her prostration as when before she bestrode Europe like a Colossus, and her strangely fascinating interest for men is not assuredly due to the maintenance of any of those nobler ideals of life and the destinies of nations that fix all regards. It is curious it should be so. At the present time

when the centre of European gravity has been transferred from Paris to Berlin, and Germany is waging a desperate struggle with superstition, it might have been supposed the young German empire would have been the cynosure of all eyes. The movement against Papal supremacy, the revolt against the authority and claims of Ultramontanism now witnessed in Germany, is one of the greatest movements of modern times, in order to obtain a parallel to which we must go back to the Reformation. It is the completion of the work then begun. The struggle of the sixteenth century was between Nationalism and the spiritual despotism of a system that claimed to be supreme over nations. The conditions are changed, but the fight is essentially still the same. Roman Catholicism is putting forth its last effort to keep the human mind in bondage to superstition. With a dexterity and skill which prove its adaptability to all phases of society, it is striving to lord it over governments and nations, through the very instrumentality by which freedom was expected to become universal. By bringing all its power to bear upon the electors who choose the rulers in countries in which there are representative institutions, it hopes to control the springs of government. We have an example in Belgium of how the plan operates, and how it may succeed. Ultramontanism dominates the course of Belgian politics, because the priests bring their influence to bear upon the electors, and are able by a free use of religious pains and penalties to control the majority. The same thing was illustrated in the overthrow of the Gladstone Administration last March. The Irish phalanx which determined the majority against the Government, acted in obedience to the Ultramontane councillors who have gained the supremacy at the Vatican. Everywhere throughout Europe we see signs of the same battle between nationalism and spiritual despotism. Germany leads the way in putting the curb on Jesuitism and Ultramontanism. Prince Bismarck's fight with the Ultramontanes is a matter with which we are all concerned, for we too must set limits to the aggressions of the Romish Church and make sure of the authority of the nation in all matters in which British subjects are interested. Yet though the German movement against the spirit and plottings, the political intermeddling and the effort to foster sedition among German subjects of the Catholic Church, comes very near to us; though there is so close a parallel between the relations of Ireland to England and those of Elsass and Lothringen to the new Empire that the Imperial Chancellor in a recent speech in the German Diet illustrated the latter from the former, and showed the identity of the work being done in both by the emissaries of Rome, it is France not Germany in whose politics the British people are most profoundly interested. The contiguity of the

two countries may partly account for this, but that is by no means all. The interest in French politics is not confined to England. All over Europe the recent developments of the drama played at Versailles were watched with the same feverish anxiety. Stricken down and exhausted France is still the centre of universal attraction. Paris is still able to boast that civilization waits on her every movement like a menial. Even in presence of the triple alliance of the great empires of central and eastern Europe, France seems to hold in her hand the key of the European situation. All the world wonders after her, and in sickness as in health, in the weakness of her crippled power as in the flush of her success, she compels the reluctant homage of men.

The rapidity and completeness of the transformation by which her Government has been lately transformed from a Republican to a Monarchical—Monarchical in spirit though not in form—is one of the most remarkable of the political experiences which even France has known. It occurred with a regularity and a suddenness which increased the effect of the surprise excited by the change. In a single day, nay, in a few hours, the Government of France was revolutionized. It was a revolution in substance though not in form. The President of the Republic for two years was swept away and his Government displaced, and the novelty for France was that this was done without any appeal to force, by a mere vote of the National Assembly. On the morning of Saturday, 24th May, France awoke under M. Thiers; on the evening of the same day she went to sleep under Marshal Macmahon. Three agitated sittings of the Assembly in that brief interval, a few speeches, and a couple of votes, and the character of the Government was changed. But it was not a change in the tenure of power from one political party to another, as often happens in Constitutional countries. The misfortune of France was that her parties were not within the lines of the Constitution, so far as she might be said to have a Constitution. It was the overthrow of a Government which ruled France on the recognised basis of Republican institutions, and whose whole aim was to prepare for the complete and stable founding and development of those institutions, by a coalition whose several sections were united in the desire to make the Republic impossible, but had no other bond of union, since they looked for at least three different solutions of the problem what was to take its place. Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists formed an ill-assorted alliance for the moment to strike a blow at the Republic. What was to come after was left to be determined by circumstances or the influence of the strongest. Each, of course, hoped it would be able to further its own special object. In the

meantime there was to be a truce among them while they joined to carry on the Government in an anti-Republican spirit, and with the view of making a Republic impossible. M. Thiers came into power pledged to uphold the truce between parties which was signalized by and resulted in the Pact of Bordeaux. M. Thiers was bound not to further the interests of any single party. But he was also bound, as the condition of the co-operation of the Left, not to injure the Republic. He could not therefore, had he wished, without breach of faith encourage the schemes of the Monarchists. While abstaining from forcing events, while allowing to the country the opportunity of making up its mind, so that when the hour came it might settle the Constitutional question definitively, he must yet rule France with a view towards the establishment of the Republic as the form of Government that least divided Frenchmen. The force of circumstances, had there been no engagement between M. Thiers and the Left, would have compelled him as a prudent statesman to adopt this course. He did not break the Pact of Bordeaux because he assumed the impracticability of Monarchy and the necessity of a Republic. The field was open to all parties, and if the Right had been able to persuade France in favour of a Monarchy, M. Thiers doubtless would not have opposed, though after his engagement with the Left he might have retired and left to others the task of preparing for the Monarchy. As it was, he strove to be scrupulously fair to all parties in the National Assembly. He relied exclusively upon none and abstained from giving a party colour to his Government. He respected the truce of parties and sought to rule with the help of all. The alliance by which he has been overthrown, after two years of power, has also a truce of parties as the condition of its existence. United by the negative bond of enmity to the Republic, but differing fundamentally as to the form of Government that should take its place, it could not move a step unless there had first been agreement to sink temporarily the differences that divided the several sections. Their union must be on the ground of passive conservatism only, and, as we shall see, that becomes an important consideration in its bearing on the future.

The denouement at Versailles on the 24th of May was, as we have said, unexpected, but the crisis that led to it was carefully prepared for and had been long foreseen. Even the measure of negative union necessary to the truce between Legitimists, Orléanists, and Bonapartists, could not have been improvised at the moment. The readiness with which M. Thiers's resignation was accepted and the Right proceeded to take the command of the vessel of the State, showed that all the measures

likely to be deemed necessary had been taken beforehand. On previous occasions of resignation by M. Thiers, as when the dispute occurred between him and the Assembly on the taxation of the Raw Material, there was unmistakable dismay on the part of the majority at the idea of such an issue, and he was entreated to remain. There was nothing of the sort on the 24th May. The vote, and the situation to which it led, were the result of causes that had been in operation for nearly a year, but which had worked with accelerated energy and rapidity since M. Thiers declared for the termination of the Provisional Government and the institution of the Republic, last November. There had gradually grown up estrangement which slowly but surely ripened into hostility between M. Thiers and the Conservatives, who plumed themselves on being the majority of the Assembly. The Right bitterly complain that he gave encouragement to and received support from their enemies of the Left. Not ruling France through or by means of a party, M. Thiers would not commit himself to the Right and take his Ministers and policy wholly from them. They resented his independence and accused him of playing into the hands of the Radicals because he did not exclusively rely upon the Conservatives. They forgot—for it was not convenient for them to remember—that in acting as he did M. Thiers was following in the course of conciliation inaugurated by the truce of parties. He would not make his Government one of party, pure and simple. He occupied a position that raised him above parties, and laid upon him the duty of moderating their mutual animosities and preventing them tearing each other in pieces, or any one of them from getting the mastery over the others. For a time the necessities of the general situation compelled the Conservatives to acquiesce in, while cursing in their hearts, this fidelity to the Pact of Bordeaux. Even French factions were awed, if not to silence, yet to tolerance of a régime not according to their mind, by consideration of the state of the country. The legacy of miseries left by the German invasion and the civil war, insured M. Thiers's temporary ascendancy. All sections of the Assembly concurred in his rule so long as the frightful wounds of France were gaping, and his wisdom and good sense were employed in healing them. Therefore they refused his resignation with one accord when it was offered. Order was maintained and the country was being liberated from the foreign yoke. M. Thiers was felt to be indispensable so long as the mighty task remained unaccomplished of paying the war indemnity and getting rid of the invader, so as to give France command of herself again and allow her to be free to conduct her own affairs, but meantime the Conservatives comforted themselves with the reflection that

the Government was provisional, and that so long as that was the case there was no necessity to be in haste about the question of Republic or Monarchy. Was not the President bound by the Pact of Bordeaux to do nothing to compromise the provisional character of the situation?

Of course it was impossible that the Pact of Bordeaux could continue to be observed in the sense in which the various sections of the Right required and professed to expect it. The Government was provisional, but M. Thiers was no longer the mere Chief of the Executive. The Assembly itself had made him President of the Republic. The Republic actually existed and showed itself able to satisfy the wants and necessities of the country. The French people saw this, and anxious for peace and order that so they might be able to carry on their business from day to day in quietness, they looked more and more with favour on the Republic. Evidently there could not be an everlasting equipoise between Republic and Monarchy, just because the country would not and could not remain in the state of perpetual hesitation on the subject. The Conservatives professed to expect that, but meanwhile they violated the conditions of the equipoise themselves by taking every opportunity of furthering their own sectional interests. The Pact of Bordeaux was not allowed to stand in their way if it seemed that anything could be gained by preaching and promoting a solution of the political problem in a Monarchical direction. Of course the result was to make it more and more difficult, amid the strife of parties at Versailles, to maintain an authoritative Provisional Government at all. The Right lost no chance of striking a blow at its authority, and there was no small danger of the task of the Government being rendered impossible through their factious manœuvres. This circumstance hastened what was sooner or later inevitable. The Government was necessitated to take sides. It was felt by M. Thiers that the provisional situation could not endure longer. Even his dexterity and adroitness in managing the refractory steeds on which he performed in the Versailles theatre could not make them pull together in the practical business of legislation. M. Thiers may have erred in choosing his time, but that a time must have come in any case when the provisional situation should end and France should obtain a definite Constitution was not a question. Nor could it end in any way but one, unless the country was to be deluged with blood and involved in the miseries of civil war. Any attempt to terminate it by installing a monarch or an Emperor at the Tuileries must have had that result. M. Thiers made up his mind to bring matters to an issue. The Assembly separated last autumn in uncertainty as to what was coming. When it met again after the vacation

it was to hear from the President that the time had arrived for terminating the provisional system. On the 12th of November M. Thiers read a message to the Assembly at Versailles, in which he declared it was necessary to proceed to establish the institutions essential to the national life under Republican forms of government. This was the signal for war. The Right from that moment regarded M. Thiers as its enemy. From that moment may be dated the origin of the crisis which found its issue in the overthrow of M. Thiers and his Ministry on the 24th of May, 1873.

M. Thiers had tried to rule upon national as distinguished from party principles. He committed many blunders, and he was not always so firmly and wisely devoted to the principles of free government as to escape being guilty of sins against liberty. But he had gauged the disease of France, and had some conception of the true remedy. He saw clearly that in the past, ever since the first Revolution, the fundamental evil in France had lain in the supremacy of a party, faction, or section of the community over the whole country, and in the selfish persistence with which the party that gained the ascendancy for the moment subordinated considerations of patriotism and regard for the general good to its own sectional ends. There had been successive triumphs gained by various parties, and each in turn when it grasped the reins of Government, and was able to direct the national force, made use of it for its own purposes. Whether Revolutionists, Imperialists, Legitimists, or Orleanists won the ascendancy, each played the same game. Each in its own hour of triumph did what it denounced when its rival vaulted into the saddle. From this had come general instability, and that sense of revolutionary feverishness which had long prevailed throughout France. Each party that came to rule in turn succeeded by force, and perished by the force that had given it the victory. Each represented but a small fraction of the French people. It has been by energetic minorities that France has been governed since the Revolution of 1789. It went plodding on in the same monotonous circle, and there was no hope of anything better until a new direction had been given to French politics, until means were taken to enable the country to rule itself instead of being at the mercy of the party which was able by any happy accident to secure the temporary supremacy. M. Thiers sought to give this new direction to French politics. He would conduct the government, pay off the indemnity, maintain order, and get rid of the foreigner, and in the meantime the country would have the opportunity of making up its mind as to the form of rule it desired. This was a new experiment in France, and if M. Thiers and his ministers were not always scrupulously

faithful to the conditions requisite to give it a fair trial, that is nothing surprising considering how unusual the attempt was. But it may be objected, did not the President transgress these conditions and take it upon him to decide for France what it was essential France should be left to decide for herself when he recommended the adoption of Republican institutions? Did he not thereby give the Right a pretext for accusing him of breaking his compact and allying himself with the Left? The result of the November message was his support by the Left, which rallied round him the moment he pronounced for the Republic. So far as M. Thiers gave this party character to his government he was forced to do it by the Right itself. By deserting and throwing him over it left him no option, but to get support wherever he could find it. There was no reasonable ground for this desertion. M. Thiers had done no despite to conservative principles. He pointed out to the Assembly which was sovereign, the dangers of the perpetuation of the provisional régime, but he left the decision of the question of how these dangers might best be met to the Assembly. He declared for the Republic as the only possible government in the present condition of France, but he was only anxious to be guided by the lessons of experience and the indications of the wishes of the French people. His work was wholly practical, and in suggesting the creation of national institutions under a Republican form of rule he was only solicitous to establish organs for the national life such as the nation might be able to use, because it found them in harmony with its character and habits, and fitted to promote its interests. The experiment of letting a constitution for France develop itself, as it were, out of the practical necessities of the French people, of giving it the means and opportunities of growing, was so novel that the Conservatives failed to understand it. Had they been able wisely to read the signs of the times, they would have seen that this was the only way in which France could emerge from the dreary circle in which she had revolved since the Revolution, and that it was conservative in the best sense of the term. But the Right would not or could not comprehend this. The mention of the Republic was enough to inflame their passions and prejudices. They saw in the President's message of last November nothing but an attempt to give to their rivals of the Left power to direct the policy of France. The President was bidding for their support, and the Radicals would be bribed by the promise of a Republic into becoming M. Thiers's allies. Therefore the Conservatives withdrew from the President and passed over openly into the ranks of his enemies. M. Thiers was compelled to rely upon the Left, all sections of which rallied round him when he declared for the Republic.

At the very moment when he needed the support of the Right most in order to establish a Conservative Republic, the Right set itself to oppose his Government with all its energy. Then followed the battle between the Right and the Government, and although the latter was victorious by a small majority on the 29th November, it was evident that M. Thiers was no longer the national leader he had been. The issue was forced upon him which he had been anxious to avoid. He must govern by party, and the party on which he must henceforth rely was no longer the Right but the Left.

It was natural that M. Thiers should be reluctant to accept this situation, and there were many members of the Right who were by no means anxious to precipitate a crisis that would deprive the country of the services of the President. The Right Centre, composed of Conservative Republicans, largely of Orleanists, who had come to see the impracticability of a restoration of the Monarchy, was still anxious to support the Government. If it could obtain guarantees for the conservatism of the Cabinet it would not distrust the President. Hence the anxiety for the acceptance of the principle of Ministerial responsibility by which the fate of the Government would be left in the hands of the majority. It is not necessary to follow in detail the story of the negotiations between M. Thiers, who saw that he must not alienate the more moderate members of the Right, and the Conservative majority of the Assembly. Between him and the Commission of Thirty, which resulted from the vote of the 29th November, a compact was at last entered into which seemed to render peace possible. M. Thiers, whose intervention in the Assembly's debates had so often turned the wavering votes of members and insured his triumph, consented to abandon the right to address the Assembly except under certain stringent conditions, the formalities of which must be minutely adhered to. On its part the Commission left to the Government the task of drawing up for presentation to the Assembly the laws, the outlines of which had been accepted in the deliberations between the two, regarding the creation of a second chamber, the electoral laws, and other matters. There was thus harmony between the President and his Ministers and the Conservative majority. It was not unreasonable to expect the former would have the support of the latter in settling the institutions of the country. In fact, there seemed to be a restoration of the old friendliness, and the fact that one of the Ministers, M. Dufaure, delivered a speech which was taken to be a denunciation of the Radicals, completed the rupture with the Left. M. Thiers had swung round again from Left to Right, and the practical harmony between the Conservatives and the

Government was made manifest by the vote of a new municipal organization for the city of Lyons, which was punished for its Radicalism by a temporary loss of its municipal rights. When the Assembly separated for the Easter holidays in April, everything was seemingly going well. Peace had been re-established, there was harmony in policy and action between the Conservatives and the Government, and although there might be clouds on the horizon there was no occasion to dread an early storm.

A great change passed over the spirit of the Conservative dream during the vacation. The peace which seemed assured was found impossible. The members of the Right returned to Versailles resolved on war. They reassembled with excited hopes but their minds disturbed by gloomy fears. They came resolved to bring matters to an issue, and once for all to have it determined that Radicalism should be excluded from influencing the policy of the Government. What had occurred to produce such perturbation and alarm? The elections of the 27th of April and the 11th of May. These elections gave a mighty impulse to Radicalism by proving its ascendancy in the great towns of France. The battle was between the spirit of Revolution and of Conservatism, and the former gained the victory. The candidates of the Conservative Republic were equally hopelessly out-distanced with those whose Monarchical or Imperialist leanings were more decided. In Paris the fight lay between M. Barodet, a violent Radical, of no particular note otherwise, whose connexion with Lyons would make his success a sweet revenge for the injury done to that revolutionary city by the Government and the Assembly, and M. Thiers's able and accomplished Foreign Secretary, M. de Rémusat. Rarely has any single election been followed with so keen and so general an interest as this one. England was equally agitated with France in contemplation of the issue. Experience has since shown that the instinct which attached such importance to the Paris election on the 27th of April was not mistaken. The fate not only of the Government but of the President and to some degree of France depended on it. Had M. Rémusat triumphed we should not have seen the events that have lately excited France and Europe. But M. Rémusat did not triumph. M. Barodet was elected by an overwhelming majority for Paris, as also was M. Ranc—formerly a member of the Government of the Commune for Lyons, and M. Lockroy for Marseilles. The result was universal alarm among Conservatives, universal triumph and exultation among the Radicals. The great towns had declared for the Republic, and not for the Conservative but the Radical Republic. The Radical cause was victorious all along the line. The large towns

spoke for France, and France when it had the opportunity would follow suit. The country was with the Radicals therefore, and not with their opponents. At this moment of embarrassment, when the susceptibilities of the Conservative majority of the National Assembly were profoundly wounded, the situation was made still more difficult by the imprudence of M. Jules Simon, who was obnoxious to the Right as the sole remaining member of the Government which had shared the responsibility of ruling France with Gambetta. An attack on the Assembly by M. Simon was not only a defiance of the majority by the Radical Minister, but it compromised the Government and the President. M. Thiers felt this and set M. de Goulard to undo the mischief. M. de Goulard blundered in the opposite direction. M. Simon had attributed all the glory of paying the indemnity and liberating the territory to the President, refusing to the Assembly any share in the honour of the great work. His Conservative ministerial colleague, addressing the Permanence Commission at Versailles and speaking for the President, attributed, on the contrary, everything to the National Assembly. Thus in the bosom of the Government there were hostile tendencies which were brought prominently into notice. The difference between M. Simon, with his leanings to the Left, and M. de Goulard, who formally disavowed his colleague's views, with his affinities with the Right Centre, was, as M. de Mazade has said in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the index of the more general situation. But the Minister of Instruction gratuitously aggravated an inevitable crisis by compromising M. Thiers, if only in appearance and only for a moment, through an exhibition of hostility against the Assembly. After the speech of M. Simon and the disavowal of the Minister of Public Instruction by M. de Goulard, above all after the elections, action was necessary. The President acted with promptitude, and in the direction of making manifest his resolution to abide by the Republic, but the Conservative Republic. He reconstituted his Ministry, getting rid of both the Radical Simon and the Conservative Goulard, and replacing them by MM. Casimir Périer, Béranger, and Waddington—the Ministry of Public Instruction and of Worship being divided in two—all of them Conservative Republicans of a decided type. M. Casimir Périer had been an Orleanist, but was forced by the current of events to abandon his Monarchical hopes and pronounce for the Republic, though of his practical Conservatism there could be no question. M. Béranger had lately proved his Conservatism by a vigorous speech on the municipal organization of Lyons, and M. Waddington—English by origin and education—was not suspected of any Radical leanings. If moderate conces-

sions would have satisfied the frightened Conservatives, they had them in abundance.

But the hour was past for any peaceable settlement between M. Thiers and the Conservative majority. Some of the more reactionary of their number had made up their minds to a war to the knife so long ago as last October. The more moderate of them, members of the Right Centre, whose natural place was with M. Casimir Périer, had been filled with alarm by the elections, and had returned to Versailles on the 19th of May, determined to force M. Thiers to adopt a "resolutely Conservative policy," or to get rid of him altogether. The real grievance of the Right against the President constitutes one of M. Thiers's greatest claims to honourable distinction. They were irritated because he had not followed the tradition of official candidatures. They believed, or professed to believe, that he might have prevented the election of MM. Ranc, Lockroy, Barodet, and others. So perhaps he might had he plagiarized from the Empire, and instructed the *Préfets*—taking care first that they should be submissive tools of the Government—to make sure of the election of candidates favourable to the Government. But M. Thiers did not desire to dictate the choice of France. His acknowledgment of the national sovereignty was not a hypocritical pretence. He wished honestly to find, that he might follow, the national opinion. For the first time France has, under his régime, had the opportunity of forming its own opinion. For the first time there has been during the last two years an approximation to the conditions under which a genuine public opinion may grow. The Conservatives did not want to know what France desired, unless it was to be what they themselves wished. They wanted a "Government of combat," which would maintain the monarchical cause, and use every means in the power of officialism to compel the French people to declare for the same thing. In their view France was fast hastening to destruction, to the gulf of revolution; what the *Constitutionnel*—which has become the organ of the Duc de Broglie—called the "pestilent toleration of a blind and reckless Administration," had in their frightened view sapped the principles of order and of social conservatism. It was necessary to counteract this tendency. It was necessary to have a Government guiltless of the weak toleration of M. Thiers's Administration, which would reverse all its traditions and all its practice.

"It is necessary," the *Constitutionnel* has since said, in tracing the line of policy to be followed by the new Government, "that irresolution and dubiety should be replaced by decision and clearness, feebleness by firmness, imprudent *complaisances*, *ménagements*, calcu-

lated compromises, by a severe and impartial inflexibility in maintaining law and order. . . . The disease is deep rooted and will not be cured in a day. If it be necessary to make use of iron there must be no hesitation. The Radicals must be under no illusion; they must be convinced that the Government will proceed to extremities; if they are astonished and irritated by a severe measure, let them be told boldly that they will see many more of the same kind. It is a serious and a solemn conflict. The Government should not hesitate. Only on that condition will it maintain and honour itself and be maintained and honoured, and will effectively fulfil towards the country the conservative mission which has been confided to it."

These words, written a fortnight after the battle was fought and won, explain the objects and the spirit of the Conservative majority. It believed it had a mission, and that its mission was to extirpate Radicalism, to convert France to Conservatism, and it will shrink from nothing it may deem necessary to secure success. The Right had come to the resolution to control the Government by dictating and directing its policy, and whatever the forms of the "interpellations" around which the Parliamentary battle was waged, the real point for decision from the first was which policy—Conservative or Republican—was to prevail, which had the majority of the Assembly on its side. Some members may have hesitated nearly to the last as to the necessity of sacrificing M. Thiers. Among the less extreme of their number there was an idea that the President, in the event of defeat in the Assembly—defeat which involved censure of the policy of his Administration—might not retire, but only his Ministers. Even if he did resign, perhaps he might be induced to return and to rule with a thoroughly Conservative Government, possibly led by the Duc de Broglie. M. Thiers, indeed, before the final vote was taken, made it plain that he would do nothing of the kind. He would not make—he would have been discredited if he had made—the Cabinet a scape-goat. He was equally responsible with them for the policy which the Right condemned, and he would not shrink from the consequences of upholding it. A few of the Conservative majority may have continued to hope otherwise, but the most of them were prepared for this issue; it was indeed what they wanted. We must do them the justice of saying they fought their battle against the President with ability. Evidently they were not led by novices. The motley alliance was formed of Legitimists, Orleanists, Imperialists, and members of the Right Centre. It is not difficult to discern the experienced tactical leadership of M. Rouher in the conduct of the struggle. The general order of the day, which was carried by the small majority of fourteen, was the work of M. Rouher. The fact has been acknowledged

by the victors in the contest. During the progress of the fight there was a meeting of representatives of the four groups of the majority—the three already named, and the Conservative Republicans of the Right Centre, who deserted M. Casimir Périer—when the suggestion was made that M. Thiers might form a Cabinet with M. de Goulard as its chief. But the time for any such compromise was past, even if M. de Goulard had consented to play the part allotted him, which he declined. There has been much controversy as to whether the President expected victory or defeat. It is of comparatively little moment; but we believe from the commencement of the day which decided his fate he anticipated a hostile vote. M. Thiers is said to have remarked to one of his friends that if he had cherished any illusions on the subject, he would not have spoken as he did. His speech in defence of his Government and policy was one of the most brilliant the veteran Parliamentarian ever delivered. It was a masterly vindication of the policy of his two years' rule. He declared he had not sought power, it had been devolved upon him by the force of events, and he had accepted it from love to his country. The attacks of the Right he accepted as directed against himself; "and you now know," he added, "what will be the result both of this sitting and of your vote." The real question dividing him and the Right was what it had been always—not order or disorder, but monarchy or republic. But what monarchy could it be? It was true there were different kinds of republics as well as different kinds of monarchy:—

"There are those who wish the Republic but without Republicans in power, and those who desire the Republic with Republicans. Every one asserts, on the Right as on the Left, that I govern in its sense. Here is the explanation of my conduct—I do not govern by party; inflexible in presence of disorder, I remain impartial between the political currents, but I do not on that account practise a deceitful policy (*une politique à double face*)."

Alluding in another part of his speech to the recent elections, M. Thiers said that partial elections were always party elections, in protest against the side to which the Assembly inclined; but he was convinced, and he thought he knew the country, that the result of a general election would be to return Conservative Republicans. His closing words were meant for the Duc de Broglie, who had led the attack on the Government, and was notoriously conducting the intrigue against the President, and they must have hit the Orleanist deputy hard:—

"The honourable Duc de Broglie, after telling us that he had no wish to add to the misfortune of defeat the ridicule of being duped, wished to demonstrate to us that if we obtained a majority

composed of the united sections of the Left, we should be the protégés, and in consequence the obligés of the Radicals; as for him, should he obtain a majority through aid of the Right, he also will be a protégé and an obligé:—the protectorate, which his father would not have accepted—that of the empire.”

The Assembly adjourned after the President's speech to meet again at two o'clock the same day—a delay which allowed time for the immediate effect produced by M. Thiers to dissipate, but not sufficient to allow the influence of the speech outside the Versailles circle to reach members of the Assembly. The debate was resumed by M. Casimir Périer, amid cries for the “clôture” from the Right, which showed their minds were made up already, and there was little chance of any oratory affecting the vote. M. Casimir Périer expressed surprise that any one could seriously accuse men like MM. Waddington, Béranger, and himself of dallying with Radicalism, especially as M. de Broglie must remember that M. Waddington and he were long members of the Right Centre. The Cabinet had not yet had time to do anything. But in truth it was not of any dealings with Radicalism the coalition of the Right suspected them; the cause of the war they had declared was their knowledge of the fact that the Government wished to found the Conservative Republic. The time for the uncertainty of the provisional régime was over.

“I believe,” said the orator, “that the time has come for proclaiming the Republic; I am sure the time has come for proclaiming a definitive Government. . . . As for myself, great sacrifices were required of me before I could make a decided move in favour of the Republic—personal sacrifices, the extent of which I alone am able to estimate. I have made them; and I have decided on appearing before you with this homogeneous Ministry, which will proceed harmoniously and unanimously, which assumes the responsibility of its enterprise, and whose action you should wait to see before condemning it.”

But the Right would not listen. The Ernoul order of the day, which declared “the necessity of reassuring the country by imposing a resolutely Conservative policy on the Government,” at the same time said that “the late Ministerial modifications had not given to the Conservative interests the satisfaction they were entitled to expect.” There was an addition to this order of the day, proposed by M. Target in the interest of peace, which pronounced adhesion to the Republic, on condition that the Government would henceforth practise “a resolutely Conservative policy.” On the part of the Government, M. Dufaure announced from the Tribune its acceptance “of the order of the day pure and simple.” M. Buffet, the new President of the Assembly, then amid great excitement in the Assembly,

declared the vote should be taken openly, not by the "appel nominal." "Those who adopt the order of the day pure and simple," he said, "will put a white billet in the urn." The others would put a blue one. Never were there so many white bulletins from the Left. So far as might be judged from the expression on the faces of members on both sides, each seemed certain of the victory. As the white votes continue to shower into the urn the countenances of those on the Right are visibly troubled. The issue is felt by all to be a serious one. If the Government triumph the Republic is constituted. If it is defeated something like a revolution is accomplished while the foot of the foreign invader is still on French soil. No wonder there is visible anxiety painfully intense in its measure. Hope and fear alternate on either side as the voting proceeds. It is now four o'clock, and the suspense continues. In the Tribune are assembled well-known politicians. The benches of the diplomatic corps are fully occupied. Mme. Thiers and Mlle. Dosne have been here since morning. La Maréchale Macmahon with her husband is looking on. But hush! There is a movement and every one returns to his seat. The votes have been counted and recounted, and the decision has been pronounced. Here is the result. The number of votes is 710, the absolute majority of which will be 356. For "the order of the day, pure and simple," there are only 348, and against it 362, or a majority against of 14. "The order of the day pure and simple is not adopted," exclaims M. Buffet. M. Broet makes a last effort to save the Government by proposing the following order of the day:—"The National Assembly, relying on the declarations of the Government, and expecting from it a resolutely Conservative policy, passes," &c. After a pause, priority is given to the general order of the day. There is discussion as to the manner of the vote; but at a quarter to six o'clock the result is proclaimed. For the general order of the day 360 voted, and 344 against; so that the former is carried by a majority of 16. The Government is defeated. The fate of the President is sealed. M. Baragnon wishes to know the issue. Is there a Government, or is there not? Let the Assembly have another sitting at eight o'clock to learn if the Government accepts its decision. There is silence; but after a little time M. Dufaure ascends the Tribune to announce that France has a President of the Republic, and therefore a Government until another had been appointed. As for the Ministers, they would consult with the President, as was their duty. Then they leave the Assembly. M. Arago reproaches the majority with their ingratitude from the Tribune. There is a pause of confusion and hesitation, but at last it is decided to have a third sitting at eight o'clock; and the second sitting

of this memorable day is brought to a close. It was plain everything had been arranged beforehand. It might have been supposed as this was Saturday there would be an interval on the Sunday, which would allow reflections favourable to peace. But the majority who had won the victory would not permit forty eight hours of uncertainty, and hence the evening sitting, so as to have everything settled at once. In the circumstances what happened was inevitable. M. Thiers having first accepted the resignation of his Ministers, then sent his own to the Assembly. A last effort was made even at that moment. There was a proposal to refuse to accept the resignation; but it was rejected by a still larger majority than the order of the day pure and simple, namely, by thirty votes. The triumphant Right had the ball at their feet, and they played their game with resolution to the end. The Left retired from the field, and by 390 voices out of 392 voting, Marshal Macmahon was called to be President of the Republic. Before midnight of this eventful Saturday—the anniversary of the day two years before of the triumph of the Versailles troops over the Commune—the Government of France was changed. The crisis passed through all its phases in fifteen hours, and the man who had paid the German indemnity, liberated the territory, and restored order, retired to make room for the General who had been defeated at Wörth, and had seen the last hopes of France perish on the fatal field of Sedan. For a time it was thought the Duc d'Aumale might have been M. Thiers's successor; but if ever he had the chance, he had not the boldness to take advantage of it. We incline to think he never had it, as the Bonapartists, without whose co operation the Right could not have been victorious, would not compromise the hopes of the Imperialist cause by placing an Orleanist Prince in the highest seat of authority in France.

M. Thiers might retire with a quiet conscience, sure of the gratitude of France, and confident of a favourable verdict from history, to which he appealed. Though defeated he was not dishonoured. In the very incidents of the defeat and the manner in which the change of Government was effected, there was the strongest testimony to his honour and to the success of his mission. The unprecedented fact in France that the supreme authority was transmitted from M. Thiers to Marshal Macmahon without the slightest disturbance of the public peace is decisive proof of that. The old vicious circle of changes in the Government accomplished by force is broken. The one President retires before a vote of the National Assembly, and the other accepts the responsibility of taking his place because he acknowledges the sovereignty of that Assembly as representing the nation.

The change is immense, for it is a change of system, and if only the new spirit of loyalty and order can be developed, France may continue to direct her own destinies, and by virtue of a free and enlightened public opinion may keep full possession of herself. It is a strange coincidence that, as noticed, the day on which M. Thiers passed over to Marshal Macmahon the leadership of the nation should have been the anniversary of the day on which the army, carefully reorganized under directions of the former, and placed by his orders under command of the latter, entered Paris and restored to France her capital.

But will not the process so well begun by the late President, of educating France to understand the responsibilities of self-government and to develop the force through which the national authority and sovereignty might be organized, be now interrupted and impeded by the new President? If the Conservative coalition have their way it cannot be doubted it will. We have seen that their avowed object is not to train France to govern herself, but to impress upon the French people that they must do as they are bid. The Government of the Duc de Broglie will do all it can to keep the nation in leading-strings by manipulating the elections through the Government officials. One of its first acts was to make a considerable sweep of the Republican *Préfets*, in order to put trusty Conservative ones in their places. The Press will be gagged or made to utter echoes from official inspiration, and if the electors can be brought to be submissive enough it is possible that France may be educated to ask for a Monarchy, or to give a plébiscite for an Empire. The process of "saving society" is being again attempted. The situation is like a leaf out of the book of the past. On the morning after the Marshal's installation as President and the Duc de Broglie's formation of a Ministry, we had the old familiar assurances that did duty after the 2nd December, 1851: "All is tranquillity," "honest people are reassured," "the public funds are rising." So it was after the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon; so it is again after the more orderly Parliamentary *coup d'état* of the Conservative majority. But there are two great obstacles to the success of the mission of the new saviours of society in France. The first is from their own divisions, and the second from the character of the new President. We believe there is also a third, which will ultimately prove the most formidable of all, in the opposition of the French people; but we can only count on that if the other two causes give time for it to mature and organize itself. A Government definitively Monarchical, united in its aims, and resolute to bring about a Restoration, might with the co-operation of a President devoted to its policy succeed in reproducing the Monarchy or the Empire. But the Duc de Broglie's Ministry is not united, and never can be. The

three—or counting the Conservative Republican element—the four sections of its supporters have their three or four distinct and irreconcilable objects. They have been united by common hostility to the Government, but beyond opposing the work it undertook in encouraging the country to educate itself, they are unable to agree upon any common principles. In the new Cabinet the Legitimists are represented by MM. Ernoul, De la Bouillerie, and De Dompierre d'Hornoy. The Bonapartists have their representative in M. Magne, who has charge of the finances. With the exception of the Duc de Broglie himself, the Orléanists are scarcely represented in the Government. MM. Beulé, Batbie, and Deseilligny are members of the Right Centre. M. Deseilligny, if not a Bonapartist, has Imperial affinities—at least he ought to have them, as he was favoured by the Bonapartist Administration when a candidate under the Empire. M. Magne is a gentleman of great experience, having been connected with several Ministries in the days of the Empire, and his management of the finances may be advantageous to France, if he applies the free-trade principles he is believed to hold. But how can these conflicting shades of political opinion ever pull together? The leaders of sections may work in harmony till they have got themselves seated in the saddle and filled the administrative posts with their creatures. But whenever they come to ask what form of rule shall be established in France, their irreconcilable hostilities will break forth. The word has been given to the officials, and it is neither Monarchy nor Republic, but the maintenance of the *status quo*, of the condition of equipoise, of the Pact of Bordeaux. There were only three courses possible—to found the Monarchy, to consolidate the Republic, or to do nothing. The new Government cannot do the first, for the question, What Monarchy? would be the signal for the sections flying at each other's throats. It will not be the second; so that only the third remains. It will try to do nothing beyond acting on the opinion of the country by means of a carefully purged administrative agency. The opinions of the country will be influenced in favour of social Conservatism and against the Republic. But in favour of what after that? No one of the three Monarchical parties will permit the other to gain the ascendancy, so that after they have carried out their Conservative crusade they must come to a deadlock. Suppose this difficulty could be obviated, there remains Marshal Macmahon. The Duc de Broglie has already found he made a mistake when he calculated on being able to reduce the Marshal to the position of a merely ornamental President. He was not a politician, and stated at the outset that the Ministry must conduct the country's policy. But he is an honest man, and has always practised an honourable independence. He will insist

on scrupulous adherence to the compact of peace between the various sections of the Conservative party. The Bonapartists chuckled over the advent of the new President as a success scored to their party and cause. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* reminds them of a period when little was said and when that which passed in the Council remained hid, when alone in the Senate General Macmahon spoke and voted against the law of general safety in the month of February, 1858.

"I remember," he said, "the motto of our fathers—Do your duty whatever betide. On my conscience I think this law unconstitutional and likely to bring mischievous consequences. As an honest man who has sworn obedience to the Constitution, as an independent individual, and as a legislator I am compelled to vote against severe laws if necessary, but no arbitrariness."

"The man," says the *Revue*, "whom one of his companions in arms strove at the moment of this speech to restrain by telling him that he was going to deposit on the Tribune his Marshal's bâton, and who could so speak in the Senate of 1858—that man will not expose his country to the risks of Cæsarism and arbitrary rule. He who invoked the principles of 1789, the laws against the Empire, cannot forget them for the benefit of the Empire or of any other régime that would disregard them. By the inspiration of good sense as well as by loyalty and by patriotism, he is the first servant of the law in France. That is why the name of the Marshal as chief of the executive power was received with sympathy."

The Marshal exerted a real influence in distributing the portfolios of the new Ministry, and although his appointment of M. de Beulé as Minister of the Interior has not turned out fortunately, the reason he was selected was that the choice of some others might have given too decided a colour to the policy of the Cabinet. Marshal Macmahon will not consciously and wilfully make himself the tool of a party or an instrument of Monarchical propagandism, and we doubt if even the Duc de Broglie will in the difficult circumstances of the situation succeed in converting him into that against his will. The new President takes the place of M. Thiers under the same legal and constitutional conditions as surrounded the latter. The Government is new and the President is new, but the change only is that Marshal Macmahon rules France instead of M. Thiers with a more "resolutely Conservative" Cabinet than the latter had. M. Thiers would not adopt that policy, and the majority of the Assembly has obtained a Minister who will. The all important matter now is to know what constitutes this Conservative policy, and how it will seek to apply itself.

There is nothing irregular, nothing unparliamentary in the appointment of this party Government; but it can only be a

Provisional Government like the last. Whenever it seeks to go beyond that; whenever party aims are sought to be accomplished instead of national ones, it will transgress the legal conditions of its existence. Whenever it does that, however, it will dissolve; for its mutually hostile elements can never agree upon the character of the definitive Government to be adopted, and the President will not probably aid and abet any one of the sections to seek its own ends at the expense of the rest. In his address to the Assembly after his appointment, Marshal Macmahon declared that in foreign policy he would follow in the same line as had been repeatedly indicated by M. Thiers, the maintenance of peace, so that Europe might recognise in the reorganization of the French army—at which he would work without intermission—only the legitimate desire on the part of France to repair her forces and preserve the rank which belonged to her. In home policy the Government would be “energetically and resolutely Conservative.” While the Assembly deliberated, however, the right and the duty of the Government would be to act. “Its task, above all, is to administer—that is to say, to insure by daily application the execution of the laws you pass, and cause them to penetrate the character of the people. To impress on the entire Administration unity, cohesion, and logical connexion, to make the laws always and everywhere respected, is a severe and often a painful duty, but all the more necessary of accomplishment in revolutionary times. The Government will not be found wanting.”

It is here precisely that the great peril will be. The Government cannot openly proceed to found a Monarchy, which might lead to civil war, and the President would not aid it if it did. He would, we believe, separate himself at once from any attempt to apply a purely party policy; so that to convert the “*Gouvernement de combat*” into an open Ministry of Monarchical or Imperial propagandism would lead to its overthrow. But that which will not be attempted openly will be sought secretly and indirectly. It is by the vigorous use of the administrative means which the command of the governing forces of the country has put into the hands of the Duc de Broglie and his colleagues, that they hope so to leaven public opinion as to gain over the country to decide against the Republic, and thus keep the question of the definitive Constitution open till circumstances or the force of events shall enable one of the Monarchical or Imperial sections to win the ascendancy. We do not believe they will succeed in thus making France Monarchical. The large towns have been quiet, and the Radical leaders have wisely counselled a policy of waiting; but they are as energetically Republican as ever. Lyons has

replied to the defiance of the "Gouvernement de combat" by appointing under the new Municipal Constitution bestowed on it by the Conservative majority of the Assembly—thirty-five extreme Radicals out of thirty-six councillors elected. The change of Government, it is plain, has not arrested the Republican movement, which, it is now also made manifest, was not due to M. Thiers' Government. The question, Can the *Préfets* stay the Republican tide among the French people? must be answered, we believe, in the negative. No official manipulation of the Press, and of the administrators of the laws, will do that under the existing conditions. It might have been otherwise if the Duc de Broglie's Ministry had been homogeneous, and if the President had been willing to co-operate with it in preparing for the Monarchy or the Empire; but neither of these conditions is fulfilled, and the Republican opinions and tendencies of the people will not therefore be arrested so easily as is expected. The Radical leaders will not be silent and inactive; they will make use of all the opportunities they find available to discredit the Government and prevent its influence gaining a hold on the country.

These opportunities will not be wanting. Already the Government has been guilty of imprudences that came near to be fatal to it within a fortnight from its organization. M. Gambetta is more and more proving his skill and capacity as a party leader. The admirable way in which he arranged the attack on the Government, arising out of M. Pascal's foolish press circular, is a good omen for the future. The Government secured indeed a majority of sixty; but they are nevertheless gravely discredited by the incident, and already their moral force is shaken. Another equally discreditable exposure, and it may go hard with them. In the meantime the change of Government which exposes France to the perils of reaction, is not without its incidental benefits. Several controversies between the Government and the Assembly disappear with M. Thiers, the most notable and perplexing of which is the question of the tax on the raw material. The commercial policy of the new Administration will be conducted on free-trade principles, and the obnoxious protectionist duties will disappear along with the mischievous *surtaxe de pavillon*. The reorganization of the army, as to which M. Thiers cherished antiquated crotchets, will be vigorously carried on by Marshal MacMahon; and although we cannot hope for an enlightened education law from the De Broglie Ministry, public opinion and the practical perils of the situation will probably be strong enough to prevent anything like an open alliance with the religious reactionists. The course of events within the Ministry is not easy to forecast. It is pos-

sible the Orleanists in it may exert themselves to expel from the Government the too reactionary Legitimists, to replace them by members of the Left Centre. If the Bonapartists could also be got rid of, a Government might be formed through the union of the Centres of a moderately Conservative character, under which the Conservative Republic would have room to grow. That is the best issue that can be hoped for after the overthrow of M. Thiers. Marshal Macmahon might continue President with such a new Government, for he is not necessarily tied to the De Broglie Cabinet. The confidence felt in the honourable character of the new President will give to his rule a stability which will be endangered by the reactionary policy of his Ministers, but need not be undermined if Marshal Macmahon holds scrupulously aloof from political intrigues, and refuses to encourage the efforts of the factions which are the curse of France, to advance their sectional and selfish ends. It is certain the De Broglie Government cannot go on as it has begun; there is an open cynicism in its attempts to buy the support of the Press, which almost amounts to brutality. Its suppression of the *Corsaire* has given its watchful enemy an opportunity he was not slow to turn to good account. If the prosecution of M. Ranc, who is a member of the National Assembly, as representing Lyons, be persisted with, it will afford another opportunity for M. Gambetta, which we may be sure he will not neglect. While the Government is exerting all its energies to keep itself in existence, and trying to lay up capital for future use by debauching the public services, through appointing party agents everywhere, who will make party the sole object of their labours, it neglects the task of attempting to solve the Constitutional problem by creating for France the institutions that will be the organs of the national life. It cannot take a step on that ground without awakening bitter feuds and hostilities, and it will put off the time of action as long as possible, in the hope of gaining such influence as may enable it to control the elections when the inevitable time of dissolution arrives. In doing this it will commit many blunders. M. Gambetta will not fail to make full use of them all. He is training himself for future effort. He is leading the Radicals in the ways of peace and order. He is founding among them traditions of party cohesion, and imparting to them unity of aim and principle. There is little chance of a De Broglie succeeding in his hard enterprise in presence of the ex Dictator, and with so many and such motley causes of controversy all around. Of course it is possible a sudden change may restore M. Thiers as unexpectedly as he was overthrown, but we scarcely think that is likely. It is more probable the Conservatives will keep alive

the spirit of antagonism by their efforts towards reaction, and that they will be swept away after some mad freak of theirs has aroused intense national indignation. Then it will be Gambetta's turn to come to the front, if the burden be too heavy to be borne by Thiers, and if Macmahon shares the fate of his friends. When the dissolution does come, we shall be surprised if the general election does not give an Assembly of a very much more Republican character than the present.

The short experience which France has had of the De Broglie Government has neither fulfilled the hopes of the reactionists, nor confirmed the fears of those who dreaded the reaction. Happily, the state of the country prevents the indulgence, however eager the Ministers might be to apply it, of a reactionary foreign policy. It would be madness, at a time when the German troops are still in France, to alienate alike Germany and Italy, and convert them into watchful enemies, by adopting a foreign policy acceptable to the Ultramontanes. The influence of the Legitimists is not powerful enough to overbear all considerations of prudence and common sense. The same force of practical circumstance which keeps the extreme sections of the new Government in check in regard to foreign policy, also prevents any open tendency towards a Monarchical propagandism at home. Indeed, so hopeless is the cause of the Monarchy, that we should not be surprised to see the Government driven to occupy the ground of M. Thiers, and in the long run affirm the Conservative Republic. It is true, it has allowed violent counsels to prevail in demanding the prosecution of M. Ranc ; but it is worth observing that the Left Centre voted for that, and the resolution to prosecute was carried by 485 to 137. M. Laboulaye, on behalf of the Left Centre, explained that they voted for prosecution to prove that they allowed no political considerations to influence them in a judicial matter. Whether this be so or not, or whether a grave blunder has not been committed (as is much more probable) both by the Government and the majority of the Assembly, remains to be seen. But it is significant that the Left Centre should be found lending its support to the Government. There can be no doubt of the divisions among the sections composing the Cabinet. The Legitimists rail at the Imperialists, and between the latter and the Orléanists there is bitter hatred. It may be that, by excluding both extremes—Legitimists and Imperialists—a moderate Government majority might be secured through the union of the Centres, as has been already suggested, which would support the early establishment of the Conservative Republic. This, at all events, is the most hopeful solution of the present difficulty. It is true that, in that case, it may be said there was no use in expelling M. Thiers. But there is some truth perhaps in the

allegation that it was not because he was in favour of the Republic that M. Thiers was overthrown, but because he played fast and loose with Radicalism. At all events it may be worth the while of the majority to say that, now it has become plain that all thought of a Monarchical Restoration would be folly. The fact that there should even be a talk of compromise is, so far, a hopeful symptom for France, so long torn and bleeding from the strife of mutually exclusive parties. Of course we must expect the present Government will do many things which an enlightened opinion will condemn. It will certainly try to revive the evil method of official candidatures, in the hope of overbearing the Radicalism of the large towns. But we suspect it will be forced to see that the time is past for even official candidatures being made effective for their purpose. Consequently the Government will be more and more driven to recognise the necessity for abandoning all vague notions of restoring the Monarchy; and as for the Empire, the present Assembly, if called upon, would pronounce its *déchéance* over again by an overwhelming majority. We look therefore for the conversion of the Government, in time, to the cause of the Republic, if it is to continue in power at all. And if that be so, and a modification of the Government be carried out which will rid it of the Legitimists and the Imperialists, and unite the two Centres in its support on the basis of constituting the Republic, France will have passed happily through a great and perilous crisis. She will have had her Parliamentary Revolution, and the great matter for congratulation will be that it has been Parliamentary. She will continue, under the influence of the practical necessities of the hour, to avoid the evils of purely party government, seeking its own selfish ends in the subordination and humiliation of all rivals. And if Macmahon is loyal, and the wiles of the Bonapartists are checked and frustrated, if the Legitimists are relegated to their due position among the antiquities of French politics no longer of practical service or influence in the present day, and the Orleanists are content to accept the Republic which some of their most eminent leaders have already subscribed to, the future of France may be more stable than a few weeks ago seemed to be possible. Let us hope the Parliamentary era has fairly opened at last, and that the violence of opposing factions will be held in check by an intelligent public opinion. Should it unfortunately prove otherwise, should the Conservative majority under the leadership of the Duc de Broglie persist in a mad attempt to pave the way for any branch of the Monarchy—and there are symptoms that point in that direction—the upshot can only be civil war, and the undoing of all the work of the last two years.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, and Mr. NUTT, 270, Strand.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE author of "Mankind: their Origin and Destiny," has published a work on the Gospel History,¹ to prove that the four evangelistic documents which are the main source of our knowledge of Jesus Christ, his life and teachings, cannot be regarded as historical, but incorporate with things that have happened, many that have not. As they lay no claim to inspiration, he treats them with all the freedom of ordinary writings, and finds them full of contradictions, improbabilities, borrowed accounts, fabulous legends, irrational doctrines, Jewish notions, heathen dogmas. The writer is a man of wide reading, and quotes largely. He is tolerably conversant with the opinions of the fathers, and more so with those of classical authors. Jewish views are often cited. With great patience and minute research he examines the Gospels, pointing out their disagreement. The volume attests the extensive range of reading through which its author has passed, and exhibits a mass of information collected from many sources. It shows the author's ingenuity, acuteness, learning, research, candour, fearlessness; and may be serviceable to readers who have not gone far in their critical examination of the New Testament. It is difficult to convey an adequate notion of the contents, because he continually diverges from the main point, introducing a variety of opinions and subjects that bear no close relation to that which should be strictly followed. The topics he discusses or speaks of are so numerous that no reader of the title-page could guess them. Every inquirer will sympathize in the design of the anonymous scholar; and assent to many of his statements. He may indeed find little that is new in them, and disapprove of the method in which they are set forth; but he will feel that the proof of inconsistencies in the Gospels, of legendary matter, of unhistorical elements, and improbable occurrences, is convincing. Error and imperfection mark the records which many call *inspired*, though we hold it improper to predicate inspiration of writings instead of men; or to identify it with infallibility, which is an attribute belonging exclusively to the Deity. Yet the book is unsatisfactory in many respects. It contributes nothing to our knowledge of the *genesis* of the Gospels. The materials consist of details which are undigested and unsifted. Extraneous things constantly intrude into the narratives, diverting attention from what is important. The author puts his ideas loosely together, is led away by collateral and subordinate points, has little critical ability, and is not overstudious

¹ "The Gospel History and Doctrinal Teaching Critically Examined." By the Author of "Mankind, their Origin and Destiny." London: Longmans and Co.

of accuracy. He is not acquainted with the best introductions to the New Testament, or the most recent Lives of Jesus written by good critics. Neither his Hebrew nor his Greek learning is reliable. Hence he leaves a hazy, confused impression on the reader's mind, or makes him suspicious even of statements that may be perfectly trustworthy. Nor can it be denied that the disposition to invalidate the records is too eager, so that the case is overstated. Calmness of judicial inquiry is often overborne by zeal without caution or knowledge. Hence the volume will serve the interests of biblical criticism but moderately. Had it been reduced to half its dimensions, well arranged, cleared of rubbish, thoroughly weighed in all its parts, it would have been far more effective. The author has grasped at much, and failed. He gives more regard to the Sinaitic text than it deserves, introduces too many quotations from Rabbinical books and from the apocryphal Gospels, as well as other writings of the same character. His extracts from the fathers should be abridged, as they are often irrelevant or worthless. It is needless to show how inexact he is. One has not far to read to observe it. The account of the Septuagint version in the introduction is by no means correct. The origin of the Pharisees and of the Essenes is inexact. The Sermon on the Mount is resolved in substance into Jewish teaching, which it can only be to a very small extent. It is wrong to cite the Talmud or even Hillel as the original of sentiments prior to either; but this is done by the author in order to disparage the teachings of Jesus by detracting from their originality. It is surprising to meet with such erroneous assertions as that the Epistle to the Galatians is the oldest of the Canonical writings; that Irenæus was the disciple of Papias; that the Canonical edition of Matthew's Gospel must have been unknown to the author of Luke's; that the Epistle to the Romans was not composed by Paul, but is the result of the compromise then arrived at between the Petrine and Pauline parties; that the reason why John the Baptist was arrested and put to death was the fear of troubles arising from the number of his disciples; that Irenæus did not believe in the crucifixion of Jesus; that the Apocalypse is an astrological work; and that the derivation of the name Jesus in Matthew i. 21 is erroneous. The specimens of interpretation given in the volume do not convey a high idea of ability. In Matthew v. 3, the original is rendered, "Blessed in spirit are the poor;" and Isaiah liii. is said to refer to the writer himself. The meaning of the word *sheol* is investigated and explained in a confused way, after the Hebrew of it is wrongly given. What is intended by the words "It is derived from the radical Chaldean, signifying 'he has asked, he has interrogated,'" we are unable to conceive. Mark xiii. 32 is *not* "a later insertion," nor is it "omitted in several MSS." As exaggerations for the purpose of discrediting the Gospels we may refer to the assumption that "the Pilate of history is the exact opposite of the Pilate of the Gospels;" which is also applied to Caiaphas; and to the feeble attempt at making the Cephas, whom Paul blamed at Antioch, one of the seventy disciples, not an apostle. The author should have recollected that Josephus, Philo, and the like, are as fallible as the

New Testament writers. We regret that the slovenliness with which he has compiled his work must weaken the effect it was intended to produce, confirming unreasoning orthodoxy in the strongholds of tradition.

A volume of selections from the sermons of Dr. J. McLeod Campbell,² bearing upon the fact that eternal life is a gift for which men are responsible, deserves a few words of commendation—not for the style or the mode in which the ideas are presented, but for the earnestness, spirituality, and comparative freedom with which important subjects of the New Testament are treated. Though the author published the discourses from which the volume is extracted nearly fifty years ago, and was thrust out of the Church of Scotland for his teaching, the sentiments expressed deserve attention even now, and will repay it. In teaching the divine love to all men, and so departing from Calvinism, the author deserves praise, though his clerical brethren condemned him. We do not agree with some of his views, but there is a healthy tone as well as a deep pathos not often seen in sermons. His words are weighty, and the ideas they express tend to perfection of life.

Dr. Jessopp's two dissertations *ad clerum*, read in the Divinity Schools at Oxford,³ may be taken as a specimen of the theses presented there for the purpose of taking a degree in theology. In the first the author endeavours to show that at the beginning of the history of the Christian Church a formal summary of Christian doctrine is referred to under four terms, ἡ ὁδός, ἡ διδασχὴ ὁ λόγος, ἡ πίστις; that such a summary was a felt necessity when no written record of Christ's life existed; and that supplementary to it there were expanded statements of esoteric doctrine, to which the names γνῶσις and μυστήριον were applied. The second dissertation is devoted to the detection of fragments belonging to these original formularies embedded in the New Testament. Ingenuity, acuteness, and learning are apparent in these discussions. The author is fitted for prosecuting critical inquiries in the department of Hellenistic literature, along which he moves here with ease and dexterity. We doubt, however, whether he has succeeded in proving the thing attempted. He has never, apparently, tried to realise the circumstances, history, diversities of opinion, parties, and disorders, of the churches founded in the first century. The Apostles were soon scattered abroad. As far as we can judge, they all continued Jewish Christians, except Paul. The Pauline and Petrine believers were by no means united in faith. Dr. Jessopp has assigned an objective meaning to certain Greek words and made them technical; whereas their sense is more subjective. He assumes the Pauline authorship of the pastoral epistles, and speaks of the Apostle's second imprisonment at Rome as a real, whereas it is a fictitious, event. These

² "Responsibility for the Gift of Eternal Life." Compiled by permission of the late Rev. John McLeod Campbell, D.D., from Sermons preached chiefly at Row, in the years 1829-31. London: Macmillan and Co.

³ "Primitive Liturgies and Confessions of Faith contained in the Writings of the New Testament. Two Dissertations." By Aug. Jessop, D.D., Oxford. Printed for private circulation.

late epistles are the only ones that contain evidences of fragmentary liturgies or confessions, and in them we go along with the author to a great extent. Elsewhere his arguments are inconclusive. Nothing is more improbable than his reasoning, for example, about Acts viii. 37, where the *textus receptus* has an early addition. That such addition was extracted from some church ordinal, is a conjecture that must be rejected. But our author catches at it, and proceeds to find fragments of the summary of faith that supplied such addition, in the writings of St. Paul. He should have considered that the Church of which he speaks as though it had been organized in the time of the Apostles and possessed both written prayers and creeds, had no real existence till towards the close of the second century, when the Petrine and Pauline believers began to coalesce, Irenæus and others labouring to consolidate a corporate body in opposition to the heretics. *The Church*, as such, did not originate in the days of the Apostles. Only churches or societies with different organizations and varying beliefs existed before the middle of the second century. Written creeds or liturgies, if there were such, which is more than doubtful, were not a bond of union in the Apostolic period. In an incipient, unsettled state, the Apostles did not think of stereotyping beliefs or modes of government. Scope was given to the spontaneous developments of personal activity stimulated by new motives amid new circumstances. Freshness and life would have disappeared under the influence of written documents intended to regulate the incipient beliefs or unpremeditated effusions of newly awakened converts; and the Corinthian epistles show that no such summaries were appealed to in the church there.

Mr. Scott continues the issue of his pamphlets on religion, theology, and the Bible with unabated activity.* Among his recent productions are the *Pentateuch*, and *Remarks on Paley's Evidences*. The former is a careful examination of the book of Genesis in the form of question and answer, marked by thoughtfulness, and critical ability. Without diverging into linguistic considerations, or separating the Jehovistic from the Elohist portions, the author considers the statements of the writers as they lie before the reader, judging them according to the principles of historic criticism, bringing out their meaning, and relegating to the region of the unhistorical, or to the uneducated minds of former ages, the sentiments embodied in the record. Testing them by enlightened reason he tries to assign the statements of an unscientific period to their true place in the history of religion among the Semites. The pamphlet is a valuable supplement to the recent learned productions that have appeared in explanation of the documents composing the first book of the Old Testament. The remarks on Paley's *Evidences* show the incompleteness and fallacy of arguments once employed. The writer examines some of the grounds on which he objects to the Archdeacon's reasoning, leaving it to his readers to

* "The Pentateuch in Contrast with the Science and Moral Sense of our Age." By a Physician Thomas Scott.

"Remarks on Paley's Evidences: a Letter to the Younger Members of the University of Cambridge." By an Old Graduate. Thomas Scott.

apply the same principles more extensively. The method of Paley is now antiquated. Many of his statements too, will not stand. The author before us demonstrates the weakness of the treatise by sound remarks evincing a right apprehension of the questions recently agitated respecting the gospel history, and correct notions about them. Displacing Paley's "original witnesses" which vanish at the touch of criticism, he finds that ecclesiastical fathers of the second, third, and fourth centuries are our only witnesses for the miraculous records. The pamphlet deserves the attention of all university graduates and undergraduates, especially of those who intend to enter the Church of England.

A second part of what is called "*Via Catholica*" has been published by Mr. Scott.⁵ The pamphlet relates to some of the most important questions in theology, especially to the incarnation. It is the production of an advanced thinker who has studied the Gospels critically, or rather their portrait of Jesus, and tries to evolve a form of the Trinity, founded on the divine consciousness and suited to man's inner necessities, too refined to be accepted by the common sense of humanity. The doctrine of the Trinity did not owe its origin to such a cause; nor can its maintenance as a dogma be defended by such ingenuity. *Hypostatized attributes or qualities*, such as power, wisdom, and love, constitute a triune God whose character can satisfy no rational theologian. The form of dialogue in which the sentiments are expressed is ill chosen.

The wife of a beneficed clergyman has written a small pamphlet on the nature of Jesus,⁶ to which Mr. Voysey prefixes a short preface. There is nothing new or striking in the brochure, except that it calls in question the perfection of Jesus in much the same way as Mr. Voysey, attributing to him, without due discrimination, words reported in the synoptists which he may not have uttered. The clergyman's wife stands on deistical ground, and does not wish to compromise her husband by publishing her name. Whether her reasoning be in all points convincing, is doubtful. The whole subject has been freely canvassed by able writers, so that it is impossible to give it fresh or peculiar interest. In recent times we have the Bampton Lecture of Canon Liddon, with its argumentative rhetoric; and the able examination to which it has been subjected by a clergyman of the Church, in which logic effectually triumphs over oratorical orthodoxy.

An English translation of Strauss's "*The Old Faith and the New*"⁷ has issued from the press. As the German book has reached a sixth edition, the nature of the *Confession* is well known. Four questions are proposed:—Are we still Christians? Have we still a religion?

⁵ "*Via Catholica; or, Passages from the Autobiography of a Country Parson.*" Part. II. Thomas Scott.

⁶ "*On the Deity of Jesus of Nazareth: an Inquiry into the Nature of Jesus by an Examination of the Synoptic Gospels.*" By the Wife of a Beneficed Clergyman. Thomas Scott.

⁷ "*The Old Faith and the New. A Confession.*" By David Friedrich Strauss. Authorized Translation from the Sixth Edition, by Mathilde Blind. London: Asher and Co.

What is our conception of the universe? What is our rule of life? the answers to which express the sentiments of the writer. The intellectual ability displayed in his other works appears in this also. As a thinker, Strauss is precise, pointed, keen, cold, using terse expressions with great effect, and setting forth his ideas in a condensed form which gives them greater hold upon the reader. The present is the most negative of all his books, being not only anti-Christian but atheistic. Man is comprised in the cumulative progression of life, so that the organic plasticity of our planet culminates in him. Nature inherently aspiring after an unceasingly progressive improvement of her organic forms, has produced man as her latest effort. In answer to What is our rule of life? he replies, Let each act up to his own light; which in one sense, though not in his, is an excellent maxim. In order to nourish the intellect and the heart, he relies on the writings of the great poets and the performances of the best musicians. Strauss's mental nature does not seem in sympathy with religion, because he looks at the subject from an intellectual point of view. If, as we suppose, religion lies in feeling, emotion, a sense of the Infinite and of dependence thereon, it cannot be defined or formulated in propositions; neither can it be adequately interpreted by one whose mind has been accustomed to analysis and soured by the unworthy reception he has got from ecclesiastics of all opinions. The confession of such a man's faith is interesting solely as a psychological study. The present volume should have embraced the *Nachwort* since issued. The German is well rendered into English, though it contains evidence of being the translator's first effort in that department. Her work, however, is good and successful.

Bishop Colenso has completed his examination of the Pentateuch in what is called the Speaker's Commentary, by his large pamphlet on Deuteronomy.⁸ It is superfluous to observe that it is characterized by the same learning, acuteness, and ability as are seen in the preceding portions. With patient toil the Bishop threads his way through the Introduction to Deuteronomy and then the Commentary itself on that book, exposing evasions, answering objections, and refuting statements. It is easy to see that the bishops and other clergy of the Established Church are issuing a book of respectable orthodoxy which is impotent against the results of criticism. The scholarship of the Commentary is deficient, as Colenso proves unanswerably. The attempted maintenance of Mosaic authorship for books compiled gradually after the settlement in Canaan fails; and readers of the Old Testament should be grateful to the Bishop for showing that fact so clearly. The weapons of orthodoxy prove feeble in combat with an adversary like the one before us, whose love of truth is all the more transparent beside the plausible shifts with which it is brought face to face. The criticisms of the Bishop proceed throughout on the supposition that the Deuteronomistic legislation is much earlier than that contained in Leviticus and in large portions of Exodus, Numbers, and

⁸ "The New Bible Commentary, critically Examined." By the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D. Part V. Deuteronomy. London: Longmans and Co.

Joshua. This theory is not yet established, and must wait for such establishment till an indefinite time. Irrespective of the statements involving its truth, the arguments advanced in the pamphlet are judicious and excellent, disposing of all apologetic explanations. Sometimes, however, they are hardly sufficient or satisfactory, as the note on Deuteronomy xviii. 15-18, respecting the promised *prophet*, which does not seem to mean a supply of prophets in Israel's time of need like unto Moses, but *one* person, who was subsequently converted into Elijah as the forerunner of Messiah. The Hebrew word *נביא* is probably never collective.

In pursuance of the object with which Mr. Palmer wrote his former volume respecting the patriarch Nikon and the Tsar Alexis, he has published two more,* containing upwards of eleven hundred pages, one giving testimonies concerning Nikon, the Tsar, and the Boyars, from the Travels of Macarius of Antioch, written by his son; the other, a History of the Condemnation of Nikon, by Paisius Ligarides of Scio. The learned editor has devoted much time and labour to the composition of the work. Believing that the case of Nikon in the Russian Church is a critical one in its history, significant in its bearing upon the relations between the civil power and the ecclesiastical and fraught with a great lesson, he enters into it fully, bringing out all the details necessary to a proper judgment of the whole question, and showing the actors in their true characters. To Nikon full justice is done, if not something more. The patriarch of Russia is held forth as a true champion of spiritual power, in opposition to the unwarranted assumptions of imperial authority intruding into a province beyond its jurisdiction. The question involved is not yet settled. Should the State or the Church be supreme where they come into collision? The former certainly, if it pay the Church; for the paymaster ought to be master and must be so. The latter may assert its claims and fulminate anathemas at pleasure as long as they do not interfere with the rights or liberties of either citizens or magistrates. The ecclesiastics who figure in the proceedings against Nikon, especially Ligarides, are by no means good specimens of humanity; sycophantic, selfish, treacherous, weak. In his moral aspect the patriarch appears irreproachable; but he had exalted ideas of his spiritual functions and was haughty. Like many patriarchs and bishops, he loved power and exercised it in a way not always becoming to a professed follower of Christ. Alexis too was not very yielding; though he was far from being a bad emperor. Evil counsellors helped to poison a mind of ambitious texture. The proceedings that led to the deposition of Nikon are fully narrated by Mr. Palmer from authentic documents; forming, as they do, a curious chapter in the annals of what is considered an orthodox church. They are not a case, as he supposes, of "the church against the world," but of a stubborn bishop against an emperor jealous of his supremacy, and disinclined to its abridgment even in the things of God.

* "The Patriarch and the Tsar." Volumes II. and III. By William Palmer, M.A. London: Trübner and Co.

The sixth volume of Mr. Voysey's "*Sling and Stone*," consists of sermons preached in St. George's Hall during the past year.¹⁰ These discourses are on a variety of topics not usually handled in the pulpit, but all of them important. The author's standpoint is deistical. He points out the mischief of orthodox creeds, decries dogma, and inculcates that idea of religion which identifies it with trust in the Invisible One who guides the world. Worship addressed to Christ is condemned; and His character is not held up either as a pattern for men or as a visible impersonation of the Deity. The theology of Mr. Voysey is negative. But he expresses many excellent sentiments with a fearlessness that excites our admiration. He exposes the hollowness of the present fashionable religion with powerful effect. Whether he makes sufficient allowance for the feebleness of humanity, or attaches a right value to the Bible records, may be doubted. Some of his opinions need supplementing, modifying, deepening, before they can be accepted as perfectly correct. If it be thought that he has gone too far in his negations and has not adequately studied the sacred books, none can deny that he is an honest inquirer, as well as a manly expounder of the truth he holds. His utterances are clear and vigorous, tending to a pure morality in harmony with the divine laws and to the elevation of the race. The belief of definite dogmas, as though they were spirit and life, demands all the iconoclasm of Mr. Voysey, for it has "poisoned the springs of faith."

Mr. Davies has collected a group of essays on topics of the day, most of which have already appeared in reviews or magazines.¹¹ The first is entitled "*The Debts of Theology to Secular Influences*." The writer here states his belief that "there is no modern theological view which may not be found anticipated by Christian thinkers, such as St. Paul, St. Augustine, and Luther;" but he adds, "their witness lies dormant till it wins a response in the common consciousness." The second, "*The Christian Theory of Duty*," is an attempt to reconcile utilitarianism and intuitive morality. Christianity, the author contends, must be to the Christian the basis of intuitive morality, since the will of God is both his standard and his sanction; but he argues, "the witness of facts, if only we can get it genuine, is as positive and authentic a revelation of the will of God as anything in the New Testament;" whence he infers that we are safer in "making the promotion of happiness the test of right action, than in depending on the guidance of our innate moral consciousness. "Experience is the great test of accordance with the will of God;" because "the conditions of human life are divinely ordered." "*Nature and Prayer*" is an inquiry into the compatibility of rational prayer with knowledge of and concurrence in the established facts of science, and has especial reference to the Prayer against the Cattle-plague, and the criticisms which it called forth. The author here affirms that the uniformity of nature is no argument against the efficacy of prayer. Human action

¹⁰ "*The Sling and the Stone*." Vol. VI. For the Year 1872. By Charles Voysey, B.A. London: Trübner and Co.

¹¹ "*Theology and Morality: Essays on Questions of Belief and Practice*." By Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, M.A.

is continually changing the course of nature, without any violation of its laws, and we can conceive of the same thing being done in other ways unknown to science. "The Continuity of Creation" seems to be a plea for scientific investigation, and a protest in favour of the development theory, as conducive to higher and more spiritual conceptions of God than the belief which places them almost exclusively at the beginning of the world. In "Erastus and Excommunication" we find the withholding of the Sacrament justly condemned as unscriptural and inexpedient. Some of the essays in this volume, as for example, "Combinations of Agricultural Labourers" and "Communism," bear a theoretical rather than a practical character; but each subject is treated thoughtfully, and from an independent standpoint. Clerical considerations are kept in the background. There is self-forgetful honesty in the statement, "The rule of priests is fatally injurious to religion as well as to freedom."

Mr. Mahaffy has published chapters 5-10 of the first volume of his exposition of Kant's philosophy,¹² treating of the deduction of the Categories. This part of the system, relating to pure concepts of the understanding, is confessedly difficult; and our author has honestly grappled with it, as he says. His account of it is consistent, and perhaps as clear as it is possible to represent it in English; though we must confess that in the multiplicity of technical words by which it is marked, the mind is liable to become bewildered. The expositor has thrown himself into the task, and proves that he understands Kant's scheme as well as any previous interpreter. He even seems to know it better than Kuno Fischer; while he animadverts on Hamilton, Mansel, Schopenhauer, and others, who criticise the sentiments of his favourite philosopher. The understanding and development of these categories are mental exercises whose utility consists in the fact that they are so; no other advantage attends them. Kant's transcendental logic is an ideal thing, the product of his own brain, and contributes little to our knowledge of the human mind. It is too ærial for that. Here is a specimen: "Whenever we *subsume* an object under a concept, the two representations must be *homogeneous*, as a matter of course. Thus the concept of a plate is homogeneous with the purely geometrical notion of a circle, for the roundness thought in the former can be intuited in the latter. But the pure categories are completely heterogeneous from all sensuous intuitions. How then can the latter be subsumed under the former, and how is, consequently, the *application* of the Categories to the objects of sense possible? For surely none will assert, that any Category, such as *Causality*, can be intuited in phenomena and contained in them. Here then the necessity of the Theory of Judgment, or applicability of the *pure Categories* to experience becomes apparent. In other sciences this divergence between the general concepts and their concrete representation does not exist. There must obviously be something inter-

¹² "The Critical Philosophy for English Readers. Vol. I. Part II. The Deduction and Schematism of the Categories." By J. P. Mahaffy.

mediate, homogeneous on the one hand with the Category, on the other with the phenomenon, and this must make the application possible. This mediating representation must be *pure*, and yet not only *intellectual* but *sensuous*. We shall call it the *transcendental schema*." As we read this, the philosophy of the human mind receives no real light or interpretation. A jargon of terms however significant obscures the apprehension, and conveys empty knowledge. We are far from thinking that *à priori* concepts cannot be distinguished or expressed in language; but many speculations regarding them and attempts to apprehend them terminate in nothing. Kant is not free from such vain analyses.

Mr. Picton has written a series of essays¹³ in which questions of the deepest signification are discussed. The first, entitled "The Mystery of Matter," tries to show that the substance of all things is a universal life or energy. The life in which we come to know ourselves and the world, embraces self and not-self; and the ultimate elementary phenomena of nature are the simplest subjective forms through which the objective phase of universal energy is translated into our consciousness. In the second essay, on "The Philosophy of Ignorance," the author shows that the spiritual aspirations of man accord with the idea of seeing in all things the outcome of an eternal power and majesty. In the Antithesis between Faith and Sight, after explaining what is meant by the latter, he assumes that there are predispositions in man, and that faith is voluntary loyalty to these divine germs. The fourth essay defines religion as the endeavour after a practical expression of man's conscious relation to the Infinite. The impulse that begets the endeavour is divine, and is to be recognised in the advance from stolidity to Fetishism, from Fetishism to symbolic nature-worship, from nature-worship to prophetic religions such as Mosaism, and from the latter to Christianity. The last essay, entitled "Christian Pantheism," regards all things as the phenomenal manifestation of Infinite unity, with which the essence of Christianity is consistent and substantially identical. The essays are highly suggestive. The object of the writer is to put religion on a basis unaffected by opinions, dogmas, miracles, external evidences, the infallibility of records—a basis recognisable in all the religions that have appeared in the world. Believing in the continued development of the race, it is maintained that the God-consciousness within passes slowly through various stages, receiving its greatest stimulus from the person of Christ. The tenour and spirit of the book commend themselves to the thoughtful theologian as well as to the devout philosopher. Religion lies in something deeper and more valuable than the belief of creeds or articles—something that cannot be formulated. It is to be found in the moral instincts of humanity which are ineradicable, however much they be suppressed or debased. The germ of these proceeds from an Infinite cause, of which we know but little. The effort which Mr. Picton has made to fix the realm of religion in

¹³ "The Mystery of Matter, and other Essays." By J. Allanson Picton. London: Macmillan and Co.

inspiration or impulse, in internal revelation which is to develop in loyal obedience to its own prompting, deserves the attention of all who sigh for the speedy advent of a higher righteousness. His book is well conceived, and the arguments are skilfully advanced. Substance and tone are free but reverent. He is philosophic, bold, fearless in the pursuit of truth, desirous to strip off the adventitious garniture with which theologians have smothered religion; a free interpreter of the Scriptures, intent upon seizing the spirit rather than the letter, and perfectly alive to the fact that the modes of expressing the divine utterances of a soul in communion with the Infinite vary according to times, circumstances, and influences. We should prefer to define religion in other terms; but they have the same meaning. Schleiermacher's is perhaps the best description. The words *endeavour* and *practical* should be avoided. It is a feeling, an *Ahnung*, which may be but half conscious, of dependence on the Absolute. In explaining the nature of this feeling and the evolution phases through which it has passed in different religions, we prefer, in some respects, the lectures of De Wette *Über die Religion*, to the elucidations of Mr. Picton. The belief in God is not an immediate or direct perception. It is no intuition. Hume considers it the result of complex operations of reason and experience; in other words, that it is an *à posteriori* idea. But with Kant we must have recourse to principles *à priori*, whence some conception of the divine infinity and perfection is derived. Mr. Picton necessarily agreeing with the latter, but influenced by the recent researches of scientific men, goes in the Pantheistic direction, according to which Deity is impersonal and personal identity shades off into a fragmentary existence as part of the self-existent Infinite. It is difficult thus not to confound God and the universe, or to maintain future immortality in connexion with conscious individuality. To look upon ourselves and all nature as parts of the *Allgemeine Geist* is a simple theory, but it explains none of the mysteries that surround us; and if it be maintained that all will be finally absorbed into this *Geist*—a belief we do not impute to Mr. Picton, though some of his notions seem to lead to it—the sense of our identity resists the idea. The weakest part of the book is that in which the author brings forth a spiritual Pantheism from the New Testament; though it cannot be denied that there are passages both in the Gospels and Epistles which favour the view. Dogmatic teaching prevails in the latter. Doubtless Jesus Christ and the Apostles believed in a personal God, the Father, Friend, Sovereign of all. The Christian Pantheism of Mr. Picton cannot be harmonized with their genuine utterances. One thing is certain, that the primitive Christians looked upon the new religion as spirit and life rather than dogma. The book has a few notes that hardly enhance its value, and the style is exceptionable, because saturated with an artificial assemblage of words ill suited to the nature of the subjects discussed. The author would have done well to prepare himself for writing by a careful perusal of Hume's Essays, where admirable precision and perspicuity attract the reader. The attempt at fine writing, necessitating as it seems a multitude of miscellaneous illustrations, mars the effect of the

arguments. At times the manner borders upon that of a sermon where glare and glitter are more excusable. The work, however, apart from its manner, is fitted to stimulate the minds of those who brood over the mysteries of nature. If it applies the doctrines of evolution and continuity to the domain of the spiritual, and essays to solve the great problem of religion by Spinoza's Absolute Infinity, the One substance, in which man's existence is but phenomenal and fragmentary, the attempt is not new; but it is not easy to harmonize it with a belief in Christianity that conserves even its earliest phase, much less the varied Apostolic and sub-Apostolic forms of it. Judaism whence the new religion sprang had no real point of contact with Pantheism.

Herr Spir has written a large volume in which the problems of mental philosophy are handled with lucidity and power.¹⁴ It is rather preparatory to the didactic statement of a particular system than a systematic exposition of the views maintained by the author. Hence he criticises the leading philosophers from Kant downwards; subjecting our English and Scottish ones to searching exposition. The work is divided into four books, the first of which is introductory, while the second lays down the concept of the unconditioned, and the third deduces the main inferences resulting from such concept. The last book treats of *explanation*, that is, the elucidation of a thing in its connexion with something else that has been previously established. Herr Spir denies that there is a metaphysic in the German sense of the word. He belongs neither to the school of the Empirics or such as derive all knowledge from experience, nor to that of the transcendentalists. Finding fault with both, he examines at considerable length the views of Kant as representing the latter; and those of Mill as the best representative of the former. He is therefore in some degree an eclectic, who endeavours to avoid the errors, as he considers them, of both, and to set forth the limits of our knowledge in relation to the supersensuous as clearly as possible. Besides an intimate knowledge of German philosophies the author is well acquainted with the views of Berkeley, the Mills, Bain, Locke, Herbert Spencer, Hume, Brown, Reid and Mansel, which he quotes fairly, and frequently combats. His style is far clearer than that of his countrymen in general, especially Hegel's. It is evident that he looks with much disfavour upon Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer. Herbart's views are considered of more importance and are therefore subjected, along with those of Kant, to a somewhat detailed analysis. Amid all his discussions a decided leaning to the transcendental is apparent, for he plants the idea of the unconditioned in the nature of thought itself. The volume is a valuable contribution to the study of psychology.

The philosophy of Hume has exercised great influence over the thinkers of succeeding times.¹⁵ It stimulated Reid and Kant; it is reflected in Comte. We see its lines in Mr. Mill. The honour of

¹⁴ "Denken und Wirklichkeit. Versuch einer Erneuerung der kritische Philosophie." Von A. Spir. London: Williams and Norgate.

¹⁵ "La Philosophie de David Hume." Par Gabriel Compayre. Paris: Ernest Thorin, Editeur.

suggesting new ideas, of expressing views fruitful in effects, of indicating the limits within which the human mind is restrained, the boundaries it cannot pass, is due to the illustrious Scottish philosopher. His doubts, his negations have all tended to the progress of mental philosophy, by giving rise to the speculations of such as have entered upon the same field of knowledge, whether to expound or to refute his views. Though he owed much to Hobbes, Locke, and Berkeley, he has sufficient originality to be considered the father of Scotch philosophy, and through Kant even of the German. M. Compayre, who has studied the writings of Hume with great attention, has written an excellent work descriptive of the man and his views. It is both an exposition and a critique, full, systematic, acute, leaving little to be said for the better elucidation of the sceptical philosophy, and combating it with such arguments as seem best fitted to expose its weakness. The book consists of fourteen chapters, preceded by an introduction relating to the life and works of Hume. While endeavouring to do justice to the genius and merits of his author, M. Compayre is an opponent of his philosophical principles. The Scottish metaphysician is essentially an idealist, believing in no other than the phenomenal world. According to him, the mind is a bundle of perceptions owning no other law than that of association. There is nothing behind or beyond phenomena; no *noumenon*. An internal force, essence, or substance does not exist, any more than an external world of matter. M. Compayre maintains that we are certain of realities exterior to ourselves; a consciousness of the *non-ego* being involved in that of the *ego*. He believes in the transcendental and *à priori* element which indicates objective realities; that the mind has constant communion with exterior things, without being shut up in subjective necessities. He is thus more in harmony with Kant than Hume; though he points out some defects in the German philosopher's ideas. Perhaps the best chapters are those on causality and belief, where M. Compayre argues forcibly against the views propounded by Hume. He does not confine his strictures to the *psychology* of his author; the discussions of the latter on natural religion, the passions, on morals, politics, political economy, &c., pass under review. It adds to the value of the book that the ideas of Mill are compared with Hume's; and that Reid, Kant, Hamilton, Comte, Herbert Spencer are often introduced in connexion with the examination of their predecessor. The volume has great merits. In none other is the Scotch philosopher so amply considered; in none is he so clearly expounded, so ably criticised. Whether the views be right or not, M. Compayre sets them forth most lucidly as he attempts to undermine the foundations of that sceptical philosophy which Hume propounded with marvellous felicity of language. The French metaphysician is a spiritualist; whereas Hume is an idealist. He believes in the objective value of our knowledge; whereas Hume resolves knowledge into subjective impressions. The subject is still unsettled. Whether the present English school which represents Hume in the main, and limits all knowledge to phenomena, be right; or whether there be something beyond and above phenomena variously

called existence, force, substance, noumenon; will be a topic of debate for years to come. M. Compayre furnishes an able contribution towards the settlement, in the form of a survey of the master spirit whose writings have determined the course of philosophy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The four lectures that compose the body of a new volume by Prof. Max Müller,¹⁶ have been already published in the pages of a magazine, so that they are not new. Nor have they been divested of the form and superfluous remarks common to popular lectures delivered to a general audience. Some additions, indeed, have been made to them; they have received corrections and notes; but they are almost the same as at first. The title is not well chosen. What the author means is a methodical treatment of the various theologies that have prevailed in the world, or a comparative study of the religions of the world. To such study the book is an introduction. After assuming that there is in man a faculty of perceiving the infinite, which lies at the root of all religions, the lecturer shows the present advantage and necessity of comparing all the religions of mankind; though the materials for doing so are incomplete, because they have not yet been examined in their original documents with sufficient knowledge and accuracy. In the second lecture, different classifications of religions are examined and rejected. In the third it is maintained that the only scientific classification is the same as that of languages, especially as there is a natural connexion between language and religion. Accordingly the author finds three centres of religion—the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Turanian—which distinguished the three corresponding races before each was divided into different branches. The fourth develops the right spirit in which these religions should be studied. The lectures are adapted to a popular audience, and present nothing scholarly or profound. They are the mere sketching of a great subject—the method in which the writer thinks it should be discussed. The plan is good, and the advantages resulting from it are fairly stated. It is candidly admitted that all religions are true in part, and should be handled charitably; that they express various stages of mental development and civilization among peoples; steps in their history, and consequently in the history of the world. But the volume is somewhat disappointing. We object to the unphilosophical assumption of a distinct faculty in the mind for apprehending the Infinite. The mind is one, and the term faculty is exploded. Besides, the writer does not clearly explain the genetic development of religion. It was certainly polytheistic at first—mere nature-worship, out of which nations slowly emerged in proportion to activity of the intellect and the results of experience. Reflection lifted the different peoples out of their gross original polytheism. Many of the statements advanced would lead the reader of the volume to suppose that in the primitive forms of religion sensuous language, though unavoidable, expressed more than gross ideas; but it is very doubtful whether this

¹⁶ "Introduction to the Science of Religion: Four Lectures Delivered at the Royal Institution, with Two Essays on False Analogies and the Philosophy of Mythology." By F. Max Müller, M.A. London: Longmans and Co.

be correct. The yearnings of the heart for a higher Being or the Infinite were scarcely represented in the rude, materialistic worship common to polytheistic nations. The germ of religion may have been at the bottom of the feeling that led to nature-worship; but the perception of a Father in heaven cannot justly be transferred into the coarse minds of polytheists. Mr. Müller explains too much by metaphor, and spiritualizes old religious conceptions. He assigns spirit where there is nought but letter. Giving too great influence to language over thought, he attenuates the anthropomorphic ideas of idolaters, as if such ideas or desires could not be otherwise expressed because of the limitations and imperfections of their vocabularies. A just opinion is stretched beyond its true bearing. As to the Semitic names of Deity, he is wrong in following Fleischer with respect to El, Eloah, and Elohim. Exclusively Arabic scholars are seldom good Hebraists. The origin of El and Eloah is the same, as Gesenius rightly shows. The roots of both are two verbs substantially identical, viz., *Aval* or *Aul* and *Alah*. The Essays on False Analogies and the Philosophy of Mythology are more favourable specimens of the Professor's ability. The book will scarcely add to the writer's reputation. It has too much extraneous matter. Padded with minor things and abundance of words, the work makes a display of knowledge, and of liberality without danger to its author, the actual result is spread out unnecessarily. All that relates to Jacolliot's book and to Prof. Blackie should have been absent. A single lecture might have embraced within sufficient range of exposition the valuable remarks contained in the volume.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

MR. FITZJAMES STEPHEN'S work on "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,"¹ is chiefly remarkable and interesting for exhibiting, in a most clear and unmistakable form, a number of vagrant tendencies by which English moral and political thought is at the present day threatened. Utilitarianism grossly travestied, Christianity republished after the edition of Paley, the provinces of law and morality hopelessly confounded, incessant legislation represented as the sole panacea for all human evils (so far as they admit of remedy at all), and all political principles either ignored as unauthenticated by continuing experience or scorned as the products of rhetorical sentimentality—such are some of the most corrupting facts apparent just now on the surface of English society, and to which Mr. Stephen has given a quasi-philosophical and organized form. Mr. Stephen has chosen for his text some of Mr. Mill's later treatises, as his works on "Liberty" "Utilitarianism" and the "Subjection of Women" in which works Mr. Stephen alleges the teaching to be inconsistent with the teaching of the works on "Logic" and "Political Economy." Mr. Stephen wishes to show "the grounds on

¹ "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." By James Fitzjames Stephen, Q.C. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1873.

which it is possible to agree with the greater part of the two books last mentioned, and even to maintain principles which they rather imply than assert, and at the same time to dissent in the strongest way from the view of human nature and human affairs which pervades the works first mentioned." The controversy is an extremely important one, and one in which not only the interests of truth of the highest sort are at stake, but also the estimation in which Mr. Mill himself deserves to be held, for it is unquestionably true that it is far more on the ground of his later works and of the anticipations of them contained in his "*Dissertation and Discussion*," than on the more scholastic works approved of by Mr. Stephen (invaluable as, of course, these are), that the extraordinary moral and intellectual reputation enjoyed by Mr. Mill was attained. It was the great merit of Mr. Mill, and it supplies a main key to understanding the width and depth of his personal influence, that he ever sharply distinguished between principles and the modified application of them possible in practice. He resented the notion of theory being looked upon as antipathetic to practice, or of theorists and practical men being at constant and irreconcilable feud with one another, and, in every topic he treated, brought into the clearest relief the immutable axiom applicable to it, as well as the limitations on its practical working as historically and actually presented through the friction of human error and weakness. Thus in treating of "*Liberty*," Mr. Mill kept his eyes undeviatingly fixed on the most favourable conditions for the growth of the individual soul. He saw that all pressure from without, whether direct or indirect, necessary or unnecessary, tends of itself to reduce the human soul from the condition of a living spirit to that of a dead machine. Character becomes lost, dwarfed, or distorted, and variety of development gives place to a monotonous reproduction of identical specimens. Nevertheless Mr. Mill knew and recognised as clearly as Mr. Stephen himself that all law implies a diminution of liberty, and therefore that law is to that extent an essential evil. Consequently the political problem is how to make such laws as may confine the liberty of each to such a degree as, and no more than, is needed to promote the liberty of all. Nothing can be more opposed to this mode of applying "*utilitarian*" doctrines than Mr. Stephen's. According to Mr. Stephen, there are no established principles whatever in law or in politics,—only constantly shifting probabilities, the value of these probabilities being only determined from day to day by some such body as a Select Committee of the House of Commons. There is no room for faith, for enthusiasm, for devotion to an idea. The only attitude for an enlightened man is that of general expectancy directed to the appearance of new facts. These facts may concern this world or another after death, and may refer to the existence of a Divine Creator. If so, the action of man will be restricted in proportion to the extent of the interference and the power of the Being to whose control he finds himself hypothetically subjected. It might then be anticipated that, on the question which of all others calls for a clear hold of, and vivid insight into, a principle resting upon the most unassailable foundations, that of the moral equality for all purposes of husband and wife, Mr. Stephen's rugged

John-Bullism would show at its worst. It is enough to cite a passage: "On this and a thousand other such questions the wisest and the most affectionate people might arrive at opposite conclusions. What is to be done in such a case? for something must be done. I say the *wife* ought to give way, *she ought to obey her husband* and carry out the view at which he deliberately arrives just as, when the captain gives the word to cut away the masts, the lieutenant carries out his orders at once, though he may be a better seaman and may disapprove of them." Surely this is simply begging the question. Which is the captain and which the lieutenant?

The collection and republication of Professor Cairnes' essays on "Political Economy,"² scattered as they have been through the pages of ephemeral reviews and magazines, does not need the apology which is customary and indeed necessary on such occasions. Professor Cairnes is perhaps the most clear-sighted and most amiable of living controversialists. He makes himself complete master of his opponent's treatise, and of his logical position, and he never misrepresents him knowingly, or deals unfairly by him. At the same time he never cares merely for the bracing stimulus of the conflict, but always has rather in view the establishment of an important and positive principle than the humiliation of his adversary. Thus, as is illustrated in the essays on "Comte" and "Bastiat," disputes which in the hands of most men would be mere displays of clever adroitness, become with Professor Cairnes landmarks in the development of his own theory, or rather signposts warning the traveller of the dangerous region into which he had better not let his steps be attracted. Professor Cairnes is well known to have paid minute attention to the subject of the Gold Discoveries in their economic aspect, and to have foretold the probable consequences, economical and social, which would be likely to follow in their train. In the essay entitled "Summary of the Movement," the general results of these investigations will be found conveniently formularized:—

"The impending changes will in many cases increase instead of mitigating existing inequalities of condition. They will enrich the cosmopolitan merchant at the expense of the petty trader. They will enrich the commercial classes, as a whole, at the expense of possessors of fixed incomes, of the professional classes, and of salaried employes. Landlords will probably, on the whole, be gainers; they will lose temporarily where the outstanding leases are long, but they will gain permanently through the lightening of their fixed incumbrances; the balance of gain being obtained by encroaching on the incomes of the mortgagees. The tendency of the movement, amongst the middle and higher portions of society, will then be to aggrandize the wealthy at the expense of the indigent; to tax the more liberal and enlightened for the benefit of the more narrow-minded and selfish; to enrich those whose command of wealth is perhaps already somewhat in advance of their sense of its responsibilities from the means of classes at once more necessitous and less cultivated. These are the evils of the change, and against these we have to set the benefit to the working classes, and the ultimate gain to the world from the opening of new

² "Essays on Political Economy. Theoretical and Applied." By J. E. Cairnes, M.A. London: Macmillan. 1878.

and fertile regions to man's industry, and the extension of his dominion over the earth."

Professor Cairnes' defence of "Political Economy" as fulfilling all the conditions of a true science, against the disparagement of M. Comte, affords an interesting exhibition of the condition of the science in the present day. The tests proposed by M. Comte for the purpose of discrediting Political Economy are "continuity" and "fecundity," and Professor Cairnes points out how remarkably the science responds to the application of both of these tests. The doctrines of Adam Smith on the theory of production "remain an integral portion of the existing body of economic science." As to his speculations on the phenomena of exchange value, M. Say has said, "The more we extend our knowledge of Political Economy, the more highly we shall appreciate both what he has done and what he has left for others to do." So also Adam Smith's doctrines of foreign trade and of money, have only received additions and modifications at the hands of an illustrious line of successors. Professor Cairnes asks, "whether there is nothing in all this but the reproduction of sterile controversies, ever renewed, never advancing?" He replies with equal success to the challenge on the ground of want of fecundity, and points out that the value and living growth of a science must not be measured by the "panaceas" it can offer for the cure of social evils, but by the light it can afford as to the origin of those evils. Political Economy thus "reveals the laws by which wealth is produced, accumulated and distributed; according to which capital increases and profit declines, and rent grows, and wages, prices, and interest fluctuate; according to which, in a word, economic phenomena are governed. It thus extends our power of interpreting nature, and, by obeying, of conquering her; and in so doing it has given evidence of fecundity in the only sense in which fecundity can be properly required of a science." This volume of essays contains an interesting though severe review of Bastiat, in which an acute criticism is contained of his doctrine that "value is the relation of two *services* exchanged." The meaning of this doctrine was that exchange-value under all circumstances is due to human effort as its sole and exclusive cause—no account being taken of the worth of things which is not derived from the exertion bestowed upon them in production, but from the limited quantity in which they exist. But Bastiat did not confine the use of the term *service* to personal exertions made in another's behalf. He extended it so as to make it synonymous with human effort generally, the result of which was, as Professor Cairnes put it, that having been at infinite pains to exclude gratuitous gifts of nature from the possible element of value, and pointedly identifying the phenomenon with human "effort" as its exclusive source, he designates human effort by the term "service," and then employs this term to admit as sources of value those very gratuitous natural gifts the exclusion of which in this capacity constituted the essence of his doctrine. The truth of this criticism is established by a number of quotations.

The land question has been so largely and multifariously treated of late, that it might be anticipated that nothing further could be added

to its theoretical exposition. Yet Mr. John Macdonell³ has succeeded in presenting some aspects of the whole question in such a luminous and readable form as amply justifies a fresh publication on the subject. Mr. Macdonell, rather epigrammatically, states the condition of the main question to be thus:—"Here the State gets little of the rent, and the people at large get little of the land." He points out that in India the ownership of the soil resides in the State; and that not a few other countries have approximated to the same ideal, by means of the creation of peasant proprietors, or, in other words, by diffusing the soil as much as possible among the people. "In the United Kingdom alone do we see the prevalence of a land system unlike those two." Mr. Macdonell speaks with considerable wisdom and discretion when he condemns those who would force a system of proprietors upon any country; and holds that they commit the same mistake as Protectionists, who would force upon some nation an unsuitable branch of industry. The main object, however, of the work, and also its most conspicuous merit, is to point out the extreme desirability of the State gradually making itself the supreme landlord of all lands in the country. This is recommended as much as a fiscal measure as on other grounds. The value of land is constantly growing, from causes wholly independent of the will and energy of the owners or occupiers of it. The expenses of the State are also constantly growing, from the complicated conditions of advancing civilization, and the ever newly developed functions of government. A prudent policy would secure that the value of land, which is constantly increasing from several social causes, and which has been called the "economic rent," should be used to meet the increasing exigencies of the State. This result might be brought about gradually, and without any violent act of confiscation:—First, a land-tax might gradually be imposed, and if made heavy enough, and in company with the alternative of purchase by the State at a fair price, must gradually result in the State becoming general owner. The same result will be facilitated by the State parting as little as possible with existing rights in mines, commons, railways, and other property over which any claim has been retained; though Mr. Macdonell animadverts with deserved censure on the successive statutes by which important public rights have been conveyed to private proprietors. Some portions of this work are written with considerable natural eloquence, while it is also well argued, and sufficiently full of statistical and other illustrations.

It is a great service to the discussion of the land question in England to put in a perfectly clear and brief shape the exact result which was brought about at the beginning of the present century by the great land reformers of Prussia. Colonel Ouvry has achieved this service, and it is to be hoped that some part of the lesson will bear useful fruit.⁴ Colonel Ouvry points out that at the time of commencing the reforms

³ "The Land Question; with Particular Reference to England and Scotland." By John Macdonell. London: Macmillan.

⁴ "Stein and his Reforms in Prussia; with Reference to the Land Question in England." By Col. H. A. Ouvry, C.B. London: Kerby and Endean. 1878.

—that is, in 1807—the status of the Prussian peasant was very similar to that of the English peasant at the commencement of the sixteenth century. The first edict, which owed its authorship to Stein, who had been just recalled to the head of affairs, had for its purposes:—(1), The abolition of villenage; (2), the free exchange of real property; (3), freedom in regard to choice of occupation; (4), liberty of dividing property and selling it piecemeal; (5), free power of granting leases, and (6), the cutting off of entails. Colonel Ouvry notices, however, that even that beneficial edict left the work very incomplete. Stein encountered many enemies in consequence of his legislation, and they even enlisted Napoleon on their side. On the 24th of November, 1808, on its being represented to the king that so long as Stein remained in office it was impossible to expect anything from the good offices of Napoleon, Stein's dismissal was signed. The king knew his worth, and expressed to him in the letter of dismissal "how painful it was to him to find himself compelled to part with a man of his character, who had most just claims to his confidence and that of the nation." The next epoch in the history of Prussian reform is marked by the ministry of Hardenberg, and by the legislation which emanated from it. This legislation consists of two edicts bearing the same date, the 14th of September, 1811. The first edict was "for the regulation of the relations between the lords of the manor and their peasants;" the second was "for the better cultivation of the land." The ruling ideas of these edicts were the absolute freedom of exchange and disposal, and the substitution of ownership for tenancy. The following passage from one of the edicts is worth quoting in full:—

"There is yet another advantage springing from this love of piecemeal alienation which is well worthy of attention, and which fills our paternal heart with especial gladness. It gives, namely, an opportunity to the so-called little folk—cottiers, gardeners, workmen, and day-labourers to acquire landed property, and little by little to increase it. The prospect of such acquisition will render this numerous and useful class of our subjects industrious, orderly, and saving, inasmuch as thus only will they be enabled to obtain the means necessary to the purchase of land. Many of them will be able to work their way upwards, and to acquire property, and to make themselves remarkable for their industry. The State will acquire a new and valuable class of industrious proprietors; by the endeavour to become such, agriculture will obtain new hands, and by increased voluntary exertion, more work out of old ones."

The text of the edicts is taken from an article in the Cobden Club Essays.

Lord Dunsany,⁵ in his work entitled "*Gaul or Teuton?*" investigates the whole recent history and antecedents of France and Germany, in order to discover which of the two offer themselves as the most safe and attractive allies for England. The work is interesting, as calling attention to a number of historical facts, such as those concerned with the late Anglo-French alliance, which might otherwise be overlooked. Though unfavourable to any connexion with France, Lord Dunsany is not afflicted with wild Galli-phobia. He is quite as

⁵ "*Gaul or Teuton? Considerations as to our Allies of the Future.*" By Lord Dunsany. London: Longmans. 1873.

much afraid of the virtues of France as of her vices, though he does not think highly of her virtues; and if any gratitude was due to France on the part of England, it is due, he thinks, to the late Emperor alone, and not to those who dethroned him. The truth is, that the elements of the comparison are too unsteady at present to admit of any valuable generalizations looking far ahead being ventured upon.

A very vigorous onslaught on the abuses which have gathered round the charitable institutions of London is made by the author of "*Contrasts*," and dedicated to the ratepayers of London.⁶ The work is of a very unpretending exterior, but contains matter of the utmost importance to all who are concerned in dealing with pauperism and its consequences to ratepayers, as presented in London. The writer's position is, that while pauperism is constantly growing and the rating which must provide for it increasing in severity, the wealth of the great charitable foundations, which were instituted mainly or solely for the purpose of introducing a substitute for poor-laws, is constantly on the increase, but has been almost entirely diverted from its original purpose, or is so badly administered as to be practically wasted. "Take, for example, three of our great metropolitan hospitals—Guy's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Thomas's. Find the value of the ground they stand on, and the buildings erected on it. Add to these the amount of their revenues, and the total would probably be found sufficient to build and in great part maintain every metropolitan Poor Law infirmary, including imbecile, lunatic, and special asylums, in the most perfect manner, without the cost of one shilling to the ratepayers." The strength, or rather the overwhelming strength of the argument, can only be appreciated by a careful and detailed study of the whole work. It exhibits in every page of it not only a thorough knowledge of all the relevant facts concerning existing hospitals, asylums, pauper schools, charity schools, and livery companies, but also a rare and introspective, as well as most kindly, acquaintance with the habits and wants of almost all classes of London poor. The sort of absurd, if it were not gross and culpable, diversion of funds from the lowest class of poor, for whom they were intended, may be instanced from the case of Christ's Hospital. It was endowed directly and solely as the pauper school of the metropolis. Stow, in his "*Summerie*," written in 1556, speaking of Christ's Hospital, says:—"It was established to take the child out of the street, which was the seed and increase of beggary, by reason of idle bringing up." He goes on to say, that in one month from the opening of the school, 21st of November, 1552, "children had been taken from the streets to school in number four hundred." It is obvious that if a charitable foundation like this were only turned by those who talk so loudly of the "intention" of the founder to the strict accomplishment of that intention, all necessity for rates in aid of education and all troublesome questions of supporting denominational schools out of rates would be done away

⁶ "*Contrasts*. Dedicated to the Ratepayers of London." London: Strahan and Co. 1873.

with. The same lesson applies to all the other sides of the problem of London pauperism.

It is impossible not to be fascinated to a certain extent with Mr. Partridge's⁷ writings on political subjects. His ideas are always large and grand, his enthusiasm is infectious, and his political faith in the future of the country and of the world is unbounded. He thus starts in controversy with a great advantage over all those persons who are either pursuing some narrow, selfish, and illiberal end, or are bent upon obtaining a partial reconciliation between opposed disputants by a policy of unlimited compromise. On the question of religious teaching in schools, Mr. Partridge seems to treat the sectarian party as belonging to the former class, and the members of the Birmingham National Education League as not so remote from the latter class as, in form, they appear to be. Mr. Partridge has a very exalted view of what the State is as a gradually developing and living organism, and he holds its religious character to be essential to it; and therefore any education which absolutely ignores its religious character can never affect to be, and ought not to be allowed to be, national. On this ground he supports the use of the Bible in Board Schools. He believes a time is coming when "we shall see the leading clergy of all denominations seeking gladly (and gladly sought for) our common Board schools, as the exponents of a common religion—taking it in turn, not to exalt and exasperate differences, but to instil the great truths of God and of humanity into the minds of those whom the sects have never reached yet, and whom, now, as such, we hope they never will reach."

Mr. Todhunter⁸ is well known as one of the most brilliant of modern Cambridge mathematicians, and successful of private tutors; and thus his deliberate opinions on the state of education at Cambridge, and on the most hopeful measures of reform, command especial attention. The volume of Essays he has just published range over all the main topics of recent controversy on the subject of academic reform. The style is attractive, being clear, decisive, and sufficiently, but not excessively, embellished. Mr. Todhunter is a bold, but not a radical reformer. Indeed, he probably knows that the audience most immediately interested in his views demand moderation more than ought else. Mr. Todhunter agrees with all the most able university critics as to the degrading effects of the excessive competitions and the extravagant prizes which form so conspicuous an element in the life of the "reading man:"—

"The prize seems to be too great to be made to depend on such a precarious method of appreciating claims as even the best examination furnishes. The large rewards thus held out for attainments in certain studies, estimated in a certain way, tend to make our students regard too much the immediate market value of their knowledge, and to neglect any pursuit which does not promise an early

⁷ "Citizenship versus Secularists and Sacerdotalists in the Matter of National Teaching." By a Birmingham Liberal. London: Trübner. 1873.

⁸ "The Conflict of Studies, and other Essays on Subjects connected with Education." By J. Todhunter, M.A., F.R.S. London: Macmillan. 1873.

pecuniary return. Hence we suffer under a disheartening want of faith in all but the mercenary inducements to mental exertion."

This has often been said before, but the long experience and exceptional opportunities enjoyed by Mr. Todhunter give these opinions in this place a special emphasis. While, however, decrying the stimulus to immoderate study for ignoble ends, Mr. Todhunter is equally alive to the existing temptation in the opposite direction to unbridled indulgence in athletic exercises and sports:—

"Public and private tutors must too often be conscious that even if the bodies of the pupils are delivered with reasonable regularity to the lecture-room, the thought and interest are still on the river or in the cricket-ground; a student once almost drove a lecturer frantic by pleading, as an excuse for absence from instruction, what he called 'attendance to his boating duties.' . . . It would not be prudent to institute any inquiry as to the disposal of these watermen after they leave the University, for fear of the discovery that they mostly reappeared as clergymen."

Mr. Todhunter has very decided views about a number of other topics—such as the waste that is incurred in retaining the almost sinecure office of a headship of a college in its present shape; the inexpediency of inducing men to pass examinations for fellowships long after they have taken their degrees—a practice which gives an obvious advantage to the men who can best afford to remain in Cambridge, and so to the men who need the fellowship the least; the mockery of the present mode of electing a member for the university, according to which the bulk of the constituency are non-resident; and the advisability of curtailing mathematical examinations.

Mr. Murphy⁹ makes a somewhat unwarrantable assumption, and a somewhat unsubstantiated promise, in the title to his book on convents and the conventual life. He starts with the conviction that the ordinary English objection to convents is founded upon a misconception as to their tenacious hold upon their inmates, and promises to give much information likely to change the public opinion as to their usefulness. The conviction that a nun once, is practically a nun for ever, is not to be changed by an assertion of Mr. Murphy's that it is physically possible for a nun to leave her convent; it rests on the belief that such a change is rendered morally impossible; and that position is not assailed in this volume. The information supplied is very old and very well known, so far as it relates to the facts that the convents in the United Kingdom have, almost without exception, been founded to carry out benevolent schemes among the population of our large towns and cities. That part which is not so hackneyed consists in an interesting and enthusiastic series of biographies of the founders or revivers of the different orders which have taken root among us. That the Irish is the most elevated nationality in the world, and that Catholicism is a persecuted religion in Ireland, are two theses constantly kept in mind. Chapters on primary education in England

⁹ "Terra Incognita; or the Convents of the United Kingdom." By John Nicholas Murphy. London: Longmans. 1873.

and in Ireland may be of value in ascertaining Catholic lay opinion on these subjects.

An interesting, though somewhat gossiping work, entitled "*The Legal Profession*,"¹⁰ lets the general public into a knowledge of a number of professional mysteries which have not hitherto been laid bare with such unblushing temerity. The book ranges over a vast number of topics touching on the existing character of the bar, the relation of barristers and attornies to one another, and the rules of etiquette regulating both branches of the profession. The most permanent and valuable portion of the book is some really precious historical research, which, if the results of it were not conveyed in a certain mock-serious and more than half-jesting way, would entitle the book to an important place in the historiography of law. Thus the early history of the Incorporated Law Society is extracted from a report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, from which it appears that, owing to the attornies having been gradually banished from the Inns of Court, at the commencement of the present century, the attornies and solicitors were destitute alike of a hall of assembly, library, office of registry, club rooms for professional conferences, and fire-proof room. The first movement in London for supplying what was wanting, resulted in the creation of the Law Institution, the original prospectus of which bore date January 23rd, 1825. The Institution was incorporated by Charter bearing date the 22nd of December, 1831, as the "*Incorporated Law Society*."

We have the second volume of Dr. Bastian's "*Ethnological Inquiries*."¹¹ It pursues the investigation of the mutual relations and movements of primitive races into North and South America, Africa, and Mid-Asia. The work is full of invaluable material relating to the manner of life, ethical and religious beliefs, and comparative usages of a vast number of savage tribes, which must make it a perfect store-house for the writers of more popular treatises; for, owing to the quantity and closeness of the facts contained in this treatise, popular it can hardly be called.

The report of a successful termination to Sir Bartle Frere's mission to Zanzibar must, whether it prove in the long run the precursor of a complete suppression of the East African slave trade or not, render Captain Colomb's¹² and Captain Sullivan's¹³ volumes peculiarly valuable. Prejudged as the subject is in England when once it has been called a slave trade, it is of great importance to hear from eye-witnesses what are the peculiarities of the traffic as it now exists, what have been the mistakes in our former treatment of rescued slaves and of Arab slave-dealers, what are the special dangers arising from the conclusion of

¹⁰ "*The Legal Profession: Viewed in the Light of its Past History, its Present State, and Projected Law Reforms.*" London: Ridgway. 1873.

¹¹ "*Ethnologische Forschungen und Sammlung von Matériel für dieselben.*" Von Dr. Adolf Bastian. Zweite Band. Jena: 1873.

¹² "*Slave Catching in the Indian Ocean.*" By Captain Colomb, R.N. London: Longmans. 1873.

¹³ "*Dhow Chasing in Zanzibar Waters.*" By Captain G. L. Sullivan, R.N. London: Sampson Low and Co. 1873.

such a treaty as is now believed to have been concluded with the Sultan of Zanzibar, and what are the schemes suggested by the eye-witnesses for meeting the various difficulties they describe. The witnesses do not agree on all points, although their experiences have been about equally recent and of about the same regions. Captain Colomb does not think there is any real evidence on which the awful estimate that four-fifths of the slaves die before reaching the market can rest. He says that the stories of brutal violence on the part of the traders contradict themselves; that the Arabs are far too good men of business. Captain Sullivan believes the trade to be on the increase. Both agree in blaming our recognition of "domestic slavery," and the consequent perplexity of captains of H.M.'s ships when they catch a dhow with so-called domestic slaves on board, as the reason why the trade has been impossible to put down. The dhows trading in legal commodities along the coast make some of their best profits by conveying legally bought slaves from one port and selling them at another, employing them as sailors on the way; and so long as slavery exists on land, such a trade and such consequent difficulties must remain. Of course smuggling is also carried on largely, and it is only comparatively rarely that a fully loaded slave-dhow can be caught. The East African slave ships are arranged on quite a different plan from those that used to be employed in the South American trade. They are as inferior in systematic discomfort as their owners are in the systematic economy of business. Of many such vessels it may truly be said that the slaves fare no worse—can fare no worse—on the passage than their Arab owners; and the voyages are, of course, very much shorter. Then there is a total difference in the mental attitude of the traders. Granted that they are equally cruel and careless of life, the abolished traders knew what they were doing, while the Arab commonly attributes the interference of English ships to an inscrutable decree of Providence carried out by means of an equally unaccountable eccentricity on the part of the English. Whether this state of mind will be changed by a treaty between England and the Sultan of Zanzibar, or whether it will simply produce the result that the Sultan will find his throne too hot to hold him, or whether he has devised some scheme for placating his subjects while apparently yielding the point to England, remains to be seen. The doubt renders it none the less necessary that we should so increase our squadron in those waters as to engrave indelibly on the Arab mind the conviction that we are absolutely determined to interfere with their affairs just so far as is necessary in order to stop their most lucrative trade. If the slave trade on the East Coast is formally abolished, there is yet a great deal of slave-catching to be done by sea, and possibly some by land; and we are bound to face the question of what ought to be done with the slaves caught during past years and yet to be caught. It appears plain that the right treatment has not yet been tried. We have landed slaves at Bombay, and they have fallen into a frightful condition so far as material comfort goes, and have simply changed fetishism for Hindooism. We have landed them at the Seychelles, and there they are in little better condition than if they had remained as slaves,

unclad, untaught, and barely fed. There can be no doubt that in dealing with the slave-trade alone we are dealing with a symptom only of the disease of non-civilization in Africa. It happens to be a symptom the checking of which has a direct effect upon the disease, because, could we spoil the market, the traders would no longer have the same strong motives for stirring up the wars in the interior which supply their caravans and keep the tribes in hopeless barbarism. Probably—very probably, in the opinion of these two witnesses—the true course lies in a reformation in our mode of disposing of the slaves when caught, caring for them instead of casting them adrift, “free,” away from all their accustomed life and without the control necessary for so childlike a race. Some teaching in self-control, in morals, if not in religion, and in agriculture and, generally, in mechanical arts might be given in some healthy position near the coast and in the line likely to be taken by the traders when driven from the Zanzibar markets further south; and then the instructed negroes, returning to or towards their former homes, would naturally change the aspect of affairs in the interior and might inaugurate an era of commerce which would both elevate the African tribes and open the whole continent to civilizing influences. It is not possible in a short notice to give a worthy idea of two works which reflect so great credit on that portion of the Navy which is employed as a slave-catching squadron.

The story of outrage perpetrated and of vengeance exacted in the islands of the Pacific is told without much graphic power, but with a certain seaman-like straightforwardness by Commander Markham.¹⁴ It appears that the violence shown by Englishmen to the islanders dates further back than that labour-traffic to supply the Australian cotton plantations which is but ten years old in fact, however hoary it is in crime. Thirty years ago English crews massacred natives who were anxious to prevent their sandal-wood trees from being cut down for a trade with China. Instances of the same sort naturally—and, it may almost be said, justifiably—followed by retaliation when opportunity served, have increased steadily in number; and the *Rosario* was sent, in 1871, to cruise among the islands, to endeavour to maintain peace and justice on both sides. Few instructions could be given for such work, as all must depend upon the power of the captain of a vessel, sent on such an errand, to judge rightly of the contradictory reports which reach him as to the amount of provocation previously endured by the islanders, of their character in the different islands which lie so close together and yet are inhabited by such diverse races, and of the effect likely to be produced by punishment or by forbearance, in each of the varying cases brought before him. The moderation and wisdom of Commander Markham is visible throughout his simple narrative, and the results of his cruise cannot fail to be obvious in the increased awe felt by the islanders of the power of an English man-of-war; in their increased belief in the lenity of English captains, as well as in their kindness when ill-

¹⁴ The Cruise of the *Rosario* amongst the New Hebrides.” By A. H. Markham, Commander R. N. London: Sampson Low and Co. 1873.

treatment has once been demonstrated to have been inflicted; and, not least, in the very decided check that must be put upon the ships trading in labour in those islands by the dread of being detected in any illicit dealings. The slave-trade in other parts of the world has always been much protected by the want of knowledge on the part of captains when first undertaking the command of ships cruising to repress it; and this volume, by the commander of the first vessel sent to the Pacific islands for a similar purpose, will be an invaluable aid to his successors, as well as a good example for them to follow. A preliminary chapter on the history of discovery in the New Hebrides is of great interest.

Those who would make themselves acquainted with the existing condition of the Australian Colonies cannot do better than read such reports as that of the Board of Education of Victoria for 1871;¹⁵ and the Census Report of New Zealand, taken on the night of the 27th of February, 1871.¹⁶ The former report is prepared with great care, and presents a complete picture of the whole educational system of Victoria. It will be seen that the half-time method prevails in certain schools; that music and drilling are matters upon which examinations are held in some schools, and that the number of scholars has been of late years gradually on the increase. Examination papers are appended, from which a more precise conception may be obtained of the sort of education given, or, at least, of the standard kept in view. The New Zealand Census Report is also extremely interesting. The report touches upon the "civil or conjugal condition" of the people, dwellings, electoral franchise, occupations, religious denominations, education, land and crops and live stock—the latter statistics being obtained under the Census Acts Amendment Act, 1867 and 1870.

The Post Office Directory¹⁷ to the Stationers, Printers, Booksellers, Publishers, and Papermakers of England, Scotland, and Wales sufficiently speaks for its own utility.

Sydney Smith's famous advice to O'Connell to substitute "Erin go bread and cheese, Erin go cabins that will keep out the rain, Erin go pantaloons without holes in them," for the old "Erin go bragh," is endorsed to the full by Dr. Macaulay.¹⁸ He first investigates the prominent difficulties of the day in Ireland, and then tells us what he believes to be at the bottom of them. Disaffection he believes to be largely the result of that policy of Rome which has filled the Sees with Ultramontane bishops, and so has tended to make the Irish less loyal. Ignorance and violence he ascribes to the fact that Catholics are not encouraged to get education really, however much the Church may, for the sake of power, be trying to get education into its own

¹⁵ "Tenth Report of the Board of Education of Victoria for 1871." Melbourne. 1872.

¹⁶ "Results of a Census of New Zealand, taken for the night of the 27th of February, 1871. Wellington: 1872.

¹⁷ "Post-Office Stationers', Printers', Booksellers', Publishers', and Paper Makers' Directory. London: Kelly and Co. 1872."

¹⁸ "Ireland in 1872." By James Macaulay, M.A., M.D. Edin. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

hands. Emigration and the consequent depopulation of the island he believes to be unmixed blessings, as tending to produce a freer and more enlightened sort of *petite culture*, while, at the same time he expects that the actual working of the Land Tenure Act will be greatly to diminish the number of farm-holdings under fifty acres. He does not believe that Absenteeism is now a just ground of complaint. The radical remedy for all evils in Ireland is to be found in education and the spread of religious knowledge.

A thoughtful man commonly flies to the mountains in order to get rid of his intellectual work, but flies in vain. Each fresh condition of society stirs up the old questions, and, whether he will or no, adds to his store of materials for thought. Probably the thoughts thus suggested, and working themselves out to the accompaniment of healthy sounds and sights, are often better worth recording than those born solely of the determination to see the bottom of a matter, and laboriously set out in order among the distractions of city life and heavy air; but men do not often think of giving to the public the upshot of their pedestrian ruminations. Mr. Zincke¹⁸ is wiser than many, and among his slight and rather uninteresting records of a trip in the Oberland, tells us what fresh light on English land-tenure he got during a walk through the valley of the Visp. That valley is in the stage of peasant proprietorship, and as a consequence of the proportion of population to the ground, and of their relations, the conditions requisite for intellectual life are absent, while industry, honesty, prudence, forethought, and frugality are virtues necessarily universal among the people. Yet good as these results are, it is impossible to rest satisfied with such a social condition as ideal; it is "the moral life rather of a bee-hive, or of an ant-hill, than of this rich and complex world to which we belong." Suppose the Visp-side were suddenly to assume the conditions of similar tracts, say in Scotland or England, where it would probably belong to one landlord, and a considerable proportion of the products of the soil would have to be paid in rent, and so the population would be diminished, and the produce of the land partially lost to that land. Industry, and all the other peasant's virtues, will not have the same stimulus or reward, and the petty trades necessarily introduced are not favourable to morality. Division of class interest enters, and where a lower morality prevails, the intellectual life is not likely to be genuinely raised. Mr. Zincke then sketches the history of land and capital up to what he calls the present "era of capital;" and then describes what might be supposed to be "the natural action of capital and the natural action of landed property, if left to take their own unimpeded course in the valley," and contrasts this with the actual state of things among us. The moral of the whole reflection would seem to be that entail is intolerable, as preventing the free use of land as capital, and of capital to cultivate the land, and Mr. Zincke believes that the true future of England will be such a system of co-operative ownership of land, as will supply the enormous

¹⁸ "A Month in Switzerland." By F. Barham Zincke. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1873.

capital necessary for cultivating it to its highest capability of production, and such as will most thoroughly bring about the result that land be divided as easily and afford as good and available security as any stocks or funds in existence. Incidentally, the difficulty of disestablishing the Church of England while the holding of estates comprising several parishes makes the receipts of the clergyman the only portion of the rent spent in the parish is dwelt upon. Apropos of a drama written by a child impressed by the Swiss mountains, Mr. Zincke writes an interesting chapter on education as it ought to be.

Long a resident in France, Herr Hillebrand²⁰ has studied the French nation with an impartiality commonly to be found only in studying the history of peoples remote from the student in place as well as in time. He addresses himself specially to the German people; and is keenly desirous to check in them all tendencies to a scornful depreciation of their late enemies, as well as to guard them against some of the faults to which he believes the humiliation of France was owing. He notes the inclination so obvious in German literature of the present day, and not absent in that of former times, to speak of German culture as though it was not only the best, but the only real culture of the world, and compares this with the French conviction that France was the pioneer of civilization. Herr Hillebrand's account of French life includes painstaking descriptions of the peculiarities of family life, of intellectual life, of political life, of the conditions of education, and of the complex relations between the provinces and the capital. Sketches of the more prominent French authors and public men of the day are introduced with great advantage to the interest of the volume.

Whether a French book of travels keeps up to the French standard for such works of careful elaboration of detailed information on all points concerning the country described, or whether it simply deals with the light aspects of touring rather than travelling, it is sure to be vivacious and sparkling. M. Paul Lenoir's²¹ account of the doings of a group of young French artists in Egypt, the Desert, and at Petra, is full of life and freshness, and is written in a kindlier and less contemptuous spirit than many of the effusions of visitors to the countries inhabited by the Arabian races. Even the Cairene dogs "deserve honourable mention" as the "real guards of the city at the hour when all honest people are asleep, and nobody is abroad but malefactors, among whom they include Europeans, who cannot break themselves of the habit of dining out, going to balls, and coming home late." The power which M. Lenoir shows in transferring vivid impressions of people and of glowing colouring to paper may, we hope, be taken as promise of good work from this little party of Gérôme's pupils, who went to Egypt "to look out for subjects for pictures, and to paint them. We did not pretend to see everything, but we wished to see thoroughly, and to paint the truth of everything we were to

²⁰ "Frankreich und die Franzosen." By Karl Hillebrand Berlin. 1873.

²¹ "The Fayoum, or Artists in Egypt." By Paul Lenoir. London: Henry S. King. 1873.

see." The book is free from artist slang and attractive for its simplicity, and the air of thorough enjoyment which pervades every line.

A keen sense and experience of the common ignorance in English society of the whereabouts of Tangier, impels Miss Perrier²² to publish an account of her journey to Morocco and residence there for some months. The information she supplies is diluted and enlivened by the narration of many incidents of her life there which are of a purely personal nature, but which are seen and described quite from a humorous side. Settling down for some months in a very remarkable hotel in Tangier, Miss Perrier was able to see a good deal of the ordinary life of the people, and details the result without any of the formality sometimes assumed by travellers who believe themselves to be breaking rather fresh ground, and who seem oppressed by the sense of a responsibility to perform the functions of "Murray." The utter want of education even for boys, and the deplorable condition of the Moorish women, stand out from the canvas, together with the prescriptive right of beggary, and the unsatisfactory individuality of various "saints" held in much esteem by the Moors. Miss Perrier, however, has no severer criticism to make on the Mohammedans and their teaching than she has on some Christian clergy and their teachings. On the whole, she thinks that the negroes are "by no means the worst off of the 'slaves' in Morocco. In some respects their condition was a safer, even a freer one than that of their owners," particularly than the women, whose condition much stirred her pity.

Mr. Calvert²³ has long been concerned to demonstrate to the incredulous the mineral wealth of India. While deploring the ill-fate of some explorers who have mistaken iron pyrites for gold, he wishes to incite the adventurous to make expeditions from Simla or Jullundur to Kulu, either for the pleasure of hunting or mere travelling in the splendid scenery of the Lower Himalaya, or for the more remunerative purpose of "prospecting" for the mines of untold wealth, the existence of which he has now so thoroughly demonstrated that a company is being formed to work them. He tells of a slip on the mountain-side which made him grasp at a tree, the roots of which gave way and displayed a lode of silver-bearing lead; of veins of antimony and bismuth; of copper mines visible from far by the discoloration of the mountain-sides, and which crop up to the surface constantly. Sapphires and other precious gems are abundant for those who know how to seek them. For having made these discoveries, Mr. Calvert is entitled to the gratitude of the owners of so rich a land; but he is doubly entitled to it because he held his faith, and made his investigations, in spite of the perversest officialism, which protested that there was nothing there, and gave him no encouragement to go and see. Many mines have long ago been planted over to conceal them from the Sikhs, but few have passed out of mind, or at least out of tradition, and many have never been discovered yet.

²² "A Winter in Morocco." By Amélie Perrier. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

²³ "Kulu and the Silver Country of the Vazeers." By J. Calvert, F.G.S., Mem. Inst. C.E. London and New York: E. and F. N. Spon. 1873.

SCIENCE.

AERIAL travels have now for a long time been profitably applied to the study of the forces at work in the atmosphere, and of the laws which preside over its multiform movements. Science has been enriched by a long series of balloon ascents, and the physics of the atmosphere has certainly gained more by the courage and skill of those who have ploughed the aerial ocean than by the researches in the laboratory of the chemist or physicist. To gather the harvest of scientific facts known about the atmosphere is therefore especially the legitimate business of aerial travellers such as Flammarion and Glaisher.¹ M. Flammarion has endeavoured to collect in this work all that is at present positively known about aerial physics, and to represent as completely as possible the actual state of our knowledge about the atmosphere and its work; that is about the air, the seasons, the climates, the winds, the clouds, the rain, the hurricanes, the storms, the lightning, the meteors; in fact the work gives a synthesis of the researches effected during the last half-century (especially during the latter portion of it) with reference to the great phenomena of terrestrial nature, and the forces which produce them. The great majority of even educated people often pass their lives without a clear perception of our actual relations to those forces of nature which prepare for us our daily bread, ripen for us the grapes that give the wine, preside over the change in the seasons, and alternate the exhilarating blue sky with the rains and cold of inhospitable winter. Yet why should such a state of ignorance exist? Books like the present one by Messrs. Flammarion and Glaisher, remove every difficulty in understanding the life and movements of the globe, as far as they are elucidated by the progress of modern science. The work being destined for the general public, the more technical terms of science have been wisely kept out of it as far as possible, without sacrificing accuracy and precision. The perusal of a work of this kind has not only interest for educated men in all classes of society, but it may be recommended even to the man of science as a *résumé* of what has been done in a particular branch of physics. The arrangement of the details of the subject is exceedingly logical, and we have rarely met with a popular scientific work which is written so clearly and is so attractive, without any of the artificial helps to increase the attraction, with the exception of the illustrations, some of which are real works of art, while others unfortunately share the common fault of this kind of nature illustrations, viz., that of not being quite true to nature.

Professor Haughton's "Principles of Animal Mechanics"² is an

¹ "The Atmosphere." By Camille Flammarion. Edited by James Glaisher, F.R.S. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1873.

² "Principles of Animal Mechanics." By the Rev. Samuel Haughton, F.R.S. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

attempt to fix precisely a series of constants in animal mechanics, based upon observations and experiments which have been carried on by the author for a considerable time. Such a combination of anatomy with geometry must lead to mutual advantages for both sciences. Anatomists will gain by the increased precision which numerical statements must give to their observations; while geometers, as the author has shown, will find in anatomy a new and vast field of problems opened out to their investigation. In the course of the author's investigations we come across numerous instances, in the muscular mechanism of the vertebrate animals, of the application of the principle of least action in nature; that is, the experiments prove that the work to be done is effected by means of the existing arrangement of the muscles, bones, and joints, with a less expenditure of force than would be possible under any other arrangement, so that any alteration would be a positive disadvantage to the animal. The application of this discovery by the author is extremely sagacious. He reasons thus:—If, as it appears probable, this fact should be of much wider occurrence in nature than the proved instances show, it may serve to give us some slight glimpse of the mechanism by which the conservation of species in nature is secured. In astronomy the conservation of the solar system depends upon certain well known conditions regulating the motions of the several bodies of which that system consists; and it is a matter of indifference whether these conditions were directly imposed by the will of the Divine Contriver, or were the indirect result of some former condition of the system. In either case, these conditions are equally the foreseen result of the contrivance. If the present state of the solar system be the result, according to fixed laws, of some pre-existing state of that system, it may be said, in the language of naturalists, to have been evolved out of its former state; but in such an evolution there was nothing left to chance; it was all foreseen, and the evolution itself presided over by the Divine Mind that planned the whole. From this then the author proceeds to the conclusion that it is possible that there may be in organic life a similar process of evolution of higher from lower forms of existence, but that it is a teleological evolution, in which every step and every result was foreseen and planned beforehand. The author admits, however, that the laws of such an evolution appear to be entirely unknown in the present state of our knowledge. It is to be regretted that the author should have introduced the teleological principle. His facts will remain facts for ever, they are genuine additions to science, and additions of great value. Their value is, however, not increased by teleological spice. Scientific men look justly with mistrust even upon the facts discovered by teleologists, although in this case the distinguished position of Professor Houghton dispels even the shadow of a doubt. We have been filled with admiration for the work which has led to results so important but confess that the grim digression on the art of hanging appears to us out of place.

Messrs. Longman and Co. deserve the gratitude of every student of physics wherever English is spoken, for having at last given us a

complete translation³ of the celebrated popular lectures of Professor Helmholtz. These lectures were originally delivered on various occasions before an educated audience, and are designed for readers who, without being professionally occupied with the study of natural science, are yet interested in the scientific results of such studies. The difficulty felt so strongly in printed scientific lectures—namely, that the reader cannot see the experiments, has in the present case been materially lessened by the numerous illustrations which the publishers have liberally furnished. Some of the lectures have been placed previously before us in English scientific periodicals, and all are too well known to students to require now a special introduction. They are recognised as the most admirable specimens of popularizing the results of the most difficult scientific researches, for example, such as on the physiological causes of harmony in music, on ice and glaciers, on the interaction of natural forces, on the conservation of force, and on the recent progress of the theory of vision. No student can be without such a book as this; the clear and precise guidance of Helmholtz to those modern conceptions in physics, which present to students so many difficulties at the outset, is invaluable, and the perusal of these lectures will save many a day of hard thinking about unalterability of work, energy, and its conservation and dissipation.

We have also to announce a collected edition of recent public addresses and contributions to magazines by Professor Huxley,⁴ and a German work on the "forces of nature,"⁵ somewhat similar in plan to M. Guillemin's book, which we have criticised in these pages very recently. The German book is undoubtedly fuller, and contains more matter, but we think this hardly an advantage in a popular work.

"Chronos," by Dr. Wallace Wood,⁶ is an attempt to popularize the results of the doctrine of evolution, where the story is told in the manner of a romantic narrative. The central idea which possessed the author, as unfolded in his dedication to a lady, is that he once remarked "it is an awfully funny world," and as the lady laughed at the remark, he went home and wrote his idea out in a book of 334 pages. In the preface we further learn that as three ages of the world have found expression in "the works of Homer, the Divine Comedy of Dante, and Paradise Lost," so the author of "Chronos" has set about writing the epic of Evolution, though we are to understand that he has aimed only at gathering and arranging the materials for the coming poet to versify. The style of the book is consequently oracular, and like an oracle the author finds no difficulty in giving out antagonistic views upon the same subject. It is not too much to say that the book is an

³ "Helmholtz, Popular Scientific Lectures." Translated by E. Atkinson. London: Longmans & Co. 1873.

⁴ "Huxley, Critiques and Addresses." London: Macmillan & Co. 1873.

⁵ "Zollner, Die Kräfte der Natur." Leipzig und Berlin: Spamer. 1872.

⁶ "Chronos. Mother Earth's Biography. A Romance of the New School." By Wallace Wood, M.D. Small 8vo. London: Trübner. 1873.

immature book written for the immature ; and that though the author gathers many scientific facts and illustrates them with fantastic ideas, he is equally wanting in conception of science and of poetry. Nor is the author to be congratulated on the way in which he affects to be funny by using slang expressions, and by ludicrous headings to his chapters and pages ; for they are only used as a book-maker's lure to entice the reader into a slough of nonsense. The book divides into four parts which sketch the birth, growth, maturity, and death of the world. The birth comprises two chapters with the following headings :—

“THE AWFUL PAST.

“Time is Money.—In the Beginning.—The Universe in Solution and about to Crystallize.—The Genuine Hub of the Universe. Birth of Sol and his introduction at court.—He becomes Paterfamilias.—The Conceit taken out of us.

“THE AWFUL FUTURE.

“No Rest for the Weary.—A fast young man.—End of the World.—The Death Struggle of the Human Race.—Mother Earth a Cold Black Corpse.—Burning her remains.—Tableau Vivant of Celestial History.”

Further on in a chapter called the Fishy Period, an answer is given to the question How we came to have four limbs, and this may serve as a sample of the author's science. The answer is simple. Because the earth by revolving bulges at the equator, so it is clear that a diamond shape by revolving would have four limbs developed, hence animals were originally diamond-shaped, and have been spun round till their limbs sprouted. The proof is to look at a section of the tail of the halibut “when you will find the most beautiful diamond in the world.” This contempt for science by our would-be poet of the Scientific epoch has light thrown upon it by a little section called the Descent of Man, which we quote :—

“DESCENT OF MAN.

“Man, ‘so like a god.’—*Poet*.

“Man, ‘the brute.’—*Woman*.

“Man, ‘the forked radish.’—*Scientist*.

“All three are right ; only reverse the order, and you have it. Man begins as a vegetable, lives as a brute, and ends as an immortal.”

We commend the author to his immortality.

In his “Geological Stories” Mr. J. E. Taylor strikes a new chord. We have plenty of manuals of Geology for students, good, bad, and indifferent, but Mr. Taylor's object is rather to attract students than to give them systematic instruction, although in the course of its fulfilment much information is necessarily given. The author's plan has been foreshadowed to a certain extent by the writers of some children's books, in which we have the history of a needle or a pin as told by the article itself. Thus Mr. Taylor makes the rocks tell their own stories, from the oldest granite up to the materials of a gravel-

⁷ “Geological Stories : A Series of Autobiographies in Chronological Order.” By J. E. Taylor. Small 8vo. London : Hardwicke. 1873.

pit, and although we find in his pages some incongruities which might have been avoided by an author of a higher power of imagination, we must admit that in many cases his idea has been well carried out. Moreover the Geological information conveyed in his stories seems to be thoroughly in accordance with the present views of Geologists, and by the assistance of a table of British formations, which forms part of the appendix, his book will furnish the youthful reader with an admirable sketch of the main facts of Geology. We may add that the illustrations are numerous and generally good.

Dr. Leith Adams's "Field and Forest Rambles"^a introduces us to a part of the British dominions of which certainly very little is known, although few of us are quite so ignorant of the position of New Brunswick on the surface of the globe as Dr. Adams and his brother officers seem to have been when their regiment received orders to proceed to that Colony. Although situated to the south of Great Britain, the country presents nearly glacial conditions during the winter; the Elk and the Reindeer flounder through its deep snows, and fur-bearing animals are a regular object of pursuit, whilst in the summer the Ruby-throated Humming Bird abounds in the gardens, giving the bird-fauna at any rate a sort of tropical relationship. Such a country evidently offers great attractions to the naturalist, and Dr. Adams seems to have made good use of his enforced sojourn in it. His present work consists of rather gossiping chapters on the Mammals, Birds, Reptiles, and Fishes of New Brunswick, the last mentioned class having a peculiar interest, as the reckless destruction of the fish of the rivers and lakes bids fair shortly to lead to the extermination of some of the most valuable species. The author also describes the geological structure of the country and in many places refers to the evidences of former glacial action which its surface presents. Scattered through the book we also find many references to climatological phenomena, and in the earlier chapters many references to the habits and conditions of the colonial population, of which intending emigrants would do well to take notice. An appendix contains lists of native animals, meteorological reports and tables of mean temperatures. The illustrations consist of a map of the colony, on which the distribution of the Mammalia and some other natural history facts are indicated, and of a few woodcuts scattered through the text.

Mr. Brenchley's account of the cruise of the *Curacoa* among the South Sea Islands^b although containing little that is absolutely new will be read with much interest, as giving a lively description of observations made by an experienced traveller in a field which was quite new to him. The author, whose decease while his book was still in the press we have to regret, had visited many parts of the world, when he accompanied Admiral Wiseman in the *Curacoa*, in her voyage

^a "Field and Forest Rambles, with Notes and Observations on the Natural History of Eastern Canada." By A. Leith Adams. 8vo. London: King & Co. 1878.

^b "Jottings during the Cruise of H.M.S. *Curacoa* among the South Sea Islands in 1865." By Julius L. Brenchley. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1878.

made "for the purpose of displaying the British flag in the different archipelagoes of the Western Pacific." In this expedition the travellers touched at Norfolk Island, now the abode of the descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, at Niue or Savage Island, an isolated speck in the ocean, east of the Friendly Islands, and at various others of the numerous islands scattered in the south-western part of the Pacific, including localities belonging to the Samoan, Tongan, Fiji, New Hebrides, Banks', and Solomon Groups. In all these places Mr. Brenchley was active in collecting objects of natural history and specimens of human industry, some account of which will be found in the pages of his book, but the most important and interesting part of his work relates to the manners and morals of the islanders with whom he came in contact, and of which he writes in a free style not often met with in the descriptions of travellers. The economical products of the islands are also treated of, and much valuable information upon them is to be found in the "Cruise of the *Curaçoa*." Besides "displaying the British flag" among the islands of the Pacific, the *Curaçoa* seems to have been entrusted with the task of punishing certain refractory natives in Eramanga, who had manifested their appreciation of the labours of the missionaries in a fashion by no means agreeable to the latter. Under these circumstances, and perhaps, considering the present state of matters in the South Sea Islands, under any circumstances, it is no great wonder that the doings of the missionaries come in for a good deal of notice at our author's hands, and we are bound to say that his evidence is by no means in their favour. Not that he accuses them of direct hypocrisy, or of any great offences; but he seems to think that the qualifications of the men sent out by our missionary societies are not exactly fitted to spread civilization among these barbarous and semi-barbarous peoples, and that they are certainly not adapted by their personal qualities to counteract the mischievous and corrupting effects produced by Europeans whose object in life is certainly not the advancement of missionary enterprise. Our author also indicates by several instances how thoroughly untrustworthy are the accounts given by missionaries of the natural condition of the savage inhabitants of the Pacific Islands. His remarks upon this subject and upon the manners of the inhabitants of the various islands are especially worthy of the attention of the anthropologist. But the portion of Mr. Brenchley's book which will prove of the most direct scientific interest takes the form of a sort of appendix, entitled "Natural History Notices," and containing descriptions and figures of numerous species of birds, reptiles, fishes, shells, and insects obtained by the author. It is curious that of the five naturalists who aided Mr. Brenchley by determining his species and describing the new forms, two—namely, Mr. G. R. Gray and Dr. Baird—have been lost to us, like the author, during the passage of the work through the press. The number of species here described is very considerable; they are represented upon fifty excellent plates, many of which include figures of several species. We may remark, however, as something to be regretted, that many of the reptiles and fishes described by Dr. Günther and of the hymenopterous insects

described by Mr. Smith, are in no way connected with the voyage of the *Curaçoa*; they may have been collected by Mr. Branchley, but even this is not stated to be the case in many instances. Considering the extent to which descriptive zoological literature has now attained, it is important to lead as directly as possible to the descriptions of new species, and certainly no one would think of looking for descriptions of reptiles from the desert of Gobi, of fishes from Mysol, or of insects from Queensland and Northern Australia in the account of a voyage among the South Sea Islands.

Dr. Edward Smith's work on "Foods"¹⁰ fitly forms a volume in the international series, for he gathers up some results of a life largely occupied upon the foods used by all nations, and upon the amount of labour which different foods enable us to perform. Here we are first introduced to the nature, qualities, and necessity for foods; and the author shows by graphic diagrams the effects of the several meals of the day on pulsation and respiration; and then, after expounding the effects on meat of cooking and preserving in many forms, passes in review every sort of food which has gained lasting or even temporary importance among civilized nations, in a way at once popular and interesting, and with a celerity which must make the gourmand glad that this Sancho Panza feast is for the mind only. The roast beef of Old England leads off, and then Mr. Smith successively dwells on the feeding virtues of sheep, goat, camel, pig, horse, and of all the animals which are eaten; not omitting delicacies from the offal, like tripe, sheep's trotters, haggis, and black puddings. Mr. Smith reiterates his well known views that extract of meat has no value as a food beyond such as is possessed by tea and coffee; and suggests that those who can dispense with the flavour of meat might, by mixing together the various salts it contains, obtain at an infinitely smaller cost a product of equal value. The non-nitrogenous animal substances, butter, lard, oils, are next explained; and this section is succeeded by the nitrogenous and non-nitrogenous vegetable foods. Liquids, from water to alcohol, are treated at length, and tea elaborately defended from the accusation of being a poison. But pathologists do not so much urge that tea is a poison as that by its too liberal use local nervous exhaustion may result, which will manifest itself in local disease. The work concludes with a dissertation on air as food, and on ventilation. Altogether the subject is well handled, and everything is said which is necessary to insure general interest.

The appearance of this admirable volume¹¹ should make us in England burn with shame, so excellent and so thoroughgoing is it in comparison with like work or sham work among ourselves. Here is a volume of 400 pages giving the reports and opinions of the Board of Health of what we may call a county, the chief town of which is

¹⁰ "Foods." By Edward Smith. 8vo. London: King & Co. 1873.

¹¹ "Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts." Boston. 1873.

about the size, say, of Leeds; the eminent Dr. Bowditch, of Boston, is the Chairman of the Board. What have Leeds, or Birmingham, or Manchester, or Leicester, or Bristol to show for themselves or for the counties in which they are? Perhaps a trumpery pamphlet of twenty pages, with a shaded map to show, not the prevalence of epidemics in the various quarters, but the prevalence of the deaths from epidemics, a totally different thing. And this, perhaps, the best thing in the book; all the rest jejune, hampered, paltry. We do not blame the medical officers of health, poorly paid as they are, and kept down beyond belief by the heavy hands of the lumpish and ignorant "local authorities," whose tools they too often are and must be. A free, intelligent discussion by an independent well paid expert, of the various conditions of sanitary work and requirements in very various localities, would be to us as this report is to the Americans, simply invaluable. The volume is not a mere heap of statistics. These have their due place, but upon them are founded admirable summaries and reports of experience, which make the book as interesting as it is various. Scarcely a subject can be named which is not dealt with in an intelligent spirit. Expenses are clearly detailed, sewage problems are discussed in a singularly open and unprejudiced way, then come beer-shops and prohibitory laws, infant mortality, food, adulteration, and the homes of the poor; from all of which chapters we could gladly quote did our space permit it. We press this volume upon the attention both of sanitary reformers themselves, and of all persons who are interested in the most important social questions of the day.

This little book¹² is by a writer whose language is not such as to command either our respect or our confidence. It were a waste of time therefore to enter into any discussion of his statements and proposals. The writer brings forward arguments too feeble to require repetition, and supports his position by stories in which the first requirements of credibility are forgotten. If he has anything to say which really needs attention, he must place his materials in the hands of a more temperate advocate, and of one who has some knowledge of the comparative value of evidence. This author, like too many other persons, seems to think one assertion as good as another, and one story as probable as another.

The subject dealt with in the present essay¹³ has been brought prominently before the medical profession in consequence of a discussion which took place quite recently after the reading of a paper by Dr. Clifford Allbutt, at the Clinical Society, and which was fully reported in the *British Medical Journal*. Dr. Lee has thought the present an appropriate time therefore for publishing some concise and practical remarks upon those sports which are so full of pleasure and good when wisely followed, but which may be rendered injurious by incaution or excess. It is well known that the traditional rules which have

¹² "The Lunacy and State Prisons of Great Britain and Ireland." By J. M. G. Dublin. 1873. 107 pp.

¹³ "Exercise and Training." By Dr. R. J. Lee. London. 1873. 56 pp.

guided athletes are often foolish and sometimes positively harmful, while on the other hand precautions of importance are often altogether omitted from them. Mr. Maclaren was among the first in recent years to bring simplicity and common sense to bear upon the subject, and his treatise is perhaps the best now before the public. Again, men have not only been trained in bad methods, but they have not uncommonly given themselves too much of the good methods, and Dr. Lee would make it a matter of scientific inquiry to prevent the occurrence of such mistakes. Too much attention has been paid by older trainers to the cultivation of mere muscle which they can see, to the exclusion of constitutional condition which they cannot so easily measure. Another fault has been the ruling of all men with one rod, whereas there is no doubt, that the organs in one person differ from those in another in the power of accommodating themselves to increased demands. If a man naturally has good wind—that is, if his heart and lungs readily adapt themselves to ordinary muscular efforts, we may give our attention more exclusively to his muscular System; while a naturally well developed muscular man will probably need such attention to be given rather to his chest. Again the majority of men perhaps will require the attention to be given equally to these two Systems. The object in training then, says Dr. Lee, is to supply strength where there is weakness—not to develop any particular part of the System at the expense of the rest, but indeed to oppose such a tendency in any given exercises. Thus constant and extensive practice in rowing may not be and probably is not a good preparation for a race. Dr. Lee is opposed to any rule of exercise before breakfast, and he urges that a day of relaxation occasionally, so far from doing harm is a positive advantage. Dr. Lee in further chapters deals intelligently and usefully with other conditions of training, and those who like ourselves value athletic exercises very highly, will be glad to hear the author's opinion that it is an error to suppose that the exertions demanded by the sports and training in vogue at the universities produce any injurious effects upon the constitution of a healthy man. In this he is supported by the conclusions of Dr. Morgan, who has made an exhaustive inquiry into the subsequent history of all university oars.

Dr. Sturges is scarcely a man for the nineteenth century;¹⁴ and he seems to us quite forgetful of the qualities which are expected from a modern physician. We are unwilling to speak severely of Dr. Sturges, but we can scarcely forbear to remind him, as good-naturedly as we can, that if he wishes to succeed he must think and act very differently. Dr. Sturges may be able to set up some sophistical defence of himself, but let us look at the course which very eminent men pursue, and let us contrast that with the ways of the author. The great duty of a man in his position is to get his name constantly before the public, of course he must be known to his profession, but it is at least as important to be known to the public, or perhaps more so, and in

¹⁴ "Introduction to Clinical Medicine." By Dr. Sturges. London. 1873.

the advertising columns of the daily journals it is easy to attain this end, for though the public are not severe critics of the quality of work, they have a wonderful attachment to names. Then again, it is easier to judge of quantity than of quality, and yet Dr. Sturges commits the blunder of putting into 131 small pages what he might easily have said in two octavo volumes of 500 pages each. The same is said of Dr. Sturges's several essays on Pneumonia; they have been read and carefully treasured up by some handful of enthusiasts, but that does not fill a consulting room. One of the enthusiasts might no doubt have pneumonia himself, but as he would probably be a medical man Dr. Sturges would not even get a guinea. Then a man who wishes to show that he is omniscient, as so many of our leading men now are, should rarely fail to be "on his legs," in season and out of season, at the medical debating societies. A tithe of what Dr. Sturges puts into his essays would do for a paper on his own account, and when papers are read by others it is not at all necessary that "subsequent speakers" should confine themselves by considerations of mere relevancy. Dr. Sturges, on the contrary, rarely publishes, and when he does he puts a modest brief essay, full of hard thought and clinical ability, into the thick middle of some heavy quarterly; as if such reviews were thumbed on cub-tables. We feel sure that Dr. Sturges will take what we have said in kindly part, and that he will not waste his time and abilities in future upon pregnant, concise, honest writing of essays and small books which reveal his faculties of close observations, correct reason, and quiet humour to but a few persons and at rare intervals, but will spread himself out more like the "birds o' freedom," and aim in a smarter temper at more profitable ends.

Dr. Smith prints this volume for "private circulation,"¹⁵ but as his publisher has forwarded a copy to us we presume that he intends us to notice it in the usual way. At the same time we think that Dr. Smith would have done better to have made his manuscript as private as possible. His point of view is not a new point of view, still less is it a true one. The author expends a certain amount of ability in favour of a hypothesis which we presume has for a time fascinated every thoughtful clinical observer, but which each in turn has abandoned as not explanatory of the facts. This hypothesis is that ague is the simplest type of fever, and that all other fevers are varieties which are in reason to be referred to one genus, and which partakes of the same nature. That among other consequences we shall find that quinine, which masters ague, will in like manner prove its mastery over, say, enteric fever, yellow fever, and cholera, if properly administered and with due regard to the variations in course and severity of these various affections. Now upon this simple and important deduction we have only to remark that the late Dr. Dundas, among others, held precisely the same opinion, and that he failed to convince any competent physician of the truth of his assertions. We had marked many passages which seemed to us illogical or contrary to facts,

¹⁵ "Fever and Cholera. From a New Point of View." By Dr. Alex. Smith. Calcutta. 1873.

but it does not seem worth while to re-open many questions which English observers have had the peculiar honour of settling for the present. Dr. Smith hopes that the inquiries that may become necessary, at any rate, to secure the refutation of his views may be the means of leading to a much clearer knowledge of epidemics. We assure him that such inquiries have already been made, and the replies to them are written out at large in almost any first-rate English work which deals with this subject. The causation of enteric fever and of cholera is one of those chapters of medical science which happen to be especially creditable to the industry and acuteness of modern physicians, and every day proves more and more that the hypothesis to which recent studies have led are largely explanatory of the facts as they arise. And we may have the pleasure of saying again that Englishmen may claim the chief honour of the great results which have been thus obtained.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

NO more interesting work of personal recollections has for a long time appeared than the volume which Lord Houghton has just given to the world.¹ It is in every respect one of the most fascinating volumes which a man who has a cultivated interest in literature could take up. The book is, unfortunately, a small one, and it is almost an injustice to give long quotations from it; but there are, we imagine, few critics who will have sufficient self-control to abstain from this injustice. And happily there will be few readers of such extracts who will not at once desire to see the whole book. The persons who are the subjects of these recollections are, almost without exception, persons about whom every one will eagerly hear—persons who are for every one more than mere names; and about these Lord Houghton has something new and interesting to relate. He has, for example, a chapter upon Cardinal Wiseman, described by a German writer as “the from-an-Irish-family-descended—in-Spain-born—in-England-educated—in-Italy-consecrated Syrian Scholar,” which contains a just and excellent estimate of the prelate, and throws many side-lights upon his policy and actions. He was one of the first of the authorities of his Church who approached the tractarian movement with a sympathetic interest, and who attracted the members of that party by a kindly appreciation of their doubts and difficulties. Another chapter to which readers will early turn, is that upon Walter Savage Landor; and yet the lovers of that strange man’s poetry are comparatively few. Few they have always been. Landor himself said, in speaking of his “Gebir,” “If there are now in England ten men of taste and genius who will applaud my poem I declare myself content.” And the style of Lord Houghton’s memoirs is in keeping with his knowledge of

¹ “Monographs, Personal and Social.” By Lord Houghton. London: John Murray.

this fact. He says in exquisite language, which Landor might have envied:—

“I am conscious that in mingling my reminiscences with the details of this memoir, I am mainly consulting my own satisfaction; yet it may be that I shall give some enjoyment to a scholarly circle; to men who value culture for its own sake; who care for the appropriate quotation, and love the ring of the epigram; who take a pleasure in style analogous to that derived from a musical perception; to whom beautiful thoughts come with a tenfold meaning when beautifully said; a class visibly narrowing about us, but to whom, nevertheless, this country has owed a large amount of rational happiness, and whom the aspirants after a more rugged and sincere intellectual life, may themselves not be the last to regret.”

The personal character of the poet did not attract every one.

“It was generally accepted,” says Lord Houghton, “that he had been sent away from school after thrashing the head-master, who had ventured to differ from him as to the quantity of a syllable in a Latin verse; that he had been expelled from the University after shooting at a Fellow of a college, who took the liberty of closing a window to exclude the noise of his wine-party, that he had been outlawed from England for felling to the ground a barrister who had had the audacity to subject him to a cross-examination.”

There are, indeed, many who look on Landor as more or less of a misanthrope, and there is much to justify their view. He somewhere says “that to stand at the end of a crowded street made him burn with indignation at being a man.” He was scornful towards high and low. Of Mr. Fox he wrote:—“To the principles of a Frenchman he added the habits of a Malay in idleness, drunkenness, and gaming.” Of Lord Eldon he wrote the epitaph—

“Officiosus. erga. omnes. potentes. præter. Deum.
Quem. satis. ei. erat. adjurare.”

Chiefly he hated the French nation, and “where everything was ugly, men, women, dogs—even the sky”—and Napoleon Bonaparte. He used to relate that “he met Bonaparte walking in the Tuileries garden, and the fellow looked at him so insolently, that, if he had not had a lady on his arm, he would have knocked him down.” In Florence he challenged the Secretary of the Legation for whistling in the street when Mrs. Landor passed, and complained to the Foreign Office of the “wretches it employed abroad.” He was not endowed with the vulgar virtue of conviviality. His highest luxury was dining alone with little light. He said “a spider was a gentleman—he eat his fly in secret.” He was bitter against popular writers. He called W. Scott “a great ale-house writer;” Young’s poetry was “snip-snap verse;” Roscoe’s writing “one featherbed of words;” Byron was as “strong as poison, as original as sin;” Shelley he altogether refused to know, though he afterwards regretted this. Gibbon he described as “an old dressed-up fop, with a ‘sneering grin.’” But those who form their opinions of the man from superficial facts like these, have no knowledge of him. Lord Houghton refers them to “Southey, after almost every name had passed from his perception, repeating softly to himself, ‘Landor, my Landor,’ and to Archdeacon Hare two

days before his death, murmuring, 'Dear Landor, I hope we shall meet once more.'"

We would willingly linger by Lord Houghton's memoir of Sydney Smith. It is impossible. But the chapter on the "Last days of Heinrich Heine" is one which we cannot thus pass over. The key to Heinrich Heine's character is that he was profoundly religious, and intensely affectionate. Lord Houghton writes well:—

"Above all literary characters of our time, Heine had throughout the calamity of a false position. With so acute a sense of classical forms and antique grace as to make him often well content to live

" 'A pagan suckled in a creed outworn,'

he was regarded as a chief of the Romantic school; with a genial and pleasure-loving temperament, he was mortified by physical infirmity and moral disappointment into a harsh and sometimes cruel satirist; with a deep religious sentiment, and even narrow theological system, he was thrust into the chair of an apostle of scepticism; with no clear political convictions or care for theories of government, he had to bear all the pains of political exile, the exclusion from the commerce of the society he best enjoyed, and the inclusion among men from whom he shrank with an instinctive dislike."

Certainly he did not love always all that was best. His adoration of Napoleon was a mistake: he was unjust and foul-mouthed in his relation to Von Platen; he was unjust and immoral in his treatment of Börne. All this is true; it cannot be denied. But he wrote the "Book of Songs." Nothing that Von Platen did for German literature—and it was more than most people know—nothing that Börne did for German republicanism can weigh against that one little volume. The quarrels of the poets will be forgotten, the differences of the politicians will be remembered no more, but the time can never come when the "Lieder" will fail to stir as with music the hearts that are attuned. So long as May mornings are bright, and summer evenings are mysterious and dewy, so long will the perfect chords of the poems, "*Wenn zwei von einander scheiden*," "*Deine weisse Liljenfinger*," "*Ich weiss nicht, was soll es bedeuten*," "*Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam*," "*Ein Jüngling liebt ein Mädchen*," rise unbidden in the heart, and fill the eyes with tears. The best, perhaps, though it is ungrateful to graduate its merit, of this chapter is the portion which Lord Houghton obtains from an English lady, a friend of Heine. She was the lady to whom Heine addressed the poem, "*Wenn ich an deinem Hause*," a poem which we venture to translate in prose:—

"When I pass by your house in the morning, it cheers me, dear little girl, to see you at the window.

"Your dark brown eyes look at me, and question me: 'Who are you, and what ails you, poor, pale stranger?'

"I am a German poet, well known in German land; when people speak of the best names, mine is spoken of too.

"And what ails me, little girl, ails many an one in German land; when people speak of the saddest pains, mine is spoken of too."

This little girl he met at Boulogne when he was quite a young man,

and there he told her stories about "fish, mermaids, and watersprites." She in return told him the English ballad "which recounted the tragical fate of Lady Alice and her humble lover, Giles Collins," which ended by Lady Alice taking only one spoonful of the gruel, "with sugar and spices so rich;" while, after her decease, "the parson licked up the rest." This diverted Heine extremely; and years later, when the lady visited him, he asked after the parson who drank up the gruel. The last interview which he had with this lady was on his deathbed, in Paris. We cannot quote the whole story, and we will not profane it by quoting it in part. It reads like one of the *Lieder* themselves.

If Lord Houghton had written these monographs in the roughest English that ever came from the loom of a literary weaver, they would have been interesting, for their subjects' sake. They are written in English of the most pellucid and delicate texture. The translations from Heine are the only *adequate* ones which we have seen. The reader of this book will not think of it as the work of Lord Houghton. To him the author will be, as he was to Heine — "*der gute Milnes*."

The interesting reminiscences² which Mr. Charles Knight collected have now been before the public for some years. The worthy author, who was a connecting link between the days of "Farmer George and his Wife" and our own times, died in the spring of this year; and the present re-issue of his autobiography carries on in a few pages the record of his life until the time of his death. These last years, of which Mr. Thorne is the biographer, were characterized no less than the preceding half century by Mr. Knight's intense love of work. And, in fact, before the present autobiography was completed, Mr. Knight had begun another volume on the "Old Booksellers." This was finished in a year, being printed chapter by chapter as each was written. Another book occupied the next year. Then followed the "Legend of Westminster," a historical novel, which was completed on the author's seventy-sixth birthday. His work was now almost over, and gradually and tacitly he himself acquiesced in the opinions of his friends, who saw that a time for rest had come. Six years longer he stayed amongst them, and in the March of this year he passed away peacefully. The present edition has an excellent autotype portrait, which represents Mr. Knight with a firm decided mouth and a massive venerable brow.

Mr. Lewes's "Story of Goethe's Life"³ is, in some respects, a re-issue of an earlier work. It is a portion of the well-known "Life of Goethe." We have not much to say in favour of the plan, and we should think the publisher must be mistaken in supposing that there are many readers in England who will care for Goethe apart from his works. We are willing, however, to admit that publishers know much; and, with regard to our own special jurisdiction, we gladly record our

² "Passages of a Working Life During Half a Century." By Charles Knight. With Introductory Note, by J. Thorne. London: Knight and Co.

³ "The Story of Goethe's Life." By George Henry Lewes. London: Smith, Elder and Co.

opinion that Mr. Lewes has successfully detached from the larger work a continuous and fascinating narrative of the outward events of Goethe's career. If there are people who are much interested in these events, they will find the present volume both sufficient and cheaper than the earlier work. But then they must be contented with that which is not the best.

Dean Alford was beloved and admired by so many people that his biography was inevitable. It is also interesting, and has been well written by Mrs. Alford.⁴ Dean Alford may be briefly characterized as a man, who, though he was certainly not a leading man of his time, yet mixed with those who were. He was not opposed to progress, but it is doubtful whether he assisted it. There is, however, no doubt that he was a man of high culture, and of great literary energy. Probably he was extremely useful. The great mass of men need a leader. It is not necessary that he should be a very great man, but it is necessary that he should have certain elements of stability. For this stability, a position as an eloquent, notable, sincere clergyman, is one which is, in most cases, a sufficient guarantee. If a clergyman in this position shows liberal tendencies, he at once becomes attractive to many. Bishop Temple, Canon Kingsley, and others who might be mentioned, are leaders, because they unite firm faith, with bold independence of mind—a union which, being rare, commands attention. Dean Alford was similarly situated. He had thorough culture; he had a deep, devout habit of mind, and a practical, energetic character, which could scarcely fail to find success. His diary illustrates this:—

"Aug. 2, 1870.—Genesis xlix., very difficult. News of a great defeat of the French at Worth.

"Aug. 3.—Finished Genesis, thank God. Packing."

And there can be no doubt that he was a very successful man. Some scholars are doubtful about his Greek Testament, and others are neither doubtful nor are they friendly. Still a deanery at Canterbury may be regarded as a very fair reward for an ecclesiastic like Dean Alford. We have only to add, that Mrs. Alford has performed her difficult task with taste and judgment, and that the book is illustrated with a portrait, which we know to be a good one, and with a picture of the Dean's study—a room which is large and commodious, and entirely creditable to those who furnished it.

The biography of J. D. Forbes⁵ has been undertaken by three writers writing separately, and in a great measure independently. Professor Shairp, the editor, thinks the book has in this way lost something of its symmetry, and he is quite right. The history of Forbes's early life, his professoriate, and his later years at St. Andrews, has fallen to Professor Shairp. The Professor has brought out, as

⁴ "Life, Journals, and Letters of Henry Alford, D.D., Late Dean of Canterbury." Edited by his Widow. Rivingtons.

⁵ "Life and Lectures of James David Forbes, F.R.S." By J. C. Shairp, LL.D., Peter Guthrie Tait, M.A., and A. Adams-Reilly, F.R.G.S. London: Macmillan and Co.

was to be expected, vividly, the religious vein of thought which marked the early life of Forbes. The love of science was, however, no less strongly developed. His visit to Cambridge in 1831 is recorded in the diary which his biographer supplies, and which contains many interesting entries :—

“May 17th.—Called on Professors Sedgewick and Whewell, and Mr. Ramsay. Strolled through King’s College by moonlight, and returned with Sedgewick to his rooms, and with difficulty escaped from his delightful conversation after midnight.

“May 18th.—Went with Mr. Whewell to Mr. Airy’s lecture. These lectures by the Plumian Professor, and at present probably the ablest man in the University, are in the highest estimation. With great talents for perspicuous though unadorned explanation, he is able to carry his class through propositions, especially in physical optics, of the highest profundity, and by his singular ingenuity to illustrate some of the finest and most delicate experimental truths on a most magnificent scale.”

“Memorandum. — Herschell in his fortieth year; Peacock the same; Whewell, thirty-seven; Airy, only thirty. Inimitable man!”

In 1833, Forbes was elected to the Professorship of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh. Ho was then under twenty-four years of age, and he entered with energy upon the duties of his position. It was, however, not for some years later that he carried out his investigations upon the viscous theory of glacier motion—a theory which must always be connected with his name. Sir George Airy in speaking of the book, which sets it forth, wrote in 1872 :—

“I have often contrasted in my own mind the well-directed and careful observations there detailed, and the cautious deductions from them, with the paltry and doubtful objections that have been made to subordinate points of the theory.”

And indeed by far the best part of the present work is the description of Forbes’s travels and labours among the Alps, a portion which has been entrusted to Mr. Adams-Reilly. Mr. Adams-Reilly does not suffer, as a biographer, in contrast with Mr. Shairp, and his use of the journals, and letters of Professor Forbes is much more judicious and interesting than that of Professor Shairp, whose tendency to commonplace reflections somewhat mars the course of his narrative. Chapters XIV. and XV. by Professor Tait, are also good, and we could have wished that either he or Mr. Adams-Reilly had undertaken the whole work. It would then have had the symmetry which Professor Shairp at present finds to be wanting.

It is now twenty-two years since the death of Sir Edward Codrington, and his daughter comes forward with a memoir⁶ which has hitherto been delayed by unavoidable circumstances. The history was, however, well worth telling, and there were reasons which rendered a delay of its publication desirable. Sir Edward was descended from a family which had been raised to the baronetage by George I. He was born about 1770. Distinguished in early youth, he commanded the *Orion* at

⁶ “Memoir of the Life of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington.” Edited by his Daughter, Lady Bouchier. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

the battle of Trafalgar. In 1825 he became Vice-Admiral. In 1827 he undertook the command of the allied fleet against Ibrahim Pacha, who had violated the treaty of the 25th of September, and on the 20th of October he commanded in the sea fight at Navarin, in which battle nearly the whole of the Turkish fleet was annihilated. During the engagement Sir Edward stood upon the deck of his ship and escaped without a wound. Both France and Russia made honourable recognition of his service, but for some reason he was looked upon with disfavour by the English Tory Ministry. His merits were, however, fully recognised by the Duke of Clarence. Sir Edward died in 1851. The present biography by his daughter is carefully and judiciously compiled, and the selections from his letters serve to bring the warrior vividly before the reader.

Dean Stanley sets forth in his brief preface to Mr. Walrond's life of Lord Elgin⁷ the chief reasons that have led to the publication of this book.

"It was thought," he says, "that a career intimately connected with so many critical points in the history of the British Empire, and containing so much of intrinsic interest, ought not to be left without an enduring memorial."

Accordingly a "vast mass of materials" was placed at the disposal of Mr. Walrond, in the belief that not having been personally acquainted with Lord Elgin, or connected with the public transactions narrated in his memoranda, he would be "able to speak with the sobriety of calm appreciation rather than the warmth of personal attachment." Mr. Walrond has accordingly spoken, and the result is a dull biography. With much in the history of a varied and honourable life that might have interested, Mr. Walrond has done little more than select and adapt letters, diaries, and extracts from newspapers. Perhaps this was enough. A thin stream of biography meanders through this "mass of materials." Mr. Walrond is addicted to the feminine use of the intensive "so" and "such," and we rarely come across his portion of the work without meeting one or both them.

"His father, whose career is *so* well known in connexion with the Elgin Marbles," &c.

"From him he inherited the genial and playful spirit which gave *such* a charm to his social and parental relations, and which helped him to elicit from others the knowledge of which he made *so* much use," &c. (p. 1.)

"The principles of Colonial policy which Lord Durham had expressed *so* powerfully in 1838, and on which Lord Elgin had been acting *so* consistently for many years." (p. 146.)

"Home politics, to which he had been *so* long a stranger." (p. 175.)

"The happy home, which he *so* rarely enjoyed, and to be sent out again to the ends of the world on *such* a service." (p. 317.)

"The dreary line to Singapore which he had traversed *so* often." (p. 378.)

"Ceylon, the scene of *so* many anxieties." (p. 388.)

But we weary of this, though there is much more of it. Those who wish to have a *conspectus* of the letters and journals of Lord Elgin

⁷ "Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin." Edited by Theodore Walrond, with a Preface by A. P. Stanley, D.D. London: John Murray.

will be able to find it in the present volume, but it is only fair to warn them that they will find little else.

We may well connect with Lord Elgin's life the life of one of the profoundest scholars of the literature of the Indian peninsula.⁶ Henry Colebrooke during his long residence as judge at Mirsapor, and at the court of Berar, had by severe study made himself acquainted with the more difficult old Indian literature. The "*Asiatic Researches*" contain many of his writings on the form and contents of the Vedas, the metres of the Indian poems, and kindred subjects. He translated several digests of Hindu law, and was the author of a Sanskrit grammar. The history of Mr. Colebrooke's life is, as in the case of most scholars, bound up with that of his works. Sir T. Colebrooke has united the provinces of biographer and critic, and the result is a valuable work which will grow in estimation with that widening group of men who devote themselves to Oriental literature.

A very vivid representation of certain phases of native Indian life is to be found in the strange half-forgotten novel, "*Pandurang Hári*."⁹ The book was written about half a century ago by one Mr. Hockley, who belonged to the Civil Service of Bombay. Sir Bartle Frere in his introduction tells us very little of the author. Indeed he knows but little. Mr. Hockley left the service under a cloud, of what particular complexion we are not told. This novel seems to have been his only essay in literature, and to have been a very fair picture of Mahratta life in the beginning of this century. Sir Bartle Frere, says that there are few of the scenes or stories contained in Pandurang's narrative to which he could not find a parallel among the reminiscences he has heard related by old men, whose youth had been passed in Mahratta and Pindari courts or camps. Strange enough some of these scenes are—pictures of murders, treachery, and cruelty, which happily find nothing like themselves in India at the present day. The editor draws from this fact the encouraging inference, that the country which makes such rapid progress from a debased state, has in it the elements of infinite greatness. He is not blind to the fact that European critics of Indian society can form but a partial and imperfect view of the native character, but his own experience bears testimony to the general truthfulness of the author's incidental sketches. At any rate, half a century ago the novel made a deep impression upon many minds, and, as it has been long out of print, there has seemed to be a sufficient demand for it to warrant a second edition. As to the editing, Sir B. Frere has performed his task perfunctorily; his introductory chapter is good, but beyond this he has done nothing more than reprint the work from a copy belonging to Lord Talbot de Malahide, and the proofs have not even been carefully corrected. As a series of pictures representing, with vigour and general truth, a past and degraded epoch in Mahratta history, this novel has some interest, but as a work of art it is neither artistic nor pleasing.

⁶ "*The Life of H. T. Colebrooke*." By his Son, Sir T. E. Colebrooke. London: Trübner and Co.

⁹ "*Pandurang Hári. Memoirs of a Hindoo*." With an Introductory Preface by Sir Bartle Frere. London: Henry S. King.

The life of Mohammed by a Mohammedan, a man of high culture and broad liberal views, is one which should be regarded with interest by all who care to know the truth of the Prophet's teachings. Mr. Ali's book¹⁰ is one of some significance. It is rare for Englishmen to hear in their own language such bold assertions of belief in Islâm as those which Mr. Ali utters. But it is very well that they should hear them, and if they could only exercise the tolerance which our author always exhibits, a greater reform would be effected than is at all likely to be near. Some men there are indeed in whom our author recognises a tendency in this direction, and he mentions with honour the names of Maurice, Stanley, Carlyle, Emerson, Parker, and Channing. He looks forward hopefully to the time when a gradual enlightenment and a communion of sympathy shall remove the ban which the Westerns have attached to the name of Islâm, and shall lead to a final commingling of sects in one universal brotherhood.

Meanwhile, as the first step to this end, he has written a clear and succinct history of the events in the life of the "Last of the Prophets," and has set forth the chief Islâmic conceptions upon religious subjects. With these matters he deals fully and candidly. He does not avoid difficult questions. Thus he speaks at length of "Polygamy"—one of the most repulsive tenets to the Occidental mind. Historically considered, the permission of Mohammed to his followers was a real advance in morality. His permission dealt with customs as he found them. A man might marry as many wives as he could maintain, and repudiate them at will. By limiting the number of contemporaneous marriages, and by making the husband responsible for his wives, while appearing to sanction polygamy, Mohammed, in reality, struck at the root of the evil.

"Hence," says Mr. Ali, "in those Mohammedan countries where the circumstances which made its existence at first necessary are disappearing, plurality of wives has come to be regarded as an evil, and as something opposed to the teachings of the prophet."

Mr. Ali urges also the tolerant and charitable nature of Islâm, and argues with considerable ingenuity a thesis little supported in Europe—that Islâm never grasped the sword for the purpose of proselytizing. Indeed, so much can be brought against Christians with regard to persecution that it is a subject which it would be better by common consent to leave out of the question. The concluding passage of this book may be well commended to Christian and Mussulman alike:—

"Let us hope that the time is approaching when Islâm, freed from the blind idolatry of letters and apotheosis of dead men, will regain her true character, and joining hands with the Christianity of the devoted Prophet of Nazareth, will march on together in the work of civilization. Islâm and Christianity both aim at the same results—the elevation of mankind. The gain of one is the gain of the other. . . . Why then should not the two harmonize? Why should not the two, mixing the waters of life treasured in their

¹⁰ "A Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed." By Syed Ameer Ali, Moulvi, M.A., LL.B. Of the Inner Temple. Barrister-at-Law. London: Williams and Norgate.

bosom, form the bright flowing river which would bear our race to the most glorious fields of Humanity? Everything that elevates the heart of man is true; everything that leads to goodness and purity in action and in thought is true. Why not then henceforth adopt the words of the Prophet of Arabia as the motto of humanity:—'Try to excel in good works; when ye shall return unto God, He will tell you as to that in which ye have differed.'"

From Mohammed to the Oxford Methodists is indeed a long stride; but in his history¹¹ of this devoted group of men, Mr. Tyerman has chosen a subject which is worthy of the historian. He has well brought together such information as he has been able to collect concerning the men who were more or less in connexion with the Wesleys at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Wesley writes:—

"In November, 1729, four young gentlemen of Oxford—Mr. John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln College; Mr. Charles Wesley, Student of Christ Church; Mr. Morgan, Commoner of Christ Church; and Mr. Kirkham, of Merton College—began to spend some evenings in a week together in reading, chiefly, the Greek Testament."

These were the first Oxford Methodists, and from those readings it may be said that Methodism took its rise. It is not, however, of these men that the present work is a biography. The lives of the two Wesleys were already in existence. But others were attracted by the intensity of the religious life which shone in that small circle, and of some of these the memoirs are now given. Thus we have a memoir of Clayton, the Jacobite clergyman; Ingham, the Yorkshire Evangelist; Gambold, the Moravian bishop; a good notice of James Hervey, the literary parish priest; and Broughton, the faithful secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. There is also a notice of that remarkable woman, Martha Wesley Hall, which sets her character in a bright light. The book presents a fair and succinct account of these Oxford Methodists. It is written from a sectarian point of view, and with as much illumination as it is possible to receive in that position.

Mr. Gilfillan's *Life of Dr. Anderson*¹² is a book which the word "offensive" best characterizes. It purports to be the biography of a Glasgow clergyman, who was well known in his own city, and who published some volumes of sermons which met with a measure of success. Mr. Gilfillan writes of him with a vulgar volubility of panegyric, which, if it were not capable of affording amusement, we should have little inclination to notice. We are told, for instance, that Dr. Anderson, though not exactly to be placed beside such men as Sir W. Scott, Professor Wilson, De Quincey, and Thomas Carlyle, was yet entitled to rank with them. And why?—

"From his pulpit, on which he stood as on a throne, he subsided into private society as easily and gracefully as a wave from its sweeping power and vested majesty into the level of the deep. He did not descend with compulsion and laborious flight." (p. 164.)

¹¹ "The Oxford Methodists." By Rev. L. Tyerman. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

¹² "Life of the Rev. William Anderson, LL.D., Glasgow." By G. Gilfillan. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

If this indicates, as it would appear to do, that Glasgow ministers are in general compelled by violence to quit their pulpits, and that Dr. Anderson gracefully forestalled that violence by sliding down the bannisters, we are free to confess that Mr. George Gilfillan has expressed himself well. That we have suggested the right interpretation of these words, seems to be borne out by another passage (p. 274), where we have a description of Dr. Anderson *in* the pulpit:—

“Quiet, placid, and even *coolly*, as he usually looked in his pulpit, the audience knew by past observation how he could shoot out boar-like bristles, or even unfurl a set of porcupine quills at a moment’s notice, and hence there was a trembling mingled with their mirth when they laughed, and a certain awe overshadowed their spirits when they admired” (p. 274.)

This is in itself sufficiently striking, but we are told further, that “a deep and dusky gravity lay on his countenance,” and “a deep, dark current of cogitation lay below” (p. 132). Again (p. 122), he was: “fond of blowing away, as through snorting nostrils, those sophistries, evasions, and meannesses in controversy which are beneath argument, baffle logical exposure, and can be reached only by contempt.” After this, we are not surprised to learn that it was with him, “as it ought to be with men of original manhood. Rising out of the red earth, some of it may be expected to cling to them as they come” (p. 59). If we construe this strange sentence aright, there was much red earth about Dr. Anderson, and it seems perfectly appropriate that he should be known in Glasgow as “daft Willie Anderson.” His letters, which are here printed, are as naïvely vain as his biography is disagreeable. For whom was it written? But we have already wasted too much space upon it.

The Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford has brought out the second volume of the “*Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*.”¹³ Everything that Mr. Stubbs does is well done, and the preface here is specially well done. The sketch of King John which he gives is vigorous and clear, and appropriate to this volume, which furnishes one of the most valuable contributions in existence to the history of his eventful reign. Mr. Stubbs claims for this work the value of an *editio princeps*. The text has been collated with the original MS. of the Barnwell collection, and the original reading is in each case given.

Besides the chronicles which came from monasteries, and which were carefully kept in the learned houses to which they belonged there sprang up at an early period a vast mass of contemporary poetry and contemporary satire. These, imperfectly preserved as they have been, are capable of throwing great light over the character of historical events, and of rendering the historian important assistance. Mr. Wright has therefore published in two volumes,¹⁴ the texts of the

¹³ “The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry.” Edited by William Stubbs, M.A. Vol. II. Published under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longman and Co., and Trubner and Co.

¹⁴ “The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the 12th Century.” Now first Collected and Edited. By T. Wright, M.A., F.S.A., &c. Under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longman and Co.

principal satirical poets belonging to the early history of our own land. They consist chiefly of poems and epigrams. The epigrams are on such varied subjects as "the crab," "the cross," "the wine-cup," "the eagle," "the gnat," &c. They have not much point, but will be interesting to the historical student. Mr. Wright's introduction is full of interest even for the ordinary reader, and a copious index facilitates reference for the more curious.

The second volume of Sir T. Hardy's "*Syllabus to Rymer's Foedera*,"¹⁵ comprises the documents of the years 1377-1654. It has a good preface, in which Sir T. Hardy examines critically the materials which have been added to Rymer's collection in the "Record Commission" edition.

The Early English Text Society is doing a good work in preserving from oblivion and putting into an accessible shape ancient writings which must always be valuable to the philologist and historian. Each of the three re-issues¹⁶ sent us has some special claim to attraction. The quaint Georgic, so to speak, of "*Palladius*," is edited from an unique MS. of the fifteenth century in Colchester Castle. The old English homilies which Mr. Morris edits are also from an unique MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. A brief but valuable grammar of the language is prefixed, and the homilies are accompanied by a translation and notes. The "*Complaynt of Scotland*" has also a full introduction and a good glossary. The language is fairly intelligible to an Englishman, though it belongs to the Middle Scotch period; and though we are told that one literary friend of the editor, after scanning the proof sheets, asked, "What language is this? Old Flemish—or some Low German dialect dashed with French?"

We will pass on to the German books which have reached us this quarter. Herr Roquette has published a history¹⁷ of the literature of his country, which strikes us as being in many respects a good one. It is a large book, but the subject is a large one. We will not profess to have read the whole volume, but we have tested it in many places, and generally with satisfaction and instruction. In the early portion the author keeps well before the reader's mind the three great streams of German poetry—the popular epic, the court epic, and the Minnesong. In his history, especially of the Minnesong, he is lucid and pleasing; and his estimate of Provençal influence appears to be just, while his notices of the individual singers, though brief, are good. He has not, however, in every case obtained the most recent information upon his subject. Thus, in writing of the greatest of the Minnesingers, Walther von der Vogelweide, his authority seems to be

¹⁵ "*Syllabus of the Documents contained in the Collection known as Rymer's Foedera*." By Sir Thomas Hardy, D.C.L. Under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longman and Co.

¹⁶ "*Palladius on Husbandrie*." Edited by the Rev. R. Lodge, M.A. "*Old English Homilies*." Edited by the Rev. R. Morris, LL.D. "*The Complaynt of Scotland*. With an Appendix of Contemporary English Tracts." Re-edited by J. H. Murray. Two Parts. London: Trübner and Co.

¹⁷ "*Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung von den ältesten Denkmälern bis auf die Neuzeit*." Von Otto Roquette. Stuttgart. Ebner and Seubert.

Uhland, and he makes no reference either to Pfeiffer or Menzel. And he asserts that the birthplace of Walther has never been ascertained, although, by the ingenuity of Pfeiffer (see Pfeiffer's "W. von der V. Einleitung," p. xxv.), the question has been set at rest for the last five or six years. A great portion of the later history is occupied with Göthe and Schiller—too great a portion, we venture to think. These writers loom so large through the incense which has been offered up to them, that they destroy the symmetry of the book. Thus, to devote 150 pages to Göthe and Schiller, and two pages to Heine, and one and a half to Von Platen, seems to us inartistic and unjust in a book which professes to be the history of German literature. Nor is the treatment of Lessing perfectly fair. We do not come to the history of German literature for the detailed biographies of one or two writers—for the youthful histories of Göthe or Schiller; these already exist, and are accessible; but we expect the historian to mark out for us, with precision, the great currents of thought, the names from which they issue, and the general features of the intellectual tract we are contemplating. Herr Roquette has not always done this. The various portions of his book are, if we may use the expression, upon a varying scale, but we may add that the delineation is generally correct.

The words with which Herr Wuttke introduces his learned work¹⁸ to the German public are rather surprising to the English reader. He

"I have endeavoured to treat the subject of this book so simply, clearly, and intelligibly, that every one of only moderate culture may be able to read and understand it. Yet I know full well, since my first appearance as an author dates back more than a generation, that if I had wished for an audience outside the circle of the learned, I must have written this book in the French or English language, and not in the language of the 'nation of thinkers,' most of whose sons spend the seven nights of the week in the tavern, the barracks, or at evening parties."

The book is a history of the writing of different nations, from the tattooing of the savage to the European alphabets. A long chapter of 60 pp. is devoted to the tattoo; the methods of writing adopted by the Indians, the Peruvians, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Mongolians, the Egyptians, and the cuneiform writers, are fully discussed and explained clearly and historically. The Chinese chapter is of considerable interest. The book is both learned and popular in its nature. It is intelligible to the ordinary reader, although Herr Wuttke says that he has used seven large public libraries in its preparation, and that he has yet to regret his inability to obtain all the books which he required. It is satisfactory to see in the portentous list of authorities which he quotes a large proportion of English names.

Dr. Maack¹⁹ has devoted some time to the consideration of Etruscan

¹⁸ "Die Entstehung der Schrift, die verschiedenen Schriftsysteme, und das Schrifttum der nicht alfabetarisch Schreibenden Völker." Von H. Wuttke. Leipzig: Ernst Fleischer.

¹⁹ "Die Entzifferung des Etruskischen, und deren Bedeutung für Nordische Archäologie." Von Dr. P. H. K. V. Maack. Hamburg: Otto Meissner.

inscriptions, and has in view the publication of a book upon the subject. Meanwhile Dr. Maack hears that Professor Corssen has already interpreted these inscriptions, and in order to establish his own originality he publishes the present brochure before the Professor's work appears. Briefly, he interprets them through the Erse. Whether he is successful or not, it is for the specialist to decide. But even the ordinary reader can see that his method is dangerous, and that Dr. Maack is a reckless philologist. We may hand over his Etruscan inscriptions to Professor Corssen, who will probably deal with them. But Dr. Maack has given a list of Latin words, which he also derives from the Irish. We will look at one or two of them :—Lat. *barbarus*, from Irish *bar*, "the sea," or the sea-robber. Lat. *uxor*, from Irish *ogh*, "holy;" and *sur*, "sister." Lat. *templum*, from Irish *team*, "scientific" pole, "a measure of land." To which derivation Dr. Maack affixes the note :—

"How carefully the land about the temple was arranged by the priests has been shown by K. O. Muller ("Die Etrusker," ii. 132 fg.). The entrance to the temple must always be on the south side."

Dr. Maack expresses a hope that the reluctance which classical scholars show towards Celtic derivations will henceforth vanish. He adds, too, that from the Irish alone a proper derivation can be found for the words given above, and for others in his list. We are tempted by the audacity of Dr. Maack to essay ourselves another series of Celtic derivations. May not all that Dr. Maack says in favour of Irish derivation apply to Welsh? If this be so, then we should derive the words as follows :—

Lat. *barbarus*, from Welsh, *bar*, "fury," and *bâr*, the "shaft of a spear." *Barbarus* is therefore the "fierce wild man with the spear," not the "sea-robber."

Lat. *uxor*, from Welsh, *og*, "youthful," and *sir*, "solace," or "comfort," the root of the common word *siriol*, "cheerful." This is much more probable and poetical than the "holy sister" of Dr. Maack.

Lat. *templum*, from Welsh *tem*, "a space or plot of ground," and *pol*, "round." This connects the word at once with *τέμενος* and *τέμνω*. If Dr. Maack is yet in dread of being forestalled by Professor Corssen, we gladly put at his disposal our few derivations, which we beg to assure him have never been published before. And we may add that the Welsh words we have given above are to be found in the Lexicon of Dr. Owen Pughe, with the meanings assigned to them.

Herr Dümmler has edited the remains of Anselm the Peripatetic.²⁰ They are instructive as an example of the interest which classical studies continued to awaken in the eleventh century. The introduction by Herr Dümmler is good.

M. Pingaud has written a work on the policy of Gregory the Great.²¹ This prelate was the originator of the belief in Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, and of the so-called Gregorian chants. M.

²⁰ "Anselm der Peripatetiker." Herausgegeben von Ernst Dümmler. Halle.

²¹ "La Politique de Saint Gregoire le Grand." Par L. Pingaud. Paris: Ernest Thorin.

Pingaud says of him that he substituted a Christian Republic for the Roman Empire, and that his memory deserved to pass to posterity as that of "the last of the Romans."

M. Lieblein has presented in a short work²² some of the results which are to be drawn from the genealogical lists of Egyptian dynasties already published in his dictionary. He also takes a general view of the various systems of Egyptian chronology.

The graceful and learned book by Herr Bendorf²³ deserves a longer notice than we can give it. It is a description of the metopæ reliefs from Selinus, which are now in the Museum at Palermo. Besides the text, this elegant volume contains photo-lithographs of the reliefs in every way worthy of the edition.

The official excavations at Syllt amongst the graves of the Goths are recorded in a pamphlet²⁴ by Herr Handelsmann. Two engravings are also given, and three woodcuts.

Signor Gubernatis has undertaken a work of some magnitude in a foreign language. He has not done so without trepidation, and he speaks of his enterprise as "foolhardy." Nevertheless, he has done it, and done it well. His book is a history of the zoology of myths,²⁵ of the animals which so frequently occur in mythological stories and folklore. The book is one which we cannot fairly deal with in a short space. It is not free from faults of taste, but its learning and earnestness cannot be doubted. The apology which Signor Gubernatis makes for his imperfect English is entirely superfluous.

The strange theory which Professor Wilson has started²⁶ may not inaptly be joined with the strange book which Signor Gubernatis has written, since it may be considered as half belonging to the animal mythology of which the Italian is the historian. Professor Wilson accepts the evolution theory as suggested by Mr. Darwin, and finds the link which joins the more degraded types of humanity to their brute predecessors. This is none other than Caliban of the "Tempest." Professor Wilson is far from maintaining that such a monster ever actually existed, or that Shakspeare held the Darwinian theory, but he argues with some ingenuity, that if humanity ever passed through such a stage that stage has been adequately depicted by the power of the omniscient poet. The leading purpose of his pages, is, he says, to show that the poet's genius has already created for us

"The ideal of that imaginary intermediate being between the true brute and man, which, if the new theory of descent from crudest animal organisms

²² "Recherches sur la Chronologie Égyptienne." Par I. Lieblein.

²³ "Die Metopen von Selinunt mit Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der Topographie und die Tempel von Selinunt." Veröffentlicht von Otto Bendorf. Berlin.

²⁴ "Die Amtlichen Ausgrabungen auf Syllt." Von H. Handelsmann. Kiel: Schwesche Buchhandlung.

²⁵ "Zoological Mythology, or the Legends of Animals." By Angelo Gubernatis. 2 vols. London: Trübner and Co.

²⁶ "Caliban, the Missing Link." By Daniel Wilson, LL.D., Professor of History and English Literature, University College, Toronto. London: Macmillan and Co.

be true, was our predecessor and precursor in the inheritance of this world of humanity.

With this is incorporated a series of conjectural emendations of the "Tempst" and "Midsummer Night's Dream." Whatever may be the value of the earlier part of the volume, the latter part is certainly feeble.

The "Childhood of the World"²⁷ is a bright and charming little volume which we would gladly see in every child's hand. It is written for the young, but there are many of more advanced age who may obtain from it information. It describes in clear and pleasant language the history of man's progress in material things, and also his advance from lower to higher stages of religious belief. It brings the broadest and best of the teachings of such men as Tylor, Lubbock, and Waitz within the comprehension of young people, and we gladly welcome it as the forerunner of a series of better children's books. We may say of it that it has as much "sweetness and light" as can be communicated to a child.

"The Great Dutch Admirals"²⁸ is a good specimen of the old style of children's books. It is full of heroic deeds and daring enterprise; if it has any fault, the fault is that it is a little dull to the mature reader. But boys will like it, and it appears to have met with their approval, for it is reprinted from the pages of "Good Words for the Young."

Mr. Sidgwick, continuing his Euripidean series, has now edited the "Electra."²⁹ We need only say that the present number is equal to the rest of the series. This is the highest praise we can either give it, or it can need. Mr. Plumptre's translation of "Æschylos"³⁰ has reached a second edition. It is the best translation for the general reader. Mr. Wood's edition of the first two books of "Herodotus"³¹ is both good and sound. It has a full introduction and scholarly notes. There are also satisfactory discourses upon the style and dialect of Herodotus.

Miss Edith Thompson writes the History of England³² in the "Historical Course for Schools," which is edited by Dr. Freeman. It is a compact and consecutive narrative of the principal events. It dispenses with individual detail, and loses undoubtedly much in the process, but its general correctness is guaranteed by the editor. The "Catechism of Roman History,"³³ by Mrs. Sewell, is short but satisfactory. The only fault we have to find is that some of the answers

²⁷ "The Childhood of the World. A Simple Account of Man in Early Times." By Edward Clodd, F.R.A.S. London: Macmillan and Co.

²⁸ "The Great Dutch Admirals." By Jacob De Liefde. London: Henry S. King.

²⁹ "Scene from Euripides." Rugby Edition. Electra. By A. Sidgwick. Rivingtons.

³⁰ "Æschylos." A new Translation. By E. H. Plumptre, M.A. Strahan and Co.

³¹ "Herodotus. Books I. and II. With English Notes and Introduction." By H. G. Woods, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Rivingtons.

³² "History of England." By Edith Thompson. London: Macmillan.

³³ "A Catechism of Roman History." By E. M. Sewell. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

are rather longer than is appropriate to the classes for which it is designed.

It remains only that we should acknowledge the receipt of the "Annual Register,"³⁴ an excellent compilation; Mr. G. Browning's "Memoir of the late Emperor Napoleon III.,"³⁵ an offensive, catch-penny pamphlet; and two numbers of Mr. Black's translation of Guizot's "History of France."³⁶

BELLES LETTRES.

MR. MAITLAND'S "By and By"¹ is in reality the continuation and natural sequel of "The Pilgrim and the Shrine" and "Higher Law." It, in fact, completes the trilogy. In some respects we consider it Mr. Maitland's highest work. He here shows, not only the same philosophic culture, the same brilliant style, which were so conspicuous in his former works, but he has thrown over the whole the highest charms which imaginative genius can bestow. There is no test of man's power like this. Lately in music, in painting, in poetry, and in Mr. Maitland's own peculiar art—novel writing, our age has become thoroughly realistic. Our painting is mere photography, and our descriptive writing is mere topography. Mind is not seen. The play and grace of imagination are lost. A master of hounds drawing on his top-boots, a lady having her back-hair put up by her maid, are the scenes which our most popular novelist delights to paint for his world of readers. It is therefore refreshing to find Mr. Maitland stepping boldly out into a new field. For "By and By" must not be confounded with "Erewhon" and the "Coming Race." Its aim is much higher, and the execution far subtler. One thing, however, is worth noticing, as it reveals the tendency of the day. Undoubtedly all three books owe their origin really and truly to Darwinism. The development theory has set a train of speculation afloat, which has found a voice in romance. If man from being the mate of the beasts of the field, has already won such triumphs, who shall limit his achievements in the vast future? is the thought which fills all reflecting minds. Not only this, but the thousand other hitherto undreamt-of possibilities, which the development theory has taught us, all press themselves upon our attention. We do not say that Mr. Maitland's speculations are either true or false. It is sufficient that he has

³⁴ "The Annual Register. A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad for the year 1872." London: Rivingtons.

³⁵ "A Memoir of the Late Emperor Napoleon III.; and a Political Poem entitled Rip Van Winkle." By George Browning, F.R.Hist.Soc. London: Croft and Co.

³⁶ The "History of France to the Year 1789." By M. Guizot. Translated by R. Black, M.A. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Black.

¹ "By and By: an Historical Romance of the Future." By Edward Maitland, Author of "The Pilgrim and the Shrine," "Higher Law," &c. &c. London: Richard Bentley and Son. 1873.

clothed them with an air of probability. No one can forecast the future. The Victorian England of to-day is a very different England to that of which Milton might have dreamt. The turn, which, for instance, manhood suffrage, a reversal of the present land-laws, an alteration in the position of women, the recent victories of Germany over France, the Alabama negotiations, may give to future events no one can truly estimate. The unexpected is always happening in the world's history. The wise man is he who believing in the infinite power of Progress will humbly bow his head, and feel thankful that he has been permitted to see the beginning of a Scientific teaching, which is after all the real Revelation, and which shall some day shed incalculable and limitless blessings upon the whole human family. With such feelings we take up Mr. Maitland's novel of the future. As we have already intimated "*By and By*" derives its interest not from the story, as an ordinary novel does, but from its philosophy and the imaginative power with which that philosophy is brought before us. "*By and By*" can only be properly described by quotations. As may be guessed by all readers of Mr. Maitland's previous works the "*woman-question*" comes in for a large amount of discussion. He writes upon it with the large liberality and wise discretion of restrained language; indeed, throughout the three volumes there are many reflections which we should like to see expanded into essays. They would do far more in this shape than detached in a novel, to call attention to the obstacles which now beset a woman's career in any avocation of life to which she feels that she has a true calling. Here is a picture, however, of the future as reprinted by Mr. Maitland:—

"Bright, intelligent, cheerful, and active, the sisters were a model of self-helpfulness and prudence. Though not devoid of sentiment in regard to the delicate matters of the affections, they were too practical in their management to let their affections minister to their discomfort. They had one and all asserted the privilege accorded to girls now-a-days, of quitting the parental shelter at the same age that their brothers quit it, in order, like them, to follow the vocations they have chosen. No sickly exotics were they, such as their foremothers of ages long past. For there was no herding together under the perpetual parental eye, like silly sheep sure to be lost if once they strayed; no sacrificing the individuality of their genius or their characters, and passing their lives in worthless frivolity, or listless indolence, envious of the active career of their brothers, powerless to earn or to spend, and absolute slaves to the exigencies or caprices of their parents, until marriage shall come to deliver them to a new bondage."—Vol. i. pp. 159, 160.

Mr. Maitland, in short, describes the present state of woman's bondage as past. To-day there is but one trade open to her, that of marriage. In "*By and By*" every calling is as free to her as to man. After some reflections on the present system of marriages, the mad, reckless chase after any rich and noble scoundrel, which the "*girl of the period*" now undertakes every season, Mr. Maitland proceeds:—

"The literature of the Victorian era, just preceding the Emancipation, abounds in evidences of the hapless condition of the British female of that period, particularly in the middle and upper classes. It was the very intensity of her despair of any amelioration of her condition by conventional remedies,

that precipitated the radical change of which we are now so richly reaping the benefits. That this change was not effected long before, was owing, it must be confessed to the timidity of the men, and their want of faith in the inherent goodness of the female heart. The men had suffered the women to retain their belief in ecclesiastical infallibility long after they themselves had abandoned such belief. The irrevocability of marriage, dictated as it was by priests, had at least the appearance of being a revenge taken by them for their own exclusion from it. It was the disastrous result of ecclesiastical restriction upon the relations of the sexes, far more than a process of rational investigation, that opened the female mind to the baselessness of ecclesiastical pretensions. The men fought their own way to freedom by dint of hard brain-work. It was for them a battle royal between truth and falsehood, or rather between the right to obey the dictates of their own minds and consciences, and the claims of antiquated tradition. But they did not take their women with them. Either through difference of nature or difference of training, these were not amenable to the considerations which had influenced the men. Woman cared nothing for the abstract truth or falsehood of her religion. Her heart was the sole instrument whereby she judged such matters. The ordinance of the Church which rigidly forbade all intercourse with the other sex, save on condition of an indissoluble life-long contract, had come to have the effect of abolishing even those very contracts. While those who were already involved in them, finding themselves unable to part, were driven more and more to desert. Woman had so far subordinated her intellect and moral sense to the authority of her priests, so far forgotten her heart as to accept at their hands a deity and a faith which were independent of any considerations recognisable by those faculties. Her new-born infant might be consigned to everlasting torture for the omission by its parents of a prescribed ecclesiastical ceremony; but the system that kept her from getting a husband in this world was intolerable. And by insisting on the absolute permanence of the tie, the Church had virtually abolished marriage."—Vol. i. pp. 162, 163.

We have made this long quotation on account of its extreme boldness. There is no mistaking Mr. Maitland's meaning. It would not, however, be fair to criticise this passage—and there are certainly many points open to criticism—unless we gave Mr. Maitland's views upon the ideal marriage of the future at length. This it is impossible to do. And unless we did so, our criticism must necessarily be both imperfect and unfair to him and to our readers. That great reform is needed in our marriage institutions, nobody, we suppose, doubts, however much they might shrink from making husband and wife a mere limited liability company. At present, as Mr. Maitland observes, a wife is often only able to secure a husband at the expense of her morals. On the other hand, it would be quite possible for a writer of an opposite school to paint the reverse of Mr. Maitland's brilliant picture of the future. In such a writer's "By and By" women might with great plausibility be represented as the high-priestesses of religion. He might with great truth point to the fact that the congregations of both the High Church and the Low Church at the present moment are composed of women. He might argue that it may be very well for men of science to do without that moral support which religion affords, but not for the world at large. He might show that the wits and thinkers, and philosophers and men of science of the last century were powerless against the influence which Wesley and Whitfield wielded, and what is there, he might ask, to prevent something analogous to

this taking place at the end of the nineteenth century? As believers in Progress we naturally think that Mr. Maitland's picture is the more likely one to be realized. But we think that Mr. Maitland is far too sanguine. It is a very long cry to Loch Awe. For a long time, outwardly at least, things will continue to be much as they are. The multitude must have for many a long year their idols and their toys. Still no one can doubt that a great change is coming upon us, especially upon women. All that women ask for is free play. It is beside the question to answer that they are not fitted for such and such employment, and therefore shall not be allowed to undertake them. This is precisely like saying you shall not go into the water until you can swim, and because you cannot swim you shall not go into the water. It is no reply, such as the opponents to the rights of women constantly make, that women have never distinguished themselves in the world's history. Simply because they have not had the opportunity. Now that the opportunity, however small it is, has come, we find a contradiction to the statement. We can, counting back only a few years, point to woman's greatness in every branch of literature and art, to such names as George Sand, George Eliot, Rachel, Mrs. Browning, and Rosa Bonheur, a constellation in themselves, enough to make any period of the world's history remarkable. We have dealt so long on this subject, because we consider it the most important in Mr. Maitland's important novel. We especially commend "By and By" to all women who take an interest in the subject most connected with themselves and their true welfare. Mr. Maitland, as we have had occasion to remark when speaking of his previous works, is a writer who stands quite by himself. He possesses a style remarkable alike for its brilliancy, its delicate poetical fancy, and subtle humour, combined with a depth of philosophic reflection, which in these respects put his works on the same level as those of George Eliot. Lastly, it is no small praise that he has been able to treat this most delicate and difficult of subjects in such a way that, whilst fully doing justice to his own views, he has not let fall a word which can possibly offend the most fastidious of readers.

To enjoy Lord Lytton² one must not be too critical. Read him with a critical eye, and all pleasure is lost. Here you find an imitation of Sterne, here of Lamb, and there of Thackeray. But the reminiscence in all these cases only suggests Lord Lytton's inferiority and want of originality. In his pages you find paste instead of diamonds, pearl-powder instead of pearls, and wax-flowers instead of nature's. We believe that Lord Lytton's true sphere of art was not in the novel but on the stage, that is to say, the stage of the present day. His writings glitter with mental tinfoil. He is a master of that sentimentality which now finds its congenial home only in the theatre, and of that false wit which can only be properly appreciated by the admirers of the "Lady of Lyons." His characters in short look better by gaslight than by daylight, when you cannot so well distinguish the rouge

² "Kenelm Chillingly: His Adventures and Opinions." By the Author of "The Caxtons," &c. London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1873.

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from the true natural colour. "Kenelm Chillingly" is neither better nor worse than any other of Lord Lytton's novels. It illustrates our remarks much in the same way as any other of his novels would do. In the beginning of the story the hero is born, and we are introduced to a scene, about babies and cradles, modelled after the Sterne pattern. Soon after Lord Lytton takes a leaf out of the muscular Christianity novelists. Then we have the old Lyttonian sentiment for a chapter or two. Next we are introduced to one of those stagy farmers whom Lord Lytton delights in, with all the local colouring left out, and by this time we are pretty well through the first volume. The best sketch in our opinion is that of Mr. Chillingly Mivers, who writes for the "Londoner." But we do not see much of him till the middle of the second volume. Here Lord Lytton breaks comparatively new ground. But the character is in many points very unsatisfactory, and certainly does not realize the best type of the literary man of the day. The picture of him, making a reputation without anybody knowing exactly what he had written, is true enough. But then Lord Lytton has evidently, for want of matter, been obliged to fill up with details which are the stock-in-trade of men far inferior to himself in the art of storytelling. We suppose, however, that professional novel-readers will be most attracted by the charms of the two heroines, Cecilia and more especially Lily. "Kenelm Chillingly" will, we think, leave Lord Lytton's position much as it was. Those who dislike him, and believe him to be artificial and insincere, will certainly read these pages with little pleasure. Those, on the other hand, who are not critical, who love a tale of fashionable life, full of a great variety of characters, and admire cleverness for the sake of mere cleverness, will find many sparkling sketches, and many shrewd worldly sentiments in "Kenelm Chillingly."

There are two novels this quarter which certainly illustrate the doctrine of hereditary genius. We, of course, mean Miss Thackeray's charming "Old Kensington,"³ and Mr. Hawthorne's equally charming, though in an utterly different way, romance of "Bressant." In both cases we may distinctly trace the influences, which have left their mark. The lady first. Miss Thackeray has long since established herself as a universal favourite. She has gained the ear of the cultivated portion of the public by perfectly legitimate means. She has never stooped to any meretricious arts. She has never indulged in any sensation scenes, nor given way to any morbid sentiment. She has won her high position by simplicity of drawing, tenderest feeling, and delicate humour. But high as we were inclined to rate her gifts, we were certainly quite unprepared for such a novel as "Old Kensington." It reveals Miss Thackeray in quite a new light. Here we have much greater breadth of drawing than we have been accustomed to with her, a firmer handling of the characters, and above all, that which is the art of all arts, an organic fusion of the incidents into one living whole. Lastly, she has developed quite a new quality—a satirical power which in its precision and depth reminds us of the great master,

³ "Old Kensington." By Miss Thackeray. Smith, Elder and Co. 1873.

the author of "Vanity Fair." We could easily put together several pages of epigrams, which Miss Thackeray has scattered with such profusion, but also with such artistic feeling. But we should hope that no reader is so stupid as to require them pointing out. They appear, too, to much greater advantage in the setting in which Miss Thackeray has enshrined them. Of course the great charm of the book consists in the heroine. There is no risk of overpraising such a creation, which can only find its rival in George Eliot's "Maggie Tulliver." We do not mean to say that there is any likeness between them; but we do say that the exquisite art which is bestowed upon the two characters, in the loving care which is shown in revealing their inward and most subtle traits, partakes in both cases of a common genius. Of the other characters we can only now briefly say that they are individualized with a power and force for which we certainly had not given Miss Thackeray credit. Miss Thackeray has by this work placed herself in the very foremost rank of English novelists.

Mr. Julian Hawthorne⁴ is in some respects fortunate. We are not able to put him through the severe ordeal of judging him by his previous works. What, however, strikes us most is his singular resemblance both in style, sentiment, and sympathy with the author of the "Scarlet Letter." Indeed, we might at times fancy that we were reading from the pages of that weird tale. That same spiritual feeling, which so fascinated us in the elder Hawthorne, is audible in the tones of the son's voice. The characters of Bressant and Valcyon may possibly indicate a marked stage in American novel-writing. Certainly we have nothing to set against them in English literature. It is impossible, under the circumstances, to predict what success the book may have in England. In America, where men's minds are prepared for the reception of such characters, the work ought to be pre-eminently popular. It appeals to a side of human nature which has a particular interest with the most cultivated minds in the States. Here in England the principal objections will be to a certain haziness of treatment. But whatever may be our opinion as to Mr. Hawthorne's technical art, there can be but one as to the poetry and beauty of individual passages. We most sincerely recommend the book to all who are tired of the ordinary Mudie novel, and who wish to enter into a new world of ideas.

Mrs. Oliphant's novel⁵ can either fortunately or unfortunately be measured by her past work. We are afraid that Mrs. Oliphant is writing too fast. It was but the other day she gave us really a work of art, and now she puts us off with some wretched "padding" which would be a disgrace to a third-rate novelist. We shall hope, however, that this is only a transient fit of dulness which will soon pass away. We can ill afford to miss stories which have brought so much

⁴ "Bressant: a Romance." By Julian Hawthorne. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

⁵ "Innocent: a Tale of Modern Life." By Mrs. Oliphant, Author of "The Chronicles of Carlingford." London: Sampson Low, Martin, Low, and Searle. 1873.

wholesome delight and innocent pleasure to so many thousands of households.

It is a pity that Mr. Reginald Bramble⁶ has thought fit to style himself "A Cynic of the Nineteenth Century." He thus calls attention to what is a great want—a good satirical novel. Hannay and Whitty were the only two men who could be said to have succeeded in this line. But Mr. Reginald Bramble is neither a satirist nor a cynic. He enjoys life pretty tolerably after his fashion, which, however, is not ours. He does not seem to be much more imposed upon than most young men with a good fortune. By far the most amusing part of the story is his various love-adventures. His first proposal, made in a thunderstorm, is told with some humour. The letter, in which the young lady jilts him for a wealthier and more noble suitor, is also admirable. It reads as if it were taken from real life.

As a satire upon the social vices and follies of the day, Mr. Richards's "So Very Human"⁷ must stand far before "Reginald Bramble." Mr. Richards is at all events in earnest. He hits at times, however, rather wildly. His sparring throughout is indeed more remarkable for its vigour than its neatness. He appears to know many of the various phases of life in London. He is, however, most at home in the literary world. All the scenes connected with literature and the newspaper press are thoroughly life-like. The descriptions of the theatrical world are also equally powerful. Some of the best bits of Mr. Richards's writing may be found in the chapter "The Siren in her Cave," and the description of what we suppose is the Alhambra. But the book is all through thoroughly readable, abounding in sarcasm and trenchant epigrams.

Life at Charnes is described in that wonderful minute way, and by those realistic touches, which we have so long since come to associate with the names of MM. Erckmann-Chatrian.⁸ Want of space prevents us from making any analysis of the story. We can, however, safely say, to use a hackneyed phrase, that whoever begins the tale will not leave off till the last chapter. The translation appears to be excellently done, and we might almost imagine that the story had been originally written in English. Once or twice we notice a slight slip. Thus we read, "the number of pigs let out acorning was henceforth to be limited" (vol. ii. p. 64). "Acorning" somehow sounds rather clumsy and forced. The proper technical term is, we believe, "driven to mast."

The object of the writer of the "Tasmanian Lily"⁹ is to give a pic-

⁶ "Reginald Bramble: a Cynic of the Nineteenth Century. An Autobiography." London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

⁷ "So Very Human." By Alfred Bates Richards. London: Chapman and Hall. 1873.

⁸ "The Brothers Rantzau: a Story of the Vosges." By MM. Erckmann-Chatrian, Authors of "Waterloo," "The Conscript." London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle. 1873.

⁹ "The Tasmanian Lily." By James Bonwick, F.R.G.S., Author of "The Lost of the Tasmanians," "The Geography of Australia," &c. &c. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

ture, for the benefit of intending emigrants, of colonial life in Australia, and especially in Tasmania. The book is full of information concerning the climate, churches, schools, trade, and farms. The writer strives to be thoroughly impartial. We think he would have succeeded better if he had cast his book in a somewhat different form. One of the most interesting chapters is that entitled "A Chat about Natural History." The author has evidently studied the Tasmanian birds with considerable care. His remarks upon the colony are also evidently the results of long experience; but he has certainly weakened them by putting them into the present form of a tale. We should advise him to throw his information, which is certainly much needed in England, into the shape of a guide-book. It would then be admirably suited for all parish and mechanics' libraries.

Although "Harcourt" is not the first work which Mr. Tottenham¹⁰ has written, he has still to learn the great art of self-restraint. We must suppose, too, from his style, that he is still a young man. Yet there are good things in "Harcourt," some clever character-drawing, especially of women, some shrewd remarks, and above all some capital sketches of scenery dashed off with much feeling and vigour.

We expect so much from the author of "Occupations of a Retired Life," that we feel somewhat disappointed with his new tale, "Seen and Heard."¹¹ And yet it is far superior both in tone and in workmanship to nine-tenths of the novels which are issued. Minute labour has been spent in elaborating and finishing each character, so minute, however, that the effect becomes just a trifle wearisome. There is, too, just a little too much "goody-goody" writing in parts. Putting aside these small blemishes, the story is excellently told; but is, perhaps, more suited for a younger class of readers than those for whom novels are generally intended.

"The Deserted Ship"¹² may also be recommended to young readers, especially boys. It has the additional advantage of being illustrated with several spirited woodcuts. In the same category we may place "Plucky Fellows,"¹³ and "The Travelling Menagerie,"¹⁴ though the last would be decidedly improved by the omission of such a sensational frontispiece as the "Lion King" torn to pieces by lions.

We can but briefly indicate the general character of the remaining novels before us. Mr. Black's "Lady Caroline with Pendants,"¹⁵ is not a novel, but a collection of tales and sketches, which have already

¹⁰ "Harcourt." By G. L. Tottenham, Author of "Terence M'Gowan," "The Irish Tenant," &c. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1873.

¹¹ "Seen and Heard." By the Author of "Occupations of a Retired Life." London: Strahan and Co. 1872.

¹² "The Deserted Ship: a Real Story of the Atlantic." By Cupples Howe, Master-Mariner. Illustrated by Townley Green. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

¹³ "Plucky Fellows: being Reminiscences from the Note-Book of Captain Fred. A Book for Boys." By S. J. MacKenna. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

¹⁴ "The Travelling Menagerie." By Charles Camden, Author of "Hoity Toity." Illustrated by J. Mahoney. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

¹⁵ "Lady Caroline: with Pendants." By Robert Black, M.A., Author of "The Blackbird of Baden." London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1873.

gained considerable popularity when they first appeared in various magazines and serials. Mr. Black possesses a quick lively style. One of the best of his stories is "How Robinson lost his Fellowship." To all those who know Dresden and are fond of music, we can very strongly recommend "Alcestis,"¹⁶ whilst Gustav Freytag's "Our Forefathers"¹⁷ will be welcomed by everybody in its new dress. "Chesterleigh"¹⁸ is one of those many novels which are so considerably above the average that it makes us hope that the author may some day write a work which shall live. It may be ordered from Mudie's without misgiving to while away an hour or two by the sea-side. With it, too, may be ordered Mr Donelan's "What 'tis to Love."¹⁹ Cecil Clayton,²⁰ we should imagine, is a young lady's production. At all events, the female characters show the most insight, and there is a knowledge of feminine dress which is very wonderful under any other supposition. The story, though slight, is amusing.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the greatest novel and the greatest poem²¹ of the present year should turn, in a great measure, upon the same subject-matter—the social position of women and the condition of our marriage institutions. How far Mr. Maitland and Mr. Browning might agree as to the proper solution of the various difficulties involved in these important questions, there is no need for us just now to inquire. One thing, however, is certain, there are passages in Maitland's "By-and-By" and in Browning's "Red Cotton Night-Cap Country" which coincide in spirit. Readers of "By-and-By" will remember Mr. Maitland's description of the Victorian and pre-Victorian periods. Here is Mr. Browning's description of the Victorian man, if we only substitute London for Paris:—

"He understood the worth of womankind—
To furnish man—provisionally—sport :
Sport transitive—such earth's amusements are :
But, seeing that amusements pall by use,
Variety therein is requisite.
And since the serious work of life were wronged
Should we bestow importance on our play,
It follows, in such womankind-pursuit,
Cheating is lawful chase. We have to spend
An hour—they want a life time thrown away.
We seek to tickle sense—they ask for soul,
As if soul had no higher ends to serve!"—pp. 92, 93.

We cannot quote further ; but Mr. Maitland would not, we suppose,

¹⁶ "Alcestis." London : Smith, Elder and Co. 1873.

¹⁷ "Our Forefathers: a Novel." By Gustav Freytag. Translated by Mrs. Malcolm. London : Asher and Co. 1873.

¹⁸ "Chesterleigh." By Ansley Conyers. London : Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

¹⁹ "What 'tis to Love." By A. M. Donelan. London : Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

²⁰ "Effie's Game: How She Lost and how She Won." By Cecil Clayton. Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

²¹ "Red Cotton Night-Cap Country; or, Turf and Towers." By Robert Browning. London : Smith, Elder and Co. 1873.

object to the way in which the poet has represented the hero as the slave of the grossest superstitions. The heroine is a French girl of the period. We need not follow her career in London, when she lived in Coliseum-street, as Miss Pages, the actress. It is enough to say that Clara Millefleurs fascinated and tormented the English aristocracy in a way which would puzzle the most diligent student of the Court Guide or the Divorce Court. She returns to Paris, and lives with Miranda. In due time her legal husband turns up. And here begins the real interest of the story, the terrible struggle between inclination, duty, and the superstitions of the Church. All that follows is sad in the extreme. Miranda at last destroys himself. Mr. Browning does not untie, but cuts the knot of the difficulty. Of course an article to itself would be required to fully discuss the various points which Mr. Browning raises. There is no danger, however, of the subject being forgotten. The whole question of what is now commonly known as "illicit love," such as Miranda's and Clara's would be commonly regarded, is certain at no distant period to be thoroughly discussed. We will therefore turn to the beauties of the poem as a poem. There cannot, we think, be a doubt that Mr. Browning's two great sins in the eyes of superficial readers—harshness and obscurity—have disappeared. The poem is clearness itself. And this clearness of expression has not been achieved at the expense of originality of thought. Mr. Browning is as original and as powerfully dramatic as ever. Lastly, too, there are many touches of a gentler order, which we do not generally associate with Mr. Browning's muse. Here, for instance, is one:—

"It was the day when Spring's green girlishness
Grew nubile, and she trembled into May."—p. 191.

Here is another:—

"On one October morning, at first drop
Of appled gold, first summons to be grave,
Because rough Autumn's play turns earnest now."—p. 145.

But we must stop quoting, though nearly every page would yield some line of beauty. To sum up, we consider—though we are far from saying that we agree with the poet's verdict and conclusion—that "Red Cotton Night-Cap Country" is decidedly one of the most important contributions, both from the interest of the subject-matter, from the problems which are put before us, and also from the beauty and vigour of the poem itself, which Mr. Browning has given the world.

Volumes of poetry still continue to crowd upon us; but the quality is this quarter very much better than usual. Chief among them stands Mr. Joaquim Miller's "Songs of the Sunlands."²² We some time ago called especial attention to this new American poet's first work—"The Songs of the Sierras," nor do we repent of our criticism. He has perhaps lost something of that boldness, and that flavour of

²² "Songs of the Sunlands." By Joaquim Miller, Author of "Songs of the Sierras." London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer. 1873.

originality which in a certain way reminded one of Walt Whitman without his special weaknesses and extravagances. Still to counterbalance this loss he has gained a certain polish. Yet here we perceive a danger. But Mr. Miller must be careful that he does not buy elegance at too dear a price. We ourselves prefer the roughness of the backwoods of America to all the drawing-room conventionalities of Europe. We prefer Mr. Joaquim Miller's native reed-pipe to any guitar. The most perfect poem in the present collection is without doubt "The Isle of the Amazons." Here we see Mr. Miller at his best. Here he has put forth his real strength. It is, in short, a poem which will live. Here is a new description of the old tale of love among even the Amazons:—

"They bared their brows to the palms above,
But some look'd level into comrade's eyes,
And they then remembered that the thought of love
Was the thing forbidden, and they sank in sighs.

"They turned from the training, to heed in throng
To the old, old tale; and they train'd no more,
As he sang of love; and some on the shore,
And full in the sound of the eloquent song,
With a womanly air and irresolute will,
Went listlessly onward as gathering shells;
Then gazed in the waters, mirror'd themselves,
Put back their hair and sigh'd, and were still.

"And they said no word. Some tapp'd on the sand
With the sandal'd foot, keeping time to the sound,
In a sort of dream; some timed with the hand,
And one held eyes full of tears to the ground
As the tide of years turn'd stormy and strong,
With its freightage of wrecks, and impossible things,
And a flood of far memories, born of the song
And borne to the heart on articulate wings."—pp. 103, 104.

This short extract ought to send many new readers to one who can write so freshly, so sweetly, and so strongly.

We owe Professor Nichol an apology for having so long delayed noticing his remarkable drama of "Hannibal."²³ Nor can we at the present moment do it justice. Yet substantial justice has, we are glad to see, been done him in other quarters. Professor Nichol has received the highest meed which a poet can receive,—he has been praised by poets. We hope, however, to recur to it at no short date.

Mr. Maccrom²⁴ is exceedingly angry with his critics, and especially with ourselves. Our crime is that we misquoted him. We, or our printers, put "very" for "every," and added mispunctuation to our sin. As we should be most sorry to do Mr. Maccrom or anybody else

²³ "Hannibal: a Historical Drama." By John Nichol, B.A. Oxon. London: Macmillan. 1873.

²⁴ "Unseen and Idealities: Poems." By J. S. Maccrom. Second Edition, with Appendix. London: E. T. Whitfield. 1873.

any injustice, we reprint the passage precisely as Mr. Maccrom desires—

“Viewed from the elevation of my place
The landscape was an admirable one :
Before me, stretching many a league away,
’Twas every fair and wild variety.”

We must assure Mr. Maccrom that even his punctuation cannot make such stuff as this poetry. Punctuation, or something else, is also required for Mr. Appleby’s verses.²⁵ Here is a specimen—

“O’er three hundred years have been and gone,
Since thou ! immortal bard of Stratford-Avon ;
Thou chief, mighty genius, now laying in dust.
But thy likeness—is now before me in bust.—p. 85.

It is, however, right to say that only Mr. Maccrom and Mr. Appleby reach such depths of imbecility as these two passages reveal. The rest of the poetry, as we have said, is this quarter very much above the average. A hundred years ago several of the writers would certainly have taken their places in any edition of the *British Poets*. Not long since we called attention to the delicate fancy and genuine feeling displayed in a volume of poems by Mr. Wade Robinson. We now gladly welcome his “*Loveland*.”²⁶ The poems are much of the same character as the “*Songs in God’s World*,” full of grace and refinement. Mr. Austin’s “*Madonna’s Child*”²⁷ is a poem which certainly less than fifty years since would at once have secured a high position. But in spite of its many very high qualities, its easy flow, and harmonious versification, we doubt if it will attain a tithe of the popularity which it fairly deserves. We sincerely regret that Mr. Austin should have abandoned his career as a satirist. At one time it looked as if he would certainly have made his mark in this direction. Neither “*The Season*” nor “*The Golden Age*” are yet forgotten. We must now class together a number of poems, all of which show at least refinement and cultivation, and some of them much poetical feeling. But it would be quite unsafe to make any prediction with regard to the future of the authors. First amongst them comes “*Proems*”²⁸ by Mr. Cotterill, very graceful and pleasing. Mr. Armstrong’s²⁹ lyrical pieces possess the same characteristics. Anything which Miss Dora Greenwell³⁰ writes is sure to be both poetical and tender, and her present volume is no exception. Mr. Sidney Whiting’s³¹ poems must also

²⁵ “*Le Circe : and other Poems*.” By John Appleby. London : Provost and Co. 1873.

²⁶ “*Loveland*.” By Wade Robinson. London : Longmans, Green and Co. 1873.

²⁷ “*Madonna’s Child*.” By Alfred Austin. London : William Blackwood and Sons. 1873.

²⁸ “*Proems*.” By H. B. Cotterill. London : William Blackwood and Sons. 1873.

²⁹ “*Poems, Lyrical and Dramatic*.” By George F. Armstrong, M.A. London : Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer. 1873.

³⁰ “*The Soul’s Legend*.” By Dora Greenwell. London : Strahan and Co. 1873.

³¹ “*Poems*.” By Sidney Whiting. London : N. Trübner and Co. 1873.

receive a word of commendation. But the volume which appears to us to possess the greatest promise for the future is Lord Francis Hervey's.³² If Lord Francis Hervey will only throw away his models and trust to himself, he may yet add another name to a family already honorably distinguished in the annals of literature.

No county, with the exceptions perhaps of Yorkshire and Lancashire, has been so fortunate both in the number and ability of its glossarists as Cumberland. The names of Dickenson, Gibson, Richardson, and of many others, who were not professed glossarists, at once recur to the mind. And now we have to add Mr. Ferguson³³ to the number. His book is a worthy addition to the literature of the subject. It has been treated in a most unfair manner, especially in a quarter where we naturally expected better things. Mr. Ferguson's crime, in his critic's opinion, consists in having given a number of words which are not peculiar to Cumberland, but are found in other counties. This to our mind is the great merit of Mr. Ferguson's work. What we especially now want to know is, how far certain words range, and what is their extreme limit, either north or south. For example let us take the plural form "childer," which, by the way, is not given by Mr. Ferguson. What we wish to know is, how far south does it range? Does its use extend below Nottinghamshire? is it ever heard in Warwickshire? The fault which we should be inclined to find with Mr. Ferguson is that his glossary is not full enough. He has at a rough estimation given us somewhere about two thousand provincialisms which are current in Cumberland. Now there must be nearly three times that number in the county, of which one-third is probably uncollected. We are quite aware that a theory has been put forth, which received the apparent sanction of a distinguished philologist, that the British labourer does not use above five hundred words. Twenty years' experience in collecting provincialisms has convinced us that there are few counties which do not contain somewhere about four thousand words not used in literary English, whilst the richer districts, such as Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Cumberland, contain about one-third more. Mr. Ferguson will probably reply that it was no business of his to collect words, that he left such drudgery to others, and that he employed himself only in the more ennobling study and larger aspects of philology. We answer that just at this particular time, this crisis, this turning-point in our literary history, when railways, schools, the new education code, and emigration, are not merely fast destroying, but utterly annihilating, our dialects, that the collection of words is far more important than criticism, however able, upon them. Criticism and comparative philology are not likely to die out just at present in England, but the words are daily dying out. What we most urgently require are the raw materials for our future philologists to work upon. In a few years it will be too

³² "The Taking of Alba." By Lord Francis Hervey. London: Longmans. 1873.

³³ "The Dialect of Cumberland. With a Chapter on its Place-Names." By Robert Ferguson, Author of "The Teutonic Name-System," "The River Names of Europe." London: Williams and Norgate. 1873.

late to collect them, for there will be none to collect. Only to earnest labourers like Mr. Ferguson, who has the opportunity, which so few have, we can look for help. Some few years ago a proposal was made, we believe by Mr. Aldis Wright, to form an English Dialect Society, but it fell to the ground for lack of support. We therefore most warmly thank Mr. Ferguson for his book, and trust that it may stimulate others to follow his example in other counties. We have left ourselves no room to enter into any criticism upon its various merits. We can only say that it is full of valuable suggestions, and that its etymology is, what is rare in local glossaries, founded on sound principles. It deserves to be placed on the same shelf with Atkinson's "Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect."

Since the foregoing notice was written, we have received, with much pleasure, a pamphlet by, we presume, Mr. Skeat, on the formation of an "English Dialect Society."²⁴ We most sincerely congratulate both him and Mr. Aldis Wright that their efforts have at last met with a response. The English Dialect Society has a most important work to do. Mr. Skeat, both in the pamphlet before us, and also in the pages of our contemporary *Notes and Queries* (4th s. xi. pp. 385, 386), and again in the same journal (4th s. xi. pp. 406, 407), has laid down the objects of the Society, and rules for the guidance of word-collectors. One of the first publications of the Society, we are glad to see, will be a new bibliographical list of all glossaries and all works which in any way illustrate our dialects and provincialisms. This is much needed. Mr. Russell Smith's well-known handbook has long become practically useless. Its next work, equally important, will be to reprint some of the glossaries which are known to exist in manuscript—such as Bishop Kennett's, in the British Museum, and the large glossary of the Eastern Counties, mentioned by Way in his edition of the "Promptorium Parvulorum." The advice which both Mr. Skeat and Mr. Aldis Wright give to word-collectors is excellent. We would venture to supplement it by the following suggestions:—That the local newspapers should be consulted; that the parish registers, and especially the churchwardens' books in each district should be carefully searched for words; and lastly, that the local names of the fields, when they appear to be sufficiently characteristic and valuable, as given in the "Parish Field Book" (used for the valuation of properties in each parish throughout England), should be registered. This last book is a most rich mine of information with regard to local names. By it we are satisfied that many of the places in the "Doomsday Survey," which have hitherto been such a puzzle, might be recognised. As Mr. Ferguson well observes, in his work which we have just noticed, the local nomenclature of a district is most closely connected with the speech of the people. But this local nomenclature is often buried in the name of some disused lane or outlying field, brake, dingle, or small stream, which can only be discovered by a study of the "Parish Field Book." We trust that we have now said sufficient to call the attention of our readers to the claims which the English Dialect Society has upon

²⁴ "English Dialect Society." London: Trübner and Co. 1873.

us all. If the society now fails, either through apathy, in this day of learning, or through want of funds, in this time of wealth, it will simply be a disgrace to the nation. We should remember, too, that this is the last possible appeal, because if the work is not now done, it never can be done. In a few years it will be too late. We have a chance now of rescuing from oblivion those old-world words of our fathers—not only in themselves beautiful, but which are of the utmost value to the philologist and historian, as helping them not merely to interpret the meaning of our elder poets, dramatists, and writers, but to settle the most difficult questions concerning our race and history, and adding, too, at the same time fresh stores of wealth to a language which promises at no distant date to be the language of the world. Upon these grounds, we claim support for the English Dialect Society from all who are interested and take a pride in the glories of our literature, and the history and progress of our mother-tongue.

The Rugby series of Shakspeare's plays is progressing. Mr. Moberly's edition of *Hamlet*³⁵ is the latest, and is in every way equal to its predecessors. Its chief merits consist in its excellent introduction, the arrangement and notation of the lines in each scene, and the scholarly tone of the notes. We should, however, have preferred, for the sake of reference, that the lines of the whole play had been numbered continuously, without any break. As a specimen of the value of the notes, we will take the following pertinent remarks on the peculiarly Shaksperian word "emulate," which Dyce, by the way, omits in his glossary :—

"*Emulate.* In other places 'emulous.' Shakspeare is partial to these passive forms. As we have in *As You Like It*, 'O knowledge ill-inhabited;' and in *Macbeth*, 'the ravin'd salt-sea shark;' so we have in German, 'er kam geritten, gekrocken,' and in Greek a few words like *ὑποπτος*, in the double sense of 'suspecting' and 'suspected.'—p. 5.

We might add many more examples of Mr. Moberly's method of illustration, especially in the use of such words as "partisan" (p. 8), "bed-rid" (p. 10), "beteem" (p. 15), "let" (pp. 28, 29), and others. He has evidently consulted the latest and best authorities. Once or twice we think that he has failed to hit the real solution. His interpretation of "sharked" (act i., sc., l. 98) is far better than of all preceding editors or commentators. Mr. Moberly has nothing to say to the absurd "shark fish" derivation of Steevens and Caldecott, but ingeniously connects it with the French "escroquer" and so with the Italian "scrocco," and the German "schurke," which had its equivalent in Elizabethan English by the common word "shark," a rascal. Notwithstanding Mr. Moberly's clever suggestion, we still think that the true meaning of "shark'd up" in this passage is still to seek. We are at present very imperfectly acquainted with the vocabulary of Elizabethan English. Some day or another the word will probably be found in some contemporary writer of the poet. So too again we

³⁵ "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark." (Select Plays of Shakspeare, Rugby Edition.) Edited by the Rev. Charles G. Moberly, Assistant Master in Rugby School. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1873.

are doubtful if the true meaning of "fishmonger" (act ii. sc. 2, l. 174), and of "wheel" (act iv. sc. 5, l. 172), is properly understood. We certainly should like a better reference than Mr. Steevens's memory in the case of the latter word. Mr. Moberly does not fall into the error of making Shakspeare a mere text for a philological lesson. He is careful to point out the poet's beauties. Thus he illustrates the lines—

"To thine ownself be true,
And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man ;"

not only by some well known lines from Wordsworth, but by a far less known but equally noble saying of an Eastern sage—"There is one way to gladden those whom you love: if one is not upright when retired into himself, never will he bring rejoicing to those who are near him." From every point of view Mr. Moberly's edition of *Hamlet* is excellent.

Sir Arthur Helps's style³⁶ is one of polished ease and refined humour. Every page shows us the thinker and the graceful scholar. So consummate is the art of Sir Arthur Helps's style, that it is likely to be unappreciated by the multitude, who patronize sensational railway novels. The subtle irony is not likely to be understood by the vulgar mob, who grin from ear to ear at the horse-play of their favourite hero and heroine. That restrained, severe, yet easy grace, which shows itself alike in the dialogues of his characters and in the author's own reflections, will, we fear, often fall upon deaf ears. Our minds are somehow attuned in a false key. We can relish nothing but what is full-flavoured. How far the criticisms of the press are to blame for this state of things, we do not undertake to say. *We*, at all events, have never pandered to the popular taste. It is therefore with especial pleasure that we call attention to Sir Arthur Helps's charming volume, which is as interesting in its matter as it is graceful in style. Sir Arthur Helps does not, unfortunately, in his title fully express the exact purpose of his book, but that is plain enough to anybody who will read a single page. It is to inculcate humanity and kindness to our "fellow-creatures, the animals," as Lord Herbert of Cherbury would have called them. And Sir Arthur Helps teaches this lesson both to rich and poor alike. Whilst denouncing the atrocities which drovers practise upon the sheep and oxen sent to our markets, he does not forget the equal criminality of those titled ladies who go to enjoy the pleasure of seeing pigeons butchered by their brothers, lovers, and husbands. We are deeply thankful to Sir Arthur Helps for his plain speaking. His name will carry weight in certain fashionable circles, where others would not be listened to. We are deeply thankful to him, especially at the present moment, when we can hardly take up a novel which is not filled with the slaughter of animals, both four-footed and feathered, by amateur butchers. "It's a fine day; let us go and kill something," is the key-note of all such works.

³⁶ "Some Talk about Animals and their Masters." By the Author of "Friends in Council." London: Strahan and Co. 1873.

We had marked a number of passages, principally quotations, by which Sir Arthur Helps has illustrated his arguments, which we had hoped to have given for the benefit of our readers, but space unfortunately fails us. The book is remarkable from every point of view. A quiet humour, reminding us of Lamb, pervades it from the beginning to the end. It is always scholarly, without ever being pedantic. It is filled with a number of anecdotes, taken from such miscellaneous sources as St. Francis of Assisi, Xenophanes, Plutarch, and Humboldt, all illustrating the subject, and inculcating the one noble lesson which the author has in view—kindness to animals. “*Animals and their Masters*” is, in short, a book which should be in every one’s hands, whether rich or poor, and should equally find a place in the drawing-room and the labouring man’s cottage. We most sincerely trust that the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, a Society which has done so much good, and which is an honour to our country, may take the book under its auspices, and disseminate it throughout the length and breadth of England.

We must very inadequately notice Mr. Rutherford’s “*Troubadours*,”³⁷ a work written with great care, learning, and insight. We must also too inadequately notice Professor Campbell’s translation of three plays of Sophocles.³⁸ Of course, as far as accuracy and scholarship go, this translation is all that could be desired. But Professor Campbell does far more than this. He reveals himself as a poet. No one can read a single speech without being impressed with the fact that the translator is himself a poet, endowed not only with a portion of the dramatic power of the great master, but also with what is still rarer, with that restraint, that golden moderation—that mean, which is truest art, which Sophocles undoubtedly possessed to a greater degree than ever has been attained by any other poet.

³⁷ “*The Troubadours. Their Loves and their Lyrics. With Remarks on their Influence, Social and Literary.*” By John Rutherford. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1873.

³⁸ “*Three Plays of Sophocles—Antigone, Electra, Dejanira or the Death of Hercules. Translated into English Verse.*” By Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews. London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1873.

THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

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OCTOBER 1, 1873.  
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ART. I.—THE MINT AND THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

1. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Constitution, Management, and Expense of the Royal Mint.* 1849.
2. *Report of the Royal Commission on International Coinage, together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix.* 1868.
3. *Memorandum on the Mint.* By MESSRS. C. W. FREMANTLE and C. RIVERS WILSON. 1869.
4. *Estimate of Mr. Thomas Graham, Master of the Mint, and Colonel Smith, late Master of the Calcutta Mint, on the Mintage necessary to cover the Expenses of Establishing and Maintaining the Gold Currency.* 1869.
5. *Reports on the American, French, Prussian, and Swedish Mints: Parliamentary Papers.*

IT has been proposed once or twice to transfer the Mint to the Strand, and it is impossible to take a stroll through the purlieus of Tower Hill, to make a circuit of the Mint, or to walk through its courtyards, without agreeing with Mr. Lowe that the sooner this is done the better. The site is historic; and standing upon Tower Hill the Mint is still within a stone's throw of the vaults where, from the days of the Plantagenets till the year 1821, all the "Royal money" of England was struck by the King's Warden and Moneyers. This, of course, is something as a proof of the historical continuity of the State; and in a country where every

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spot has its cluster of traditions, where every institution has a pedigree that you can trace back to the Conquest, to the Heptarchy, to the days of Canute the Dane, or even of Alfred, historical links of this sort are not to be broken without a second thought. But when you have said this you have said all. Tower Hill has nothing but its historical recollections to recommend it as the site of the Mint. It is now simply one of the most dangerous quarters in London; and it must be a standing marvel to the police that the thieves of Rosemary Lane have not long ago put their heads together to turn out to rob the gold van of its precious stores, as the Manchester Fenians turned out to attack the prison van. All that is needed to do this is a little organization and dash. "I believe I could organize a successful attack upon the van to-morrow," said the Deputy Master of the Mint, when asked recently how it was that the van had hitherto escaped without even a challenge. "The thieves, I suppose, have never thought about it. There is a magic about the van." It is an exploit that needs only a moderate amount of courage, and possessing this the thieves might reckon upon everything in their favour if they could only contrive to cover their retreat with the booty. This is the only difficulty. Of course, even with the Mint in the Strand the gold van would not be quite free from risk. But what are the risks of Fleet Street and the Strand in comparison with those of St. Katharine's Dock and Rosemary Lane?

This is an *à priori* argument, and therefore an argument that may very fairly be answered by the observation that, as a plain matter of fact, the gold van may be left to take its chance in Rosemary Lane with very little more risk, practically, than it must face under the shadow of Temple Bar. The main argument, the practical argument in favour of the removal of the Mint, is partly an argument of *£ s. d.*, and partly an argument of public convenience. The Mint at present is overhoused, and, what is worse, is too much out of the way of the Bank and of all the rest of the Public Offices. Standing upon Tower Hill, the Mint stands upon one of the most valuable plots of ground in London; and this site comprises about four acres and a half. The place is more like a barrack than a Mint, and with its courtyards overgrown with grass and moss, you may, till you enter the smelters' house and catch a glimpse of the seething metal, with its iridescent hues, imagine yourself in an abandoned barrack yard. You may walk through every courtyard of the Mint without coming across the slightest sign of life except a sentinel on the yawn, with a tortoiseshell cat purring round the stock of his musket. It is as still as a ruin, and with a broken column or two, a spray of ivy or eglantine, it might pass for a

ruin with most of the visitors who now stand and stare at its white pillars glistening in the sun, contrast it with the grey and grimy walls of the Tower, and pass on with a hazy impression that it is the Trinity House, a Penitentiary, or a Model Prison. The explanation is simply that the Mint occupies three or four acres more space than it requires. All its officers and workmen might be packed together, and still have ample room, in a wing of Somerset House ; and in this position the Mint would be within equal distance at once of the Treasury and of Lombard Street. Standing where it does now, the Mint is out of the reach of Whitehall and of the City, is in a dangerous as well as disagreeable and all but inaccessible neighbourhood, and costs us in rent and the etceteras of rent, three times more than it ought to cost, and three times more than it might cost but for the perversity of a House of Commons which, with Economy and Retrenchment at the tip of its tongue, only likes to talk of Economy and Retrenchment as the Scottish maiden talked of love—in the abstract.

The original mistake, of course, was in placing the Mint upon Tower Hill, and in throwing away a quarter of a million of money in Portland stone and cement when the workmen of the Mint might have been amply housed at a third of that sum. But the New Mint, as it is still called, was built when the Warden and his Moneyers were all huddled together in a corner of the Tower, and when it was thought that, through the resumption of cash payments after the French War, the Mint would require all the space that could be allotted to it in this building to do its work efficiently. This, as it turns out, was all an illusion. But the buildings and site are still worth every shilling that they cost, perhaps a great deal more ; and if put up to auction to-morrow would probably yield enough to cover all the expense of fitting up a wing of Somerset House, or even of erecting a fresh Mint on the Thames Embankment. This is what it must come to sooner or later ; and perhaps the sooner the better.

But this is not the only alteration that is needed in the working of the Mint. It is not, we hope, the only alteration that is at hand ; for our system of currency needs remodelling all through, in the interest of the State no less than in the interest of the public as distinguished from the State. Why should not the Mint be self-supporting ? Why should it be a source of loss instead of a source of profit to the State ? Why should it not be worked on true commercial principles ? Why should it not be carried on as the Post Office is carried on, as the Telegraph Service is carried on, as the Australian and Indian Mints are carried on ? and why, when the Mint is self-supporting, should it not be the only Coining Power in the realm, exercising the privi-

lege of issue now vested in the hands of the Bank of England and of the rest of the Banks, and returning to the Treasury the profit upon the paper as well as the metallic currency, instead of returning a loss upon most of its work and allowing the profit to slip through its fingers and find its way into private purses? Why, in a word, should not the Mint be made to pay? "Make the Mint pay? It must pay of course. You cannot coin money at a loss." This is probably the first observation that will suggest itself to most people who have not till now thought about the Mint or its work, except perhaps to wish that it was a little busier and that we all had a little more currency in our pockets. It is a mystery, this manufacture of money at a loss. But with all its mystery it is a fact. The Mint makes a loss every year. It makes a loss upon every gold coin that it turns out, although the Bank, the bullion brokers, and every one else through whose hands these coins pass after they leave the Mint, make a profit upon them, very often a handsome profit, and make part of this profit at the expense and indirectly through the permission of the Mint.

The English currency—the metallic currency—is the costliest currency in the world, and unless it is taken in hand in the course of the next year or two, we shall have to add that it is the shabbiest of all metallic currencies. It is fast relapsing into a pauper currency even as it is, into a currency, that is, which will circulate only where the Queen's writs will run, and which must circulate even there at less than its nominal value. The silver and copper coins, we need hardly say, are only tokens. Their value is fixed by Act of Parliament, and as long as they possess enough pure metal to prevent people attempting to manufacture them in rivalry with the Mint, it is a matter of indifference what sort of coins they are. Anything that will circulate, anything that will go, as the phrase is, anything that cannot be counterfeited without detection, anything that will wear, and anything that you can renew without too much expense, will do for a supplementary currency, although, of course, as a matter of decency, even these tokens ought to be kept in a presentable shape. But if our gold coins are to pass current beyond the seas, to pass current as they do at present in every port and market in the world, to pass where nothing else will pass, and to pass by tale instead of weight, they must be maintained at their full weight as well as at their old standard of purity; and although of course no one can tamper or will tamper with their purity, there is a risk of the mass of the currency falling below the regulation weight, a risk of the heavy pieces all disappearing from circulation, and a risk of the holders of light coin at home being compelled to pass it on at a loss, or else of the State being driven

to the necessity of recalling its coin, melting it down, and re-issuing it at a gigantic loss, as the only way of preserving its own honour and credit. At present the loss arising through the wear and tear of coin falls upon the public. At least this is the theory, although as a matter of fact the loss falls upon the person who happens to present light coin at the Bank of England when it is too old to circulate longer. The original cost of the currency, the cost, that is, of its manufacture, is the only part of the expense that falls upon the State. These two items—the cost of manufacture and the loss through wear and tear—constitute the chief part of the expense of maintaining a currency like ours, and probably very few people out of the Mint and the Bank of England have anything but the haziest conception of the sum which these items when put together represent; yet if they represent a shilling they may, we believe, be taken as representing 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.* a year. The working expenses of the Mint alone can hardly be taken at less than 30,000*l.* a year, and the lowest estimate of the loss upon our gold coinage alone is within a trifle of 28,000*l.* a year. These amounts in themselves are of course but trifles, but apparently trifling as a sum of 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.* a year may look in a Budget of seventy millions, it is a serious sum when it has to be reckoned up as a permanent charge, and especially as a permanent charge representing a dead loss upon work which ought to yield a profit to the State.

Practically the English Mint is one of the most economical and one of the most efficient of our manufacturing establishments. It does its work cheaper and better than any Mint in Europe or in America. It can turn out coins quite as well as the best of the Birmingham Mints. It has not a single supernumerary clerk or coiner. It has not a single overpaid officer. Its working expenses are all cut down to the lowest level, and the consequence is that money is struck cheaper on Tower Hill than it is struck in America, in France, in Prussia, or even in our own Mints at Calcutta and Sydney. We have in the Parliamentary papers before us an account of the output of the Mint from 1842 to 1866, a statement of the annual expenses of the Mint, taking the year all through, and a statement of the cost of manufacturing sovereigns alone when the men are working full time.

The output of the Mint varies considerably from year to year, now and then to the extent of eight or ten millions sterling, frequently to the extent of three or four millions. The highest amount that has been coined since the year 1842 is 11,952,319*l.* This was in the year 1853. The lowest output was that of the year 1858. It then fell to 1,213,023*l.*; and after the commercial crash in 1866 not a single sovereign was struck for a year and a half. This irregularity adds, and must add, to the cost of pro-

duction, because it necessitates the Master of the Mint keeping up a staff of workmen strong enough to meet the ugly rushes for coinage which the course of the Exchanges is apt to entail upon him every four or five years; and of course if the men are kept kicking their heels in the courtyard of the Mint they must be paid, and paid in idleness almost as well as they are paid when at work, or they will drift off into other employments, as they do even now sometimes, or get into debt and perhaps become utterly demoralized, losing their skill as well as their character as honest and trustworthy workmen. But with all this irregularity from year to year, the average production of the Mint in gold coinage is pretty even when reckoned upon a series of years, say 10, 15, or 20 years. Upon the period now under consideration, for instance, the output amounts exactly to 5,000,000*l.* a year, and this is the average upon every ten years if you test it by shorter periods. This amount represents about six months' work of the present staff of moneyers, and taking the average expenses of the establishment at 30,000*l.* a year, although they have been reduced since Mr. Lowe assumed the Mastership of the Mint as one of the functions of Chancellor of the Exchequer, this brings the total cost of our gold coinage to 15,000*l.* a year, or to about three farthings a piece. The cost of production consists of the following items:—

1. Ordinary or fixed expenses—

Salaries of officers	£4000
Wages of artificers	1655
	—————£5,655

Or 0·271 penny for one piece.

2. Extraordinary or variable on coining

£5,000,000 in six months—

Wages paid by piece	£2911
Assays by non-resident assayers	832
Loss of metal	1500
Contingencies, including repairs, police, alloy, &c.	4102
	—————£9,345

Or 0·449 penny for one piece. ————

• £15,000

But when the Mint is in full work, as it was in January, 1862, and at work upon sovereigns only, it can turn them out at the rate of 1,822,502*l.* a month, and turn out these at a cost of 2588*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*, or about ·340861 of a penny per piece. In 1864 and in 1866 the Mint was kept continuously at work for five or six weeks upon sovereigns, and in both periods the average rate of production rarely fell below half a million a week, and at this rate the cost of production was brought down to 0·311 of a

penny per piece. This is the quickest work ever accomplished by the Mint, and the expense must of course be taken as representing the minimum cost with our present processes and machinery. The workmen's wages in this coinage may be taken at 7s. 2d. per 1000 pieces, the salaries and contingent expenses represent 12s. 9½d. per 1000, and the loss of metal 6s. per 1000. Total, 1l. 5s. 11½d. per 1000. It is, however, only at intervals of six or seven years that the Mint has a rush like this. The average rate of production is what we have to deal with, and taking this at 5,000,000l. a year, we must assume the average cost of production to be nearly ¾d. a piece. It is impossible to attain greater economy than this; and the precision and accuracy with which the work is done are marvels of manufacturing skill. Here is a statement of the weight of 1000 sovereigns as they were issued from the Mint, and put to the test in parcels of 100 each in the Gold Weighing Room of the Bank of England:—

1000 sovereigns as issued from the Mint, weighed in parcels of 100 in each.

Sovs.	Oz.	
100	25·68	
„	25·68	
„	25·68	
„	25·68	
„	25·68	Oz.
„	25·68	1000 weighed in bulk 256·80
„	25·68	
„	25·68	
„	25·67	
„	25·68	
„	25·68	

1000 = 256·79 @ 3l. 17s. 10½d. per oz. 999l. 18s. 2½d., or 20s. each.

These statistics show what the Mint can do when it is put to it; and although its machinery and its processes are not yet as perfect as they might be, are not even as perfect as those of Vienna, or of the private manufacturers of Birmingham, it is only fair to assume with these statistics before us, that the Mint does its work as cheaply and as well as the work can be done; that it leaves no margin of profit for private coiners—the final test of the efficiency of a Mint,—that the loss upon the currency does not arise in the Mint itself, and that we have a right to ask as long as the loss represents nothing but the cost of workmanship, why we have to bear this loss at all, that is, why the loss, such as it is, should not be made good out of the work itself, why the manufacture of gold into coin should not be covered by a seignorage upon the manufactured article, as it is covered in the case of silver and copper coins?

This loss of $\frac{3}{4}d.$ upon every sovereign that is put into circulation arises simply and solely through the regulations under which the Mint is compelled to work ; and it ought to be enough to say of these regulations that they were laid down when the English Government was in the hands of the Cabal Ministry, when the Exchequer was ruled alternately by a *roué* and a comic poet, when the ideas of the *roués* and poets of Charles II.'s Court about the principles of commercial policy were the ideas of most of the goldsmiths and merchants upon 'Change, and that tho Mint was thrown open free of charge partly as a concession to the goldsmiths, and partly under the impression that with a free Mint we should attract all the gold of Golconda and Peru to our coffers. Till then, it had been the custom of the English Government, as it is still the custom of every Government but our own, and even of our own Government in India and Australia, to levy a seignorage of 1 per cent., or thereabouts, upon the work of the Mint, or, to be exact, a seignorage of 8s. 7d. per lb. weight of gold coin, worth 41*l.* This seignorage was relinquished by Charles II. in consideration of the House of Commons presenting him with Customs' Duties equivalent, or perhaps more than equivalent, to its amount. The Act of 18 Charles II. cap. 5 still governs the Mint, and although every Political Economist from that time to this—Sir Dudley North, Sir James Stewart, Adam Smith, Ricardo, M'Culloch, and Mr. Stuart Mill—have entered their protest against the Act, as an Act which entails loss upon the State without conferring the slightest benefit upon any of us in return, or adding anything to the value of the currency, it still stands upon the Statute Book without any one thinking of challenging it, even when the Throne itself is challenged upon considerations of £ s. d. The principle of a free Mint was brought up for discussion upon the proposal to resume cash payments at the Bank of England in 1819, and Horne Tooke proposed to the Lords' Committee that we should levy a seignorage sufficient to cover the cost of coinage and no more, maintaining the sound economical principle that without a seignorage the gold coin, when issued, would be melted and sent abroad on every occasion of a casual depression of the Exchanges ; but that in order to protect the currency against debasement, the seignorage should not represent more than the cost of production. But this, to adopt Mr. Bright's phrase, was in the dark ages, and the voice of Horne Tooke was only as the voice of one crying in the wilderness. The ideas of the mercantile system were still in full force ; and these ideas carried the day. The new Mint was opened as a free Mint. It is a free Mint still, in spite of Horne Tooke and of all the rest of our Political Economists, manufacturing gold free of cost, returning gold equivalent in weight and fineness to the original metal, assuming the original metal, of

course, to be standard gold. The only loss arising upon the transaction is the loss of interest during the time the metal is in the hands of the moneyers. This is generally about three weeks, or at least the Mint does not undertake to return the coin for gold in less than twenty-one days; and assuming this to be the average time, the Bank of England in 1828 offered to purchase all gold bullion in the market at 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* per oz., and to take its chance of a profit or loss upon the purchase in consideration of a discount of 1½*d.* per oz., this 1½*d.* representing the difference between the price paid by the Bank and the rate at which the Mint is bound to return gold in coin—viz., 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per oz. This arrangement was stereotyped by the Bank Act in 1844, and the Bank of England is now compelled to purchase all gold offered to it at 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* per oz., and to exchange its own notes for gold at the rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* The Mint remains open. It is still as free to all of us as it was in Charles II.'s time, as it was in 1828, as it was when the Bank Act was passed. It is still at your own option whether you will take your plate or your bar of gold to the Bank or the Mint. The only difference is this. At the Bank you can sell your plate, bullion, or dust *at once* at 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* an ounce; at the Mint you can sell it at 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.*; but at the Mint you must take your chance whether you will get it returned in coin at this rate in ten days, a fortnight, or only at the end of three weeks; and till you do you must bear the loss of interest yourself. This is the only loss, and when the delay is twenty days it amounts to 3 per cent. per annum, the Mint at the end of the time returning your gold in coin, ounce for ounce, grain for grain, "without any charge whatever," and practically, we believe, the 1½*d.* per oz. always more than covers the loss on the score of interest.

Till 1828 the Mint restricted the amount of a single "importation" of bullion, the amount, that is, of a single delivery, to 10,000*l.*; but this restriction no longer exists. The Mint now takes anything and everything that you offer it, a single bar from a Suffolk squire like Colonel Tomline, a million from the Rothschilds, or 10,000,000*l.* from the Bank. But the Bank of England is now the only importer, and practically the Bank is the Mint broker, purchasing all, or nearly all, the gold in the market and transmitting it to the Mint for coinage. The Bank has but one rival, the Rothschilds, and has never had but two, the Rothschilds and George Peabody, the American banker. But even the Rothschilds rarely exercise their privilege, and the consequence is that nearly all the gold passing through the Mint comes from the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street. The expense incurred by this conversion of bar gold into coin—the loss upon the metal, the wages of the workmen, the wear and tear of plant—falls

upon the Mint, that is, of course, upon the tax-payer. The profit is appropriated by the Bank, and this profit, taking our gold coinage at an average of 5,000,000*l.* a year, may be set down at about 8000*l.*, that is to say, the Bank of England puts into its own pocket 8000*l.* a year upon work which costs the Mint 15,000*l.* But even this 8000*l.* does not represent all the profit of the Bank of England upon these transactions. It makes a profit on the trade practice of assaying, which amounts to about 1-16th per cent. of the whole value of the bullion, that is, on 5,000,000*l.* a profit of 3125*l.*, and a profit on the trade practice of weighing, which amounts to an average of 1*s.* on each ingot or 333*l.* on 5,000,000*l.** There is but one word for this plan of the Bank of England in dealing with the Mint. It is a game of "Heads I win; tails you lose;" and nearly a third of the Bank profit—every shilling of the profit upon the assay and weight—arises from the fact that the Mint returns the full amount of gold placed in its crucibles, calculated to a far minuter degree of accuracy than the Bank of England observes in its purchase of the bullion and gold dust which it sells to the Mint. The turn of the scales in the purchase of bullion by the Bank from the public is in favour of the purchaser; and as no weight under 12 grains is used, this on an average of a very great number of weighings gives an advantage of six grains of gold per ingot weighed. The Mint returns weight for weight, to the extreme performance of their scales, and as the Mint scales are mathematically accurate, this turn of the scale becomes a source of profit to the Bank of 1*s.* per ingot of 15*lbs.* converted into coin. Uniting these items, we have a profit on the conversion of bar gold into coin amounting, on an average, to the following sums on every 1,000,000*l.* coined, viz. :—

The difference between the Mint price and the market price of	
gold— <i>i.e.</i> , 1½ <i>d.</i> per oz.	£1600
On the assay fraction	650
On the turn of the scale	70
	£2230

Or about 11,500*l.* a year upon the average work of the Mint.

This is the first loss of the Mint, and it is a loss as it happens which might any Session be turned into a profit by the interpolation of a couple of lines in an Act of Parliament placing a

* In reference to the above statements it should be explained that "Trade Assays" are quoted to $\frac{1}{8}$ of a carat grain, and that the Bank, therefore, take as a profit the grains Troy in excess of the $\frac{1}{8}$ of a carat grain next below the actual decimal expression of fine gold in the ingot; also that the trade weight is only computed to 12 grains Troy, and that the average gain, therefore, to the Bank, on the weighing of ingots purchased by it, amounts to six grains Troy of fine gold on each ingot.—*Mr. Fremantle's Mem.*, p. 4.

small amount of capital in the hands of the Master of the Mint, and allowing him with this capital to act as his own bullion broker. It may of course be said that the difference between the prices at which the Bank purchases bullion, and the price at which the Mint returns coin for this bullion, is no more than enough to cover loss of interest on the bullion during the process of coining—that the charge of $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ounce is in fact what it professes to be and nothing more—viz., compensation to the Bank for its advances in the deposit of bullion; that if it were anything more than compensation the public would take their gold to the Mint themselves, and have it coined on their own account, instead of taking it to the Bank; that but for this premium upon the “importation” there would be a disinclination to take bullion to the Mint for coinage even for domestic circulation, and that we should thus be exposing the currency to the risk of being degraded to the character of a token circulation. And there is, we admit, a tone of plausibility about these observations.

But what takes place in the case of silver? The Mint offers no premium for the conversion of silver into currency. Silver has to take its chance as gold must do if the Mint purchased it at the Bank rate. Yet we are never at a loss for silver. If there is a deficiency of the token currency in any part of the country, say in Somersetshire or Yorkshire, the deficiency is at once made good through the action of the banks. Every one now-a-days keeps a banking account, and if a tradesman, a farmer, or a manufacturer finds himself running short of silver, he draws a cheque upon his banker, and asks for cash in silver. The district banker in turn draws a cheque upon his London agent. The agent, of course, like all London bankers, keeps part of his working balance at the Bank of England, and all that he has to do is to draw a cheque upon the Bank of England, and ask for silver. The Bank of England supplies itself from the Mint, and in this way the silver currency is maintained at its natural level. What is done in the case of silver can be done just as well in the case of gold; and if the Mint was where it ought to be—in the highway of commerce—what is now done in the case of silver through the Bank might be done, with silver and gold alike, directly through the Mint itself.

The machinery once set in motion is automatic. It would go on after this of itself. Bankers must supply themselves with coin. Bullion is of no use to them except to purchase coin; and if bullion could be turned into coin at Somerset House or at an office in Lombard Street at the rate at which it is now turned into notes and coin in Threadneedle Street, the business which now flows into the Bank would flow in the same volume to the Mint, and the currency would replenish itself directly from the

Mint instead of replenishing itself, as it does now, indirectly through the Bank. People take their bullion to the Bank now simply because the Bank is close at hand, and because at the Bank you can turn bullion into notes or coin without more ado than is involved in testing and weighing it, whereas if you take it to the Mint you must make up your mind beforehand to pass through all the horrors of the Circumlocution Office, must give a week's notice of your intention to import the gold, make a written statement, in duplicate, on Mint forms, of the marks on each ingot, the report of the assayer on whose assay you purchased it, and the name of that assayer, take your bullion to the Mint on Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday, at the Mint hours, have it re-assayed by the Mint assayer, and take your chance of the whole being returned upon your hands if, by the assay reports, it appears that any of the ingots are brittle or that they contain iridium, or that, having been badly melted, they cannot be properly assayed and valued. Perhaps if you happen to have a million or two of old sovereigns, as George Peabody had a few years ago, or bar gold which you know to be pure and free from faults, and are in no hurry to turn it into cash, it may be worth your while as a matter of £ s. d. to go through this process. But where the amount is small, as it generally is, or where the importer wishes to turn his bullion into cash at once, to take up a bill or to buy stock at the turn of the market, it is easier to take it to the Bank at once, without troubling yourself about the trifle that you may put into your pocket by sending it to Tower Hill and waiting till the Mint can turn it into coin. And this is how the Mint regulations act. They throw all the public business into the hands of the Bank by hedging the Mint round with a sort of spiked fence, and making you pay toll at every step you take ; and Sir Robert Peel's Act authorizing the Bank to issue notes against gold, independently of those 14,000,000*l.* which are raised upon the credit of the State, puts the Bank into a position to purchase all the bullion offered it with no more trouble to itself than is involved in exchanging 1000*l.* in sovereigns for 1000*l.* in paper. It is a transaction in which all the profit goes to the Bank, and all the loss falls upon the owner of the bullion. It is as a banking transaction equivalent to the discount of a first-rate bill for twenty-one days at the rate of 3 or 3½ per cent. All that the Bank does is to take the gold at its own assessment, to pay the market price in its own notes of hand, and to pass the gold on to the Master of the Mint to be turned into coin at the expense of the State. The bullion is represented by notes in circulation, and thus forms the substratum of a continuous profit, whether it be in the Mint or in the Bank coffers. It makes no difference to

the Bank, as far as profit is concerned, where the gold may be. The profit accrues upon the purchase. It is realized the instant the transaction is closed. As long as the Bank has an ingot of gold unemployed in its coffers there can be no loss on that in the melting pots of Tower Hill; and the moment the bullion is turned into coin it is released. "The stock of bullion lying for coinage in the Mint is, to all intents and purposes, part and parcel of the general stock of gold dormant (*if* dormant) in their coffers. It is only in a different strong box, the most remote and least readily accessible. Like the gold forming the bottom layer of a chest, it would never be touched till the upper layers were drawn out. If the upper form a substratum for paper, the lower constitute a part of that substratum. If the bullion or any part of it be represented by notes held in reserve, and not by notes in circulation, whatever circumstances repress the circulation of those notes extinguish the profit upon them, and if they make no profit it is to those circumstances, and not to the detention of the bullion at the Mint, that it is attributable. They are ready to step into circulation at a moment's notice, whenever occasion of profit may arise. The bullion itself could do no more were it converted."* And of course the instant the bullion is converted into coin the Bank possesses the profit upon the purchase in its coffers, instead of possessing it as it does till then, upon its books. The purchase of bullion by the Bank is thus all clear profit. It is a transaction that involves no more loss, no more risk, than the issue of a Bank Post Bill. The Bank takes no charge upon itself. It keeps an Assayer on the premises, takes no assay but his, and charges the owner of the bullion it is purchasing with the cost of the assay. It weighs the bullion in its own scales, trims those scales in its own favour, and closes the transaction by paying the price of the bullion in paper, which perhaps cost it $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a penny, or else in coin, which costs it nothing at all. What claim for compensation can the Bank set up against the Mint in the face of this?† Yet even this is not all. Up to the year 1851 the Bank was called upon to pay a fee of 2s. per ingot to the Assayer and a fee of 3d. per ingot to the Bullion Porter of the Mint on all gold brought in

* *Vide* Sir J. Herschel's Mem. to the Treasury of May 17, 1852.

† The charge of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ounce is not an allowance for loss of interest. With all other mercantile firms, including other banks of issue, of which the amount of issue (as with all other English banks) is limited, interest would be a legitimate charge, but with the Bank of England it is an admitted premium on exchanging current money for gold bullion; and, except that it is received by different persons, and is not available for the expense of conversion, I do not see in what respect it differs from a Mint charge.—*Captain Harness to Mr. Arbuthnot, June 4, 1852.*

for coinage. These charges, according to Mr. Fremantle's memorandum, amounted to about $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ounce, or about 780*l.* on a coinage of 5,000,000*l.* But in 1851 it was discovered that the 18 Charles II. cap. 5 interdicted the Mint from making any charge for assaying as well as for coinage; and the Treasury exempted the Bank from the payment even of these trifles.

And what are the consequences of this system now? How does it work? Is it necessary to ask the question, recollecting, as we are bound to recollect in the consideration of this question, that the Court of Directors of the Bank of England have, as bankers, but one thing to consider—how they can best turn their capital to account and increase the profits of their shareholders? The Bank, through its power of issuing notes against gold, possesses the monopoly of the Bullion Market. It has only to give notes for gold with its right hand at the rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* per ounce, and with its left to pass that gold on to the Mint in order to turn it in a few days into coin at the rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}d.$, free of all charges for assaying and weighing. It has no interest to consult but its own, and the theory of our currency laws is that the Bank, in consulting that interest, will best serve the interests of the State. We have no wish to be hard upon the Bank. It is but mortal, and it does what we should probably all do if we were in its position. It consults its own interest, turning all the gold that comes into its hands into coin, exporting English coin in every case where it will not pay it better to export French, American, Mexican, Spanish, or Portuguese, and melting English coin into bars where it is more convenient to send bars than coin. It is not necessary to say, as Sir John Herschel once said, that the premium offered by the Mint for the conversion of gold into coin makes it worth the while of the Bank to attract all the spare gold of the world to its coffers. The Bank of England, with all its power, can exercise no more control over the course of the exchanges than it can over the precession of the equinoxes. These exchanges work independently of the Bank of England. They are governed by the fluctuations of trade and commerce, that is, by forces as blind in their action, as far as we can trace them, and as mysterious in their origin as those which set the Arctic currents in motion. London is a sort of international clearing house, and as such the commercial centre of gravity. All the cash balances of India, China, Australia, America, as well as of the European States, are generally settled by bills upon London, and three-fifths of the spare cash seeking investment finds its way to London, and when in London of course to the Bank of England. All that we maintain is that the Bank of England has a direct and powerful pecuniary interest in sending the gold that thus falls into its hands in the form of bullion to Tower

Hill to be coined, and that it acts, as we might act ourselves if we happened to possess a monopoly at once of the gold market and of the Royal Mint. It may often be more profitable to the Bank to keep foreign coin than to send it to the Mint, and as a matter of fact we believe a large proportion of the gold in the cellars of Threadneedle Street consists of Spanish, Portuguese, and Mexican coin. But so long as our present currency laws are upon the statute book it can never be more profitable to the Bank to keep gold in bar or dust than it is to turn it into coin, or to export bullion instead of coin.

We have, or are supposed to have, thirty millions of gold coins in circulation beyond the seas. English money is almost the only currency in Egypt and Brazil. It is to be found in all the American and Chinese ports, as well as in our own Colonies. It passes current all over the Continent. It is to be found where you can find no other coin. It is to be found where, as in the ports of the Yellow River, in Japan, in Sumatra, in Borneo, you find the French and American dollar, the Spanish and the Mexican dollar, intermingled with Sycee silver and every other description of currency. But making every allowance that we can be asked to make on this account, the fact still stares us in the face that the amount of our exportations of English coin from year to year is more than can be required to replenish these currencies or to adjust those balances of trade which it is necessary to adjust in English coin. Our exportation of English sovereigns is often equal to that of all the bullion and of all the foreign coin passing through our ports; and the effect of this is threefold. In the first place it tends to deteriorate our own currency; because as English sovereigns beyond the sea only circulate for their intrinsic value as bullion, the heaviest coins in circulation at home are picked out of the currency for exportation, and our stock of coin is thus weeded of its best and newest pieces. Its second effect is to add to the working expenses of the Mint; and its third, and perhaps the most serious consequence, is to increase the loss from the wear and tear of coin. This loss from wear and tear is the heaviest loss entailed upon us by a gold currency. But unlike the cost of manufacture, this is not a loss that you can trace. It does not fall, as in fairness it ought to fall, upon the State, that is, upon all of us collectively. It falls upon us individually, falls upon us capriciously; and as it is but a trifle in each case, perhaps 2*d.* or 3*d.* on each light coin, and only falls upon us even then when paying money into the Bank of England, it generally passes without observation. The London bankers feel this less severely. It is a serious source of loss with the Railway Companies, especially where the passenger traffic is large. It is felt, too, by many of the poorer.

Insurance Offices. But as neither the Banks, the Railway Companies, nor the Insurance Offices make it a point to refuse to take light coin from their customers, and pay as little of it as possible into the Bank of England themselves, returning most of it into circulation in the payment of wages and small sums, the mass of the public do not feel the loss, and perhaps never give the matter a second thought. Yet it is one of the heaviest of all the sources of loss upon our currency; and the lowest sum at which it can be set down is, we believe, 15,000*l.* a year.

The highest estimate of the quantity of gold coins at present in circulation in the United Kingdom fixes the amount at 120,000,000*l.* Professor Jevons's is the lowest. He assumes it to be 80,000,000*l.* The Bank of England supposes the amount to be 105,000,000*l.* Our own impression is that the Bank estimate is the truest. • But Mr. Graham and Colonel Smith, in their Memorandum, take the amount at 80,000,000*l.* on the authority of Professor Jevons's calculations, and perhaps we may as well adopt this estimate also. It has but one fault at the worst, and that is that it is within the mark. Assuming the amount of our gold currency, then, to be 80 millions, 68 millions of this sum consists, it is to be presumed, of sovereigns, and 24 millions of half-sovereigns. Now the natural life of a sovereign has been found to be on an average about eighteen years, and the natural life of a half-sovereign about ten years. The coins vary in their age like ourselves. There are coins of George IV. still in circulation which are as true as on the day they were struck. There are scores of the coins of our present Sovereign which ought to have been withdrawn years ago. Sovereigns not yet ten years old have been returned to the Mint quite worn out. But as a basis of calculation the current life of a sovereign may be taken at eighteen years, and the current life of a half-sovereign at ten years. After these periods the coins are apt to fall below their standard weight, or as the phrase is, to become light, and cease to be legal tender, needing renewal if they are to circulate by weight, and not, as too many of them are circulating to-day, by tale, representing what is in truth as well as in theory a depreciated currency. It is impossible of course, to fix the exact amount of this depreciation. All that we can do is to take up a handful of sovereigns here and there at random, select those that have been in use for the eighteen years, and test them by samples. And this is what Professor Jevons has done. His experiments and observations furnish the best data we possess for estimating the annual loss by abrasion, and according to these experiments the depreciation on 100 sovereigns is 8·371 pence. This is a loss of 0·08371 penny on each sovereign, or 35,000*l.* a year. Mr. Hendricks, the actuary, in his Memorandum upon the currency,

published with the Report of the Royal Commissioners, assumes the average depreciation upon our currency to be at least 1*d.* in the pound; and taking the currency, as he does, at 100,000,000*l.*, this depreciation amounts to 416,000*l.* This is perhaps an extreme estimate. But Professor Jevons reckons the amount of our depreciated currency at a third of the total amount; and the case, as the Professor puts it, is too serious to be passed over.

“I weighed a certain number of sovereigns—280 sovereigns,” this is his statement, “in a very accurate chemical balance, wishing to ascertain the exact nature of the present circulation, and of those 280 sovereigns a certain number, to the extent of twenty-six per cent., were below weight, sixty-eight per cent. were of legal weight, between the lower limit and the standard weight, and only six per cent. were above the standard weight at all, even by the smallest fraction. I said that twenty-six per cent. were below weight; but then these sovereigns were drawn from Manchester banks, and as Manchester has a branch of the Bank of England, the sovereigns are rather newer there than they are elsewhere, I believe. I have had some communication lately with a number of bankers in different parts of the country, and they have sent me short notes of the state of the circulation in their neighbourhoods. A great number of them speak very strongly of the lightness of the coin. I have made a sort of rough guess of what their general statements lead to, and if I remember rightly their statements generally put it at about 44 per cent.; but then I apprehend that they were in parts of the country where the circulation is peculiarly bad, and that their notice was attracted to it in that way. From Birkenhead I had an extraordinary statement. Out of 200 sovereigns that were taken out of the ordinary quantity in the till, 127 were light, and only 73 were of the current weight. There is another way in which it may be estimated to some extent—namely, by the average age of the sovereigns. I believe that according to the ascertained average wear of sovereigns they become light in about twenty years. If they were of full weight to begin with, they would be light in twenty years. But I find that now about 30 per cent. or rather over 30 per cent. have already had twenty years’ wear, so that it is very probable that one in three is already light. The exact number, if you wish it, is 32·7. This percentage is based upon a large aggregate of sovereigns to the amount of 54,000*l.* and more; it is an average taken in all parts of the country.”

Perhaps our currency is not worse than that of the rest of the world. It is certainly not conspicuously worse than that of any State in Europe. You cannot distinguish one out of ten of our light sovereigns by the eye; and Professor Jevons, with all his acuteness and with all his experience as an officer of the Australian Mint, allowed one to pass through his hands with a deficiency of four grains without noticing it. But we are in this peculiar position, that ours is the only coin which circulates all

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over the world, that it is the only coin which is exported at the rate of 4,000,000*l.* or 5,000,000*l.* a year; that it is constantly exported, partly as coin and partly as bullion; that consequently the heaviest coins are always selected for exportation, the light ones being forced back into home circulation; and that we have thus two sets of influences at work to impoverish the currency—first, the influences of the bullion market, and next the influences of the general market. The Bank of England and the bullion-brokers will not touch a light sovereign except with a pair of tongs. They deal only in coins of standard weight, and only coins that will bear the test of the scales are taken out of the currency for exportation. Almost anything will circulate in the home market, and every one has an interest in passing on a light coin, if he knows it to be light, instead of taking it to a Bank and expelling it, as it ought to be expelled, from the circulation.

The prospect is not a pleasant one either for the Mint or for ourselves personally, threatening as it does in a year or two more to bring us back once more to the state in which we were exactly a century ago. Then, as now, a large proportion of the currency was below its legal weight, and in 1774, in consequence of this deterioration, the market price of gold rose two per cent. higher than the price at the Mint. The current price of gold at market, instead of being the same as the Mint price (there being no seignorage nor Mint charge for brassage), or 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* per lb., was at that time about 47*l.*, and sometimes about 48*l.* per lb. When the greater part of the coin was in this degenerate condition, 44½ guineas fresh from the Mint would purchase no more goods in the market than any other guineas, because when they came into the coffers of the merchant, being confounded with other money, they could not afterwards be distinguished without more trouble than the difference was worth. Like other guineas, they were worth no more than 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* If thrown into the melting-pot, however, they produced without any sensible loss, a pound weight of standard gold, which could at any time be sold for between 47*l.* 14*s.* and 48*l.* There was an evident profit, therefore, in melting down the new-coined money, and it was done so instantaneously that no precaution of Government could prevent it. The operations of the Mint were upon this account somewhat like the web of Penelope; the work that was done in the day was undone in the night. The Mint was employed, not so much in making daily additions to the coin, as in replacing the very best part of it which was daily melted down; and as the Mint was employed then we may in a year or two more see it employed again, unless we anticipate the contingency and take

means to restore our currency to its legal standard. Of course the market price of gold can never again fall, as it fell in 1774, below the Mint price. It is fixed now by statute at 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* an ounce, and as long as you can take it to the Mint and turn it into coin at this rate, the market price must fluctuate between 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* and 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* But everything except this may and must happen, that is to say, if the depreciation goes on for a year or two longer at its present rate the intrinsic value of the sovereign must fall below its current value, all the coins worth picking out of the currency will be systematically taken out, the new coins will be shipped or hoarded or thrown into the melting-pot, the currency will consist mainly of light coins, prices will rise, and the poor will be fleeced right and left, paid only as they are paid at present, and charged 5, or 10, or even 15 per cent. more upon their purchases to cover any loss that may arise upon the coins when they come to be paid into the Bank. It is the duty of the Government to guard against this contingency ; and now that the fact of a depreciation has been distinctly brought to light, there can be no excuse for putting off till to-morrow what ought to be done to-day.

But how is this to be done? It is easier to ask the question than to answer it. Yet it must be asked, and it must be answered. To offer to take all the light coin brought in to the Mint at its current value, instead of taking it as it is taken at present at its intrinsic value, is to offer a premium upon its debasement by wholesale, which is quite unnecessary, for even as it is the coin is sweated quite enough, and only a short time ago a voltaic battery was discovered at work taking a grain or two of gold out of every sovereign, in some cases three or four grains, and yet taking it out so ingeniously that only the officers of the Mint could tell at a glance what had been done with the coin. Perhaps the temptation to rub down the coin, which an offer of this sort would hold out to unprincipled people, might be counteracted by a proviso imposing a limit, say of four grains, below which the Mint should refuse to accept coin except at its value as bullion ; but we merely throw out the suggestion as it occurs to us, without attaching much value to it. If the State offers to receive back its light coin by tale, it must for its own protection lay down a limit at which it will refuse to take it. But if this offer leads to sweating at all, the only result of fixing the limit will be that smashers will restrict their operations to the limit, unless they can hit upon a device for palming off the coin upon some one else, instead of presenting it at the Mint themselves. If the limit is too narrow, the coin will not be brought in at all ; and even within the narrowest limit we must make up our minds beforehand that

the re-coinage will entail a heavy direct loss in addition to the indirect loss which the working expenses of the Mint at present impose upon us. There is but one way, as far as we can see, of covering this loss, and that is by imposing a seignorage upon gold as well as upon silver and copper; and with a seignorage of say one per cent. we might, without injuring any one, make the coinage pay all the expenses of its manufacture and maintenance, make the Mint self-supporting, place the currency upon a better working foundation than it has ever yet stood upon, and indirectly take a long step towards the realization of that dream of an International Currency which, like a Will-o'-the-wisp, only seems to recede further and further into the haze the more we attempt to get at it by walking directly up to it.

The par of Exchange at present with France, and with the countries adopting the French currency, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy to wit, is 25 francs 20 centimes. If we reduce the amount of gold in the sovereign to the extent of 20 centimes, that is to say, 2*d.* in the pound, and charge this 2*d.* as a seignorage, the Napoleon and the sovereign will be exactly equal as International coins, French and English merchants will be able to state prices and to settle accounts in what will be practically a common currency, to pay their balances indifferently in French and English currency, travellers will save all the twopences they are compelled to forfeit at present upon railway and steamboat fares, and often upon Post-office Orders, through the sovereign passing only on the Continent as the equivalent of the Napoleon, our currency will be placed upon a level with the currency of the busiest States of Europe, the American dollar will be made the exact equivalent of five francs, English sovereigns the equivalent of five dollars, and prices all round thus translatable in your own head without the use of "Tate's Cambist" at every turn; and English merchants will be able to meet French merchants in their own as well as every neutral market, with price lists which can be compared at a glance, instead of meeting them as they do too often at present with price lists which tradesmen accustomed to French, American, and Canadian coins are afraid to look at till they are turned into their own currency. At present, even with the pound everywhere regulating the Exchanges of the world, we are practically as isolated as Ypres with its defunct coinage of gulden sols and deniers. A franc in France is the same as a franc in Switzerland, or a franc in Italy, or a franc in Belgium. It means exactly the same at Florence as it does at Antwerp. It means at Rome what it means at Boulogne. It represents the same value, and passes current at that value, without a question, at every hotel, in every shop, at every railway station, on every steamboat. But the English sovereign, although containing

two grains more gold than the franc, will pass only at the value of the franc, varies with the rate of Exchange at every step you take, and in many places will not pass at all, or if it does will only pass as the franc in its turn passes in the ports of China. An English commercial traveller, if he wishes to do business, must carry a table of English and French money in his pocket, and translate his English £ s. d. into francs and sous with every fresh customer with as much precision as if his price lists were drawn out in Sycee silver or in gulden solls and deniers. All the tendencies of trade to-day are to bring the producer of an article into closer contact with the consumer; and if the English manufacturer is to keep his position in the Continental markets against the increasing competition, he must be able to send his travellers direct to the retail traders in the country towns of France and Belgium, of Italy and Germany, instead of selling his goods, as he has done till now, to the English merchant to sell to the foreign merchant, to sell to the retailer to sell to the consumer. At present this is all but impracticable, and the consequence is that trade is slipping out of our hands, Roubaix outwitting Bradford, Solingen outwitting Sheffield, Cambrai outwitting Nottingham, Germans underselling us in France, French underselling us in Germany, in Italy, and in their own markets. Our Italian customers come over to buy our Bradford goods, but they go also to Roubaix, which is our strong competitor in France, and there they buy in the same money now, and in the same weight, or rather measure—for we do not go by weight, but by measure—as they use themselves. They have nothing to add but their ten per cent. duty and the carriage, whereas, when they come to England, they have a very complicated system of calculation to make, and have to calculate also what the rate of exchange will be; and the consequence is that they prefer to break the journey at Roubaix, to purchase their goods there, and to pay in francs, or in *billets de banque*, without troubling themselves with a second thought about the exchanges. The competition is so severe, that the slightest thing is enough to turn the scale against us; and Mr. Field, the chairman of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, asserts, without the slightest hesitation, that:—

“So far as we may be losing ground in our trade with France, with Italy, with Belgium, or with Switzerland, it is partly due to the fact of the great facility of interchange of coinage between those countries. I have not any question,” Mr. Field adds, “that, if a minute investigation in a microscopic way could be made, it would be found that certain Belgian articles were selling in those countries instead of the like products of our manufacturers in consequence of the existence of the convention.”

And Mr. Field does not stand alone in holding this opinion. His explanation is the explanation of Mr. Sampson Lloyd, of Mr. Behrens, of Mr. Wrigley, of all the men of business who appeared before the Parliamentary Committee; all of them, too, concurring in the statement of Mr. Muspratt, a large chemical manufacturer at Liverpool, that if we could only assimilate our currency to that of France and America, and make our price lists, invoices, and account sales a trifle more intelligible, we might push our manufactures everywhere, and hold our own against the keenest rivals in the world. Of course, there are difficulties which cannot be dealt with by any alteration of our coinage, and these difficulties must remain; but we are taking a long step in advance when we have brought the coinage of England, France, and America so closely into harmony that in selling cotton or iron in lbs., we know at once what we shall have to receive in francs, and when in reading a price list here, we know what that price list will represent in New York. It is impossible to do this at present, and English commerce is in consequence hampered at every turn; and the difficulties that an English merchant has to deal with in reckoning the expense of package, freight, insurance, and duties are needlessly complicated by the necessity of calculating the relative value of pounds, dollars, and francs at this and that rate of exchange. The way in which this system works was admirably put by Mr. Field, through an invoice taken out of his books exactly as it stood, consigning goods to an old correspondent in New York:—

“The total amount of this invoice,” said Mr. Field, “is 253*l.*, and in the invoice there are 421 different prices, making up the 253*l.* My customer who ordered these goods has to form an idea of what every one of those 421 prices sterling will amount to in dollars and cents in New York before he can commit himself to the ordering of them. At the present time he has to go through a complicated calculation, to transfer sterling money into dollars and cents, as well as all his calculations of the other fixed charges I have resided a large part of my business life in New York, and have been in the habit of canvassing the question of ordering such goods as these with my customers, and I have found the difficulty a purchaser has of understanding what they are to cost when they get there to be a great obstacle to trade In this invoice there are 421 prices, amounting to 253*l.*, therefore the average value all round of the different articles comes to very nearly 10*s.* each, and for the importation of an article of so small a value the dealer cannot afford to give much time; and therefore American-made articles quoted in dollars and cents have considerable preference from the prices being at once understood.”

Yet even this case of America is not the worst. The calculations that our own colonists in Canada have to go through in

dealing with us, and that we have to go through in dealing with them, complicates trade to an extent that adds very materially to the original cost of the goods :—

“I have just been travelling in the United States and Canada”—this is Mr. Field’s statement—“to examine into the condition of commercial affairs there. In Canada I was struck with this fact; if I purchase for my customers to some extent goods in one district, they are charged to me at so many pounds, shillings and pence, for so many tons, cwts., qrs., and lbs. of the goods.” And if any gentleman familiar with arithmetical calculations will think what that calculation is to start with, so many tons, cwts., qrs., and lbs., say of ship chain and cables, at so many pounds, shillings, and pence a ton, he will see that that is a pretty good gymnastic exercise for the mind. It is necessary to reckon that out to start with. When the goods get to Montreal the importer pays his duties upon them in gold dollars and cents; he makes his calculation of small expenses in Halifax currency, of which 16s. are equal to 1*l.* sterling; he then puts them on his shelves, and keeps his own accounts in his own books and at his bank in dollars and cents; and when his customer comes to purchase them he sells them to him in Halifax currency of 16s. to the 1*l.* He has got his tons, cwts., quarters, and lbs. to sell, say at 15*l.* 15s. 6*d.* per ton Halifax currency. Now I should like you to conceive what is the amount of labour involved in that; do you think that any man does that for nothing? He has a labour to perform which bears a high proportion to the labour of making the goods. The labour of distributing the goods is a labour very largely proportioned to the labour of making them, and if you double the labour of distribution by any means, you must add proportionally to the cost. To impose upon the man in Montreal the necessity of making these calculations, is like making a man go through this room by jumping over the chairs and tables, instead of letting him walk along the floor, as he might be said to do if he had to work under a uniform system of decimal weights and measures and a decimal currency.”

The French and German shipper to Canada has of course to go through all the difficulties that the Englishman has with the Halifax shilling; but a manufacturer in Paris is exempt from the obstructions arising from tons, cwts., qrs. and lbs., and from the pounds, shillings, and pence to start with. Therefore, on starting, his goods have a beautiful railway to get to the port, and it is only when they get to the other side that a gymnastic exercise has to be made before it can be ascertained what the cost of them is. In this way the differences in currency act as high protective duties to native industry, to the industry of countries which happen to possess a common currency, a merchant always preferring to buy in his own currency or in a currency that he can turn into his own offhand, unless the difference in price is enough to cover the trouble, the annoyance, and the

risk that he entails upon himself by dealing in a currency that he knows nothing of, and can only turn into his own with a Cambist at his elbow, or by keeping a foreign clerk familiar with the mysteries of exchange. "Your quotations may be lower than those at which I am now purchasing"—this is the answer that commercial travellers are receiving every day in New York, in Paris, Vienna, Florence—"but I have not time to spare to go into the calculations. I can understand this price list, know to a sou what I am paying, what the freight will cost, what I can sell at, and what profit I shall make, but I shall be at sea with your price list for six months, and perhaps lose in the end after all."

"There are at this moment," says Mr. Field, "in my own trade, a great number of goods that could be carried profitably to the United States and sold there, but which are not taken there on account of the difficulty of people having to go through the whole study of the prices. You are not aware, no gentleman here can possibly be aware, of the immense amount of detail that there is in dealing in all the manufactured articles of this country. I had the curiosity to count up lately how many manufacturers I dealt with; I found in my manufacturers' ledger a thousand different accounts; that is to say, I was buying of a thousand different men; many of those were small manufacturers. I found I was taking a hundred different articles from some of them. Every addition to this multitude of detailed calculations is one more obstacle to trade in each of these articles. It may be worth while to a man to make a most accurate calculation of the exchange if he is going to send over 50,000*l.* worth of United States stock to be sold here; but it would not be worth his while to do so for such transactions as this invoice represents, in which there are 421 different prices amounting to 253*l.*"

It is exactly the same in France. Our manufacturers and those of France are very nearly on a level; a very little will turn the scale. A man coming from Italy to buy goods, if he could stop at Roubaix and get them at within a shade of the same price as he would get them as if he went to Bradford, which the competition would enable him to do, would stop at Roubaix, and make his purchases there, because he would understand what he was about better from knowing the weights and measures and coins of that country; he would not come on to England, because when he got there he would be altogether at sea with our weights and coinage and measures, and have to make complicated calculations, and have to allow a certain margin (it would be absolutely necessary for him to do that), which would operate like an extra percentage against us.

Take two grains of gold out of the sovereign to cover the expenses of the Mint, reducing the par of exchange with France, and with all the countries adopting the French currency to its natural level of 25 francs—the Americans will complete the work by assimilating their dollar to the dollar of California,

which represents 4s., and is the exact equivalent of 5 francs—and we place English merchants and English manufacturers upon a level with their French and American rivals at a stroke, as far at least as a common currency can place them on a level, put an end at once to much of the haphazard and bad business which is done at present, enable an English merchant, with *The Times* in his hand, to see at a glance what the prices are in all the chief centres of trade, where he can buy cheapest, where he can sell dearest, without spending half the day, as he often does at present, poring over a tariff, or shipping off goods at a venture because others are shipping and glutting the market—develop trade everywhere, especially English trade, increase its profits and diminish its risks, keep markets which are at present slipping out of our hands, and establish a fund which will cover the working expenses of the Mint, replace the loss upon the wear and tear of coin, and restore the currency to a natural and healthy—because self-supporting—foundation.

Upon general principles, it is agreed on all hands there is no reason why we should not protect ourselves against the loss which our present system of mintage entails upon us, against the plan of “potting” the coin, and against the use of coin for export where bullion might just as well be used, by charging a seignorage. This is a point that needs no argument. It speaks for itself. There is no more reason why the State should coin money free of charge than there is why it should manufacture plate, why it should test and authenticate the jewellery we wear, the drugs we take, or the wines we drink. The Mint is a manufactory. The labour of the Mint adds to the value of the coin; and it is quite optional with the Government to say whether it will charge the cost of this manufacture or not—that is, whether the coin shall circulate at its real value, as it does in France, as it does in India, as it does in Australia, or whether it shall circulate, as it does here at home, at a trifle less than its real value. The only precaution that it is necessary to take is that the Mint charge shall not exceed the cost of manufacture, and that the cost of manufacture shall not be higher than the exigences of the work require. If the seignorage exceeds these expenses, or if the expenses are higher than they need be, the excess acts as a premium upon private coining, even though the coiners should issue coins to the standard weight and fineness. If the seignorage does not exceed this, the coin as manufactured articles will pass at the same rate as the present, that is to say, a sovereign with 112 grains of gold will possess the same purchasing power when the Government charges for its manufacture as a sovereign of 113 grains, when the Government issues sovereigns free. The only effect of a seignorage based upon the working expenses of the Mint is to keep coin at home, to check its use in the arts. to place restric-

tions upon its exportation except as currency, or if it should be exported as bullion, to bring it back at the earliest possible opportunity, and to restore it to the circulation, instead of tempting the foreigner to throw it into his own crucibles, mix it with his own proportion of alloy, and put it in circulation as part of his own currency, and, finally, to alter the par of exchange. That is all; and this alteration of the par of exchange is the only ground on which the slightest inconvenience could be felt by men of business from the adoption of a seignorage.

“Jonathan at New York may now prefer giving 10 per cent. premium, or 110 dollars, for a bill of 22*l.* 10*s.* on London, rather than ship eagles; but if the produce of eagles be diminished one per cent. by an additional charge either for coinage, for freight, or for insurance, he would give 11 per cent. premium or 111 dollars, for the bill of 22*l.* 10*s.* rather than ship gold. The point in the rate of exchange at which gold would be returned to New York would remain unaffected, for our national standard of value would still be the sovereign of 123½ grains of gold at 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce. At present New York imports gold when the exchange is under 7½ premium, and exports gold when it is above 10 premium. As the intermediate rates of exchange are practically at par—*i.e.*, the variations from the real par of exchange are less than the expense of transmitting gold. If a coinage charge of one per cent. were imposed, the intermediate rates now ranging from 7½ to 10 would range from 7½ to 11.”

The imposition of a seignorage adds to the expense incurred by the importer, and if we were to add one per cent. to the Mint charge to-morrow the practical effect* upon merchants at Calcutta, New York, Shanghai, and Sydney, wishing to ship gold to London for the payment of debts or for investment, would be exactly equivalent to the addition of one per cent. to the premium of insurance or the rate of freight. And this is an alteration that is hardly worth talking about. The loss would be almost inappreciable. The inconvenience amounts only to the substitution of one figure for another.

It would be necessary, of course, if we made up our minds to impose this seignorage, to relieve the Bank of England from the obligation which is at present imposed upon it by the Act of 1844, of giving its notes for gold at the rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* But this relief might be given by the alteration of a single line in the 7th and 8th of Vic. cap. 32, or the Bank might be relieved from its obligation to purchase gold at all, and its present obligation transferred to the Mint, the Mint being authorized to issue notes of its own for gold upon the present Bank terms, with the proviso that it shall pay these notes upon presentation in coin charged with its cost of manufacture. The market price of gold would still be what it is, and if the Bank of England continued,

as it probably would, to sell bar gold at 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*, the range of the effective par of exchange would remain within its present limits, only it would move between points slightly different. The par between New York and London, for instance, would be from 7·66 to 10·16, instead of from 7·50 to 10.

This is the theory of a seignorage, and of its action, and we are stating the case upon the assumption that we are free to act upon this theory, that it is a question of theory and nothing more. But although we ignore the difficulties, we are quite conscious of their existence, and of the perplexing shape which these difficulties are apt to take with men of business. We know all that there is to be said against a seignorage. It may be said that with a currency of eighty millions we have at least eighty millions of arguments against the imposition of a seignorage; that all existing contracts have been entered into upon the assumption that the coinage is free and that it will continue to be free till the end of time; that all rents, all mortgages, all prices are fixed upon the understanding that the sovereign will contain in future the 113 grains of pure gold which it contains now; that if we have a debt of one hundred pounds owing to us we shall be paid that debt in coin of 113 grains free from any charge for mintage; and that if we reduce the sovereign to 112 grains, and attempt by some hocus-pocus to make those 112 grains equal in value to 113 grains, we must make up our minds to readjust all contracts, to revise all our accounts, and to work for the next three or four years with a tariff.

“All existing contracts,” as Mr. Newmarch put the case to the Royal Commissioners, “are upon the faith of a coin of a certain weight and fineness, and they can only be discharged by the tender of that commodity. If I have lent a man a thousand pounds my stipulation with that man is to bring me a thousand pieces of gold weighing a certain number of grains, of a certain fineness. Whether you call it a sovereign or a moidore, or any other name, is entirely beside the question; the contract is one for a commodity. . . . The suggestion is that the Legislature shall wilfully, with its eyes open, degrade the pound to the extent of twopence. If it does so the Legislature must give compensation to all persons interested in existing contracts. . . . I will suppose myself in the condition of a person who has lent a thousand pounds to A. B. before you made the alteration. In the discharge of my debt I am entitled to receive from A. B. a thousand pieces of metal each containing 113 grains of pure gold. These thousand pieces of metal each containing 113 grains of pure gold I may take to France or elsewhere, and I shall be able to buy with them a certain amount of commodities.”

This is a plausible and taking statement of the case; and it is only candid to add that it was adopted by one of the most dis-

tinguished political economists in the House of Commons, Mr. Goschen.

“There seems to me,” said Mr. Goschen, “to be another injustice, as I may call it, which you put upon any one if you give him a different coin now to that which he is entitled to receive under existing contracts. If any creditor now is entitled to receive a certain amount of gold, with which he can do as he likes, if you vary that, and say, I will not give you that amount of gold, I will give you a lesser amount of gold; but then I will enact artificial laws, by which you shall be sure to get the same amount of other commodities by it, you still do not place the creditor in the same position, because he is dependent upon a number of circumstances upon which he was not dependent before. You lessen that particular characteristic of the sovereign which makes gold the best standard of value you have got—namely, that the thing in itself is worth what it professes to be. In my opinion, any tampering with that is shaking the whole basis of the currency.”

There is a sort of undertone of alarm in these statements of Mr. Goschen and Mr. Newmarch which will tell more with many people, with annuitants, and people with money in the Three per Cents., than the arguments which they suggest; but the observations are essentially impromptu opinions, and can, we think, be shown to be founded upon a misconception of the action of a seignorage. There is, of course, one grain of truth in the statement. The truth is this, that a sovereign with 112 grains of pure gold will be of less intrinsic value than a sovereign with 113 grains. Its purchasing power will consequently be less beyond the seas, in America, in France, in China, for instance. But, if with this sovereign of 112 grains, you can go into the bullion market, to the Bank, or to the Mint, and purchase 113 grains of gold in its original state—that is to say, if the sovereign of 112 grains is convertible at your option into 113 grains of bullion, and if with these 113 grains of bullion you can purchase francs and dollars possessing their present exchangeable value, you will still possess, with a coin of 112 grains in your hands, the same purchasing power that you possess now with a coin of 113 grains; and this is the final test. Take the case mentioned by Mr. Newmarch, the case of a foreign merchant owing a debt of 1000*l.* in this country. The debt was contracted in coin weighing 113 grains. It can only be paid, upon Mr. Newmarch's theory, in the coin in which it was contracted. If it is paid in sovereigns containing 112 grains of gold, and no more, it is not paid in that coin. It is paid in a depreciated currency, and as Mr. Newmarch argues, the contract is in metal of a certain weight and fineness—that is, in sovereigns of 113 grains. But if the purchasing power of a sovereign of 112

grains is equal, with seignorage, to the purchasing power of a sovereign of 113 grains without a seignorage, if the debtor can only obtain the sovereigns by the tender of a bar of gold containing 113 grains; and if the creditor, with these sovereigns in his hands, can walk into the Mint or the Bank the instant he is paid in this depreciated currency, and demand a bar of gold containing the precise 113 grains, which he originally lent, where is the injury, where is the violation of good faith? How is the contract broken? The debtor is no better off, the creditor is no worse off. Only the Mint has stepped in between the parties, and refused to coin the gold without being paid for its work—that is, without being paid for assaying and weighing the metal, and stamping it with its certificate of value. The contract was not in sovereigns, as Mr. Newmarch puts the case. It was in metal, and in metal representing 113 grains of pure gold; and it is paid in coin which you can convert into that amount of metal by crossing the street, or that you can pay away in the market in the purchase of the same amount of commodities that your original sovereigns would have purchased. The question is very well put from an international as contradistinguished from a local standpoint, in Mr. J. B. Smith's "Memorandum upon the Report of the Royal Commissioners." Take the case of a foreign government having contracted for a term of years to pay the sum of 1000*l.* per annum in this country, and that the engagement has been fulfilled from time to time by a remittance of a bar of gold of that precise amount. It is contended that, in the event of the proposed change in our currency, this foreign government will be bound, in discharge of its debt of 1000*l.* in the old currency, to pay in the new currency an addition to the same of 2*d.* in the pound, or, in place of 1000*l.*, an annual payment of 1008*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Now, supposing that the foreign government, after the proposed alteration in our currency, and the adoption of a charge of 1 per cent. for mintage, remits the usual bar of gold of the precise weight as before, will it be said that such a remittance would not be a complete fulfilment of its engagement? But will this bar of gold on its arrival in England pay in the new currency the sum of 1008*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, which Mr. Newmarch, and the Royal Commissioners acting upon Mr. Newmarch's theory, contend the Government is bound to pay? Will the Mint give in exchange for this bar of gold the sum of 1008*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in the new currency? Of course it will not. The Mint will then no longer coin gratis; it will therefore return for the bar 1000 gold pieces, as before, but they will each only contain 112 grains of gold, one grain being retained by the Mint for coinage. But inasmuch as each piece will be of the same current value as the old coin, when no mintage was charged, the

foreign government would honourably discharge its obligation, as before, by the payment of 1000 pieces of gold of equal cost and current value with the 1000 pieces of gold of the old currency. The reduction in the *intrinsic* value of the sovereign is covered by the seignorage, and the seignorage restores the sovereign to its original current value. The Mint takes 2*d.* in the pound from the metal in the coin, and adds 2*d.* to its value in workmanship. The purchasing power of the coin remains exactly what it was. It is not altered by a single grain; and if a sovereign with its 112 grains is still convertible at will into 113 grains of gold, you are no worse off with this in your hand than you are with a bank-note which you can convert into sovereigns at the first bank, at the first hotel, at the first railway station, or at the first shop you enter.

The worst that can be said against the sovereign of 112 grains is that it is only by the power which the holder is to have of demanding from the Mint or the Bank of England in exchange 113 grains of fine gold in bar that its current value will be maintained; that the sovereign must, therefore, cease to retain its quality of being the standard of value, and that with a coin of 112 grains we shall be substituting 113 grains of fine gold in bar for a coin containing that quantity of fine gold as the standard pound and measure of value in this country. And this is the argument of the Royal Commissioners in their report.

But this at best is only a play upon words. It may be admitted—every word of it—without invalidating the main argument for a seignorage. The sovereign is not at present the measure of value. (This is the answer.) It is only the representative of the measure of value, and even as a representative of the measure of value, two out of every five sovereigns in circulation to-day are below the standard. You could not melt them for exportation without a loss. You could not present them at the Bank of England without the risk of a loss. They would be clipped and returned to you at once; and, except in England, these light sovereigns will not circulate at all, the best even only circulating at a discount. The true measure of value is 113 grains of gold, and 113 grains of gold will still be the measure of value under the system we are proposing for adoption. Only when the sovereign is charged with a seignorage it will not profess, as it does now, to contain 113 grains of pure gold. It will profess to contain 112 grains of pure gold, and when the system is in working order the mass of sovereigns will contain the full weight, where at present only 65 per cent., or probably only 50 per cent., contain the weight which they are supposed to contain. But a sovereign of 112 grains will then be exchangeable into 113 grains of bullion without loss or deduction of any sort,

unless, of course, the sovereign has been tampered with ; and it will be the interest of every one to see that this is not done, and to refuse to take coin which bears marks of clipping or sweating. At present banks, provincial banks particularly, hoard light sovereigns, and it is the interest of all of us to do anything with a light sovereign except to return it to the Bank or the Mint. But when the sovereign passes everywhere by tale, instead of passing, as it does now, partly by tale and partly by weight—by tale in the provinces, and by weight in London, except, of course, in small payments—the currency would equalize itself all over the country, 100 sovereigns taken promiscuously from circulation in Cornwall or Westmoreland, weighing exactly what 100 sovereigns taken from circulation in Manchester, Leeds, or London would weigh, and every banker would have an interest in returning light coins to the Mint, instead of keeping them in his cellars and palming them off upon any customers whom he can get to take them.

It is, however, like fighting with phantoms to argue this question of a seignorage as a question of principle, or as an open question at all. All theory is with us. All practice is with us, except our own, and even our own practice in Australia and India. All Political Economists are with us. All, or nearly all, the bankers are on our side, with Mr. Hubbard and Sir John Lubbock at their head. What we are proposing to do in England, is done in every other State with a metallic currency, was done by ourselves till the Restoration, and is done by ourselves even now in India and Australia ; and even here at home the proposal cannot be argued as a question of principle. The principle of a seignorage is conceded as an argument. It is conceded in the Act of 1844 as a fact. We levy a seignorage at present, and as long as the Bank Act remains on the Statute Book, the only question open for discussion is what the amount of that seignorage shall be, whether it shall cover only the cost of assaying and weighing the metal, and the loss of interest during the time the metal is in the hands of the moneyers on Tower Hill, or whether it shall cover, besides these expenses and this loss, the cost of manufacture as well. The Bank charge of $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ an ounce is to all intents and purposes a seignorage, and acts as a seignorage, increasing the current value of the coin above its intrinsic value to the extent of $\frac{1}{6}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent., only under the Act of 1844 this seignorage goes into the coffers of Threadneedle Street, instead of going, as it ought to go, into the hands of the Master of the Mint, to the relief of the general taxpayer. This, however, makes no difference to the purchaser of sovereigns. The only fact that the buyer of sovereigns takes into consideration is that, through the Act of '44, he has to sell his bullion at 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* an ounce,

when an ounce of coined gold is worth 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.*, that he has got to pay for the assay, and that he has to allow the purchaser the turn of the scale as well as to pay the fee for weighing. All these items put together constitute a seignorage, and the practical question is whether this seignorage shall be levied by the Mint or by the Bank, and what the amount shall be. What we propose is that the seignorage shall cover the cost of manufacture, as well as the loss of interest during the process of coinage; that the Mint shall purchase gold as it is now purchased by the Bank, making its own charge for assay, and that the Bank shall be released from its obligation to purchase bullion except upon its own terms, the Mint taking this obligation upon itself, paying for bullion in notes, and returning sovereigns for these notes (less the cost of manufacture) at the end of twenty-one days. This is not a very revolutionary proposal, amounting, as it does, to nothing more than a proposal to do in London what we do at Sydney, at Calcutta and Madras, what is done in Paris, in Vienna, at Berlin, at Washington. In France the mintage charge is 6*fr.* 70*c.* per kilogramme of standard gold, or between ¼*th* and ½*th* per cent.; and the delay, which is variable, has at some times been such as to cause a loss of interest which might amount to as much as a charge of ½ or ¾ per cent. more. It is stated in the Report of the Director of the Mint of the United States for the year 1867, that their law imposes on all bullion a tax of the half of 1 per cent., and a coinage charge of the same amount. But the delay in delivery is considerable, and 1½ per cent. is about the average total seignorage allowing for interest on such delay. In Prussia the charge for coining gold is ½ per cent. It is 1 per cent. in the India Mints, with a delay in delivery of about twenty days. The Royal Mint at Sydney first deducts a duty of 1*s.* 3*d.* per ounce troy (*i.e.*, 1*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* per cent.) by way of equivalent for export duty. It also deducts, under the name of charges for melting, assaying, and coining 1 per cent. or 9½*d.* per ounce upon quantities not exceeding 3000 ounces; and ¾ per cent. or 7*d.* per ounce upon quantities of larger amount. Thus, as compared with our English charge of 1½*d.*, we find a total charge of from 2*s.* 0½*d.* to 1*s.* 10*d.* per ounce; and assuming this 1½*d.* per ounce to represent a charge of 1605*l.* upon the manufacture of 1,000,000 sovereigns on Tower Hill, the charges made in the principal Mints of the world may be taken at from eight to fourteen times that amount; the French charge for coining 1,000,000*l.* sterling in France being 10,000*l.*, the Australasian and Indian charge 13,000*l.*, and the American charge 15,000*l.* Here, however, a charge equal to that of our own Indian and Australian Mints will be amply sufficient for all practical purposes; and if the estimate that the

sovereign is worth a fraction over 10 rupees in India be accurate, it follows that the internationalization of the English sovereign, by reducing it by about 2*d.* to make it equal with 25 francs or five dollars, would be an immediate means of rectifying the present difference between the English sovereign and the 10-rupee piece.

These arguments ought to be final, especially when it is recollected that a seignorage of one per cent. is still fifty per cent. within the limits of the charge that we are entitled to put upon the manufacture of coin upon the true principles of currency, and a trifle less than the charge which was anciently put upon all English coin till the Restoration. That this brassage will cover the expenses of the Mint is the least of its recommendations. It will turn what is at present a source of loss into a source of profit to the State. It will supersede the necessity which is now pressing upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer of calling in our light and worn coin, and put us into a position to restore the currency without exposing ourselves to a serious loss. It will save the public thousands a year in the form of fines at the Bank of England upon the presentation of light sovereigns. It will save the railway companies; it will save the banks; and (what is of more consequence than all this) it will put English merchants and manufacturers on a level with their keenest competitors in all the markets of the world. Perhaps the Bank of England may lose a trifle by the change; but even the loss of the Bank will be only a trifle, and the Bank has no right to the seignorage it is at present levying upon gold coin. This seignorage is not in the bond. It is levied by mere usurpation, by the usurpation of a monopolist acting under an Act of Parliament which was never intended to work as it does; and in breaking this monopoly of the Bank we should be taking a great stride towards the attainment of that ideal system of currency which Sir Robert Peel must have had in his heart when he passed his Currency Laws—a system under which the State shall be the sole fountain of issue, under which no money shall circulate on credit, or, if it does, shall circulate on the credit of the State, all bank-notes as well as coins bearing the image and superscription of the head of the State, and under which all profits upon the issue of money shall form part of the Imperial revenue.

The Power of Issue is, and ought to be, a sovereign right. It was a sovereign right in the days of Athelstan, and as a sovereign right was exercised only by the King. It will be recognised as a sovereign right to be exercised only by the King in the days of Albert VI. But at our present rate of suppressing private coinage—the issue of bank-notes—it will not be till the days of Albert VI., and it has not been since the days of Athelstan. The power of issue now exercised by the Bank of England, and

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by the English, Irish, and Scotch banks is a relic of feudalism, of those rough and rude times when every prelate and noble set up a mint under the shadow of his palace or castle, coined money in their own names as grantees of the King, and appropriated the profit of their mints as they appropriated the rent of their estates. The manufacture of coin has been suppressed long ago, but the manufacture of paper money still remains, and the profits of this manufacture are allowed to remain in private hands, the State taking upon itself the manufacture of the only part of the currency upon which there is or can be a loss. It is high time that this state of things ceased, that all rights of issue were gathered into the hands of the State, that the debt of the Bank of England was paid off, that all notes except those of the State were suppressed, that the powers of issue now exercised by the Banks were vested in the hands of the Royal Mint, that gold coinage, like silver and copper, was made self-supporting, and that the profits upon paper currency were claimed by the State, and appropriated, like the profits of the Post-Office, to the reduction of taxation. In this way we should secure a self-acting system of currency, adapting itself to the wants of the country as those wants vary with the fluctuations of trade and commerce, the Master of the Mint would have his finger upon all the chords of our system of currency, and by issuing bank-notes for 1*l.* where we now only issue sovereigns, taking extra precaution, of course, against forgery, we should economize in the use of gold, especially by reducing the loss through wear and tear, and we should make gold, like silver and copper, pay for its own manufacture.



ART. II.—THE DETERMINIST THEORY OF VOLITION : ITS STATEMENT AND HISTORY.

THE Problem of the Will has reasonably attracted great attention to itself, owing to its intimate bearing upon ethics and theology, which are matters of common interest. But if we attach equal weight to the firm and loud counter-assertions still heard on both sides, the solution of it seems as far off as ever. We are tempted to say that the whole world has been arguing the question for more than two thousand years without having got within sight of a settlement ; and some persons (if we may trust Professor Huxley, who places himself among them) now “think

that the battle will for ever remain a drawn one." But we hope to show, in the course of the following sketch, that despair is premature. Some of the most important among the relevant ideas will be there examined: we shall see how slowly they emerged into the world's consciousness, and in what almost inextricable confusion they were involved for long after their first appearance. This gives quite another aspect to the failure of past controversy, and makes the present division of opinion much less surprising. The world has not really spent thousands of years in arguing the question: it had no clear knowledge of the point at issue till about five hundred years ago, and then its knowledge lay torpid for two centuries more. Afterwards there certainly was much noisy disputation; but nine parts in ten of it are mere random declamation, where the speaker shifts his ground from sentence to sentence, huddling together arguments drawn from theology, from ethics, from metaphysics, from psychology, without the least hint that he is aware of any distinction between these various departments of thought. When the rubbish has been carted away, the amount which remains of clear and intelligent discussion is not so vast as to be out of all proportion to the acknowledged intricacy of the problem.

No attempt will here be made to prove any doctrine, or even to state any evidence except by accident and by way of illustration. We shall be concerned only with the statement and history of certain ideas. Of these the most important go to make up a theory of volition and of responsibility or moral desert, first stated in this country by Hobbes; afterwards by Hartley, Priestley, Anthony Collins, Alexander Crombie, James Mill, and others; which is now associated most closely with the name of Mr. J. S. Mill. It has been known by various titles; among which one of recent coinage, *Determinism*, has the advantage of brevity and freedom from offensive implication. To state this theory, and to sketch its history so far as may be necessary to a clear statement, will be the aim of the following remarks.

The first step is to unravel the prevailing confusion by laying down definitions, which will serve as a standard of reference both in criticism and in controversy. The confusion has been of two kinds, both a confusion of premisses and a confusion of conclusions. Three different schemes and four (not to say five) kinds of argument have been mixed up together, not only in the mind of the same writer, but often in the same page of his works. The three schemes may be styled *Fatalism*, *Determinism*, *Calvinism*. The four kinds of argument are as follows; (1) *theological*; partly *dogmatic*, consisting chiefly in the citation of texts from the Bible; partly *rationalist*, consisting in

deductions from the Idea of the Attributes of God ; (2) *ethical*, consisting in the allegation of shocking moral consequences supposed to follow from this or that doctrine ; (3) *metaphysical*, consisting in the assimilation of volition to the idea of causation in general ; (4) *psychological*, consisting in the appeal to an analysis of the observed phenomena of volition. No argument is needed to show that these things are quite different : they ought therefore to be kept apart and separately considered. But it is doubtful whether any controversial writer has yet completely fulfilled this preliminary condition of clear treatment. The greater number are so hopelessly confused, that it is often impossible to tell for certain which of the three schemes they had in mind when writing a given sentence, or to be sure that they recognised any distinction between dogmatic theology and psychology. Since we are rather concerned with the schemes than with the arguments, the former will need a more particular statement.

§ I. FATALISM.

Fatalism merely asserts the procession of the material universe to be inexorably fixed ; and, in its most perfect form, it extends this predetermined certainty to every event, however trifling, which ever happens. It premises no examination of the facts of volition, and it concludes no propositions about the morality of voluntary actions. It has therefore no bearing upon the different theories of moral desert which have been deduced from different theories of volition. The procession of the material universe is a force of overwhelming power external to us ; who, in respect to it, are not agents but only patients.

Fatalism has been seldom or never held consistently, without any mental confusion, in this philosophically perfect form. The actual theory existing in the minds of professed fatalists, has differed from the philosophical theory in two respects. (1) They forgot that there is the same reason (whatever it is) for extending fate to little things as to great, and probably thought of fate only in connexion with important events deeply affecting their own interest. (2) The language of fatalists is sometimes tinged with a shade of determinist colouring. It was held that the fated event is certain to come to pass, either in spite of our efforts, *or even by means of them*. These last words allow us to imagine an Omniscient Schemer behind the scenes, who brings about the fulfilment of his will by the artful use of baits or motives. This introduction of motives looks for a moment towards a determinist line of thought ; but the fundamental distinction between fatalism and determinism remains untouched. The fatalists consent with one voice in the statement, that the

revelation by prophecy of a fated event would detract nothing from its certainty to happen: a statement which the determinists would ridicule with equal unanimity. The course to be adopted by the critic in such circumstances is plain. We shall accordingly define fatalism strictly, and remark the inconsistency of those who have coloured their fatalism with determinist phrases or notions while they peremptorily rejected the fundamental propositions of determinism.

When we have stated the several propositions in which determinism consists, it will be seen that they are utterly remote from the tone of thought indicated either by the fatalist myths of classical antiquity or by the superstitions of the modern Turk. But a confusion of fatalism with determinism, having many shades of complexity, has been common in all stages of the controversy. The cause which led to it can be easily assigned. Fatalism does tend to affect practice; and whatever affects practice has of course some bearing upon volition, though not necessarily the same bearing as determinism. The belief in fatalism operates as a motive to restrain volition in some cases; because when a man is firmly convinced that, whatever he may do, everything will turn out the same in the end, he will probably leave things to themselves instead of vainly trying to change them. Just so does imprisonment operate as a motive to restrain volition in some cases, when the prisoner is firmly convinced that no efforts will enable him to get out and therefore desists from any attempt to escape. But as imprisonment is not a theory of volition, so neither is fatalism.

More recently fatalism has been confused with determinism by a controversial artifice; though not, it would appear, with dishonest intent. The temptation to this confusion is obvious. Fate hangs over us things which are certain to happen, however we may strive to avoid them; and if these imminent things are thought to be unpleasant (as they commonly are in the fatalist myths) we shrink from being held subject to them in spite of our efforts. Determinism does not hold us subject to them in spite of our efforts, but fatalism does. It follows that determinism acquires a revolting aspect by being confused with fatalism.

Here also the cause of confusion can be easily assigned. It springs from the fact that the prediction of future events is conceived as possible under both schemes. In the scheme of determinism, action can be certainly foreseen if all the motives and external conditions can be certainly foreseen; and though their intricacy forbids us with our limited powers to trace them very far, they might without absurdity be supposed fully known to an enlarged or omniscient intelligence. This kind of certainty, in which the event is made sure to befall us by the fact that we

desire it strongly, is confused with the certainty of fate, in which the event is sure to befall us in spite of our strongest desire to avoid it.

§ II. DETERMINISM.

No less than four elements go to make up the determinist scheme in its integrity. These are as follows :—

1. The determinist theory of volition.
2. The substitution of the determinist notion of moral desert in the place of the vulgar notion.
3. The destructive criticism of the definition of a free will.
4. The irrelevancy of a liberty of spontaneity to morals.

(1) The determinist theory of volition asserts invariability of sequence between the sum of motives present in the mind of a given individual and the action (or attempted action) which follows ; so that if precisely the same sum of motives should ever be twice present to the mind (supposed to remain unchanged in the interval) of the same man, he would certainly do (or attempt to do) the same thing on both occasions. This theory has been often misapprehended, from the omission to notice one or another of its limitations. Sometimes the word motive is taken in a too narrow sense, so as to include only the influence of external circumstances : sometimes, by a kindred oversight, it is forgotten that the same circumstances are viewed very differently by (or present very different motives to) different minds. Opponents have accordingly pointed out, that different men act very differently under the same circumstances, and that the same man acts differently under the same circumstances at different times. But these "same circumstances" constitute in these cases a different sum of motives. By the determinist theory we should be led to expect a different result from them. It is therefore no refutation of the theory that such a different result is found to happen.

Perhaps the following statement may make error more difficult in future. Let every psychological phenomenon which can be an object of consciousness be styled a feeling. Then the term feeling will include both those feelings which tend to excite or to modify action, and those (if there be any) which do not. Let the former be styled motor-feelings. The determinist theory of volition asserts that the same act or attempted act follows always upon the same sum of motor-feelings. Here the ambiguity attached to the word motive is avoided ; and we see at once that the same set of circumstances may arouse very different sets of motor-feelings in different men and in the same man at different times.

This theory of volition has been separately reached by three independent methods.

(α) It was reached first through a psychological analysis of the facts of volition: a method common to Hobbes and the whole British school of determinists; though they mingled with it other arguments drawn from other sources. From this point of view, the theory rests upon its observed consonance with the facts of volition, including the impossibility of pointing out any fact at variance with it.

(β) It has been deduced by sundry metaphysicians, as Leibnitz, from the general idea of causation: a proceeding which is outside the pale of psychology. The denial of the determinist theory is made equivalent to the assertion, that the same totality of cause may have a different totality of effect.

Kant was not able to impugn the validity of this argument, so far as the succession of phenomena is concerned. He admitted (in different phrase) the truth of the determinist theory, that the same sum of motor-feelings is followed always by the same action. But he postulated for the mind a power of originating motor-feeling from within itself, by a process bound by no conditions and unaffected by anything styled circumstance. In the language of the 'Transcendentalists, the succession of *phenomena* is subject to invariability of sequence between the same total antecedent and the same total consequent; which is true of motor-feelings, as of all other *phenomena*; but the sum of the antecedent motor-feelings is liable to be altered by the unconditioned action of the mind as *noumenon*, styled the *Intelligible Character*, distinguished from the mind as a congeries and procession of phenomena. Thus Kant strove to take volition out of the sphere of conditioned action; because the mind, whose action it is, itself regulates the sum of its apparent conditions, by means of a process which is unconditioned.

(γ) The determinist theory has been lately reached by the application of physiology to explain the processes of psychology. This, be it observed, is a *fifth* kind of argument, which must be added to the four kinds above enumerated; but it has emerged too recently* to have introduced confusion into the history of the subject. In this view, every feeling, or psychological phenomenon, has a physiological counterpart in some affection of some part of the nervous organism. A sum of motor-feelings is the psychological counterpart of a sum of nerve-actions, having a definite local seat, modified by the present state of the organism

* The physiology of the nervous system was not understood with sufficient accuracy to admit of its fruitful application to psychology, until about twenty years ago. Up to that time nothing was possible beyond the surmise of a general connexion between nerve-action and consciousness, which admitted no analysis into parts separately related one to another.

as a whole and in its parts. The same sum of nerve-actions, under the same state of the whole organism and of its parts—a limitation which must always be kept in mind,—will produce always the same sum of motor-feelings and be followed always by the same action.

The most important consequence of this view, is its bearing upon the transcendental doctrine of the *Intelligible Character*. The psychological determinists could not categorically deny this doctrine, because they either had never heard of it or else attached no meaning to its statement. But in the view of the physiological determinists, the standing ground of the transcendental doctrine is cut away without even the need of a denial. There is no place in the system for the *Intelligible Character*. All mental action is the counterpart of nerve-action, and no nerve-action is unconditioned.

(2) The vulgar notion of moral desert, when defined and made clear, seems to involve two characteristics in which it differs from the determinist notion. (1) In the vulgar notion, wrongdoing, or moral evil, is regarded with a peculiar horror, as being a class of evil so utterly different in kind from all other, that (to quote some vigorous words) it would be better if the sun and rain should fail and all the millions upon this earth perish in extremity of physical agony, than that one human being should wilfully and without excuse pilfer a trifle or tell a lie. (2) In the same spirit the vulgar notion regards wrong doing as being so naturally and necessarily the proper object of punishment, that it ought to be punished even though no benefit should thereby accrue to society or to the offender himself. Neither of these views can be maintained under the scheme of determinism.

The earliest psychological determinists were aware of the opposition between their scheme and the vulgar notion of moral desert. Had they overlooked it, it would have been forced upon their notice by the popular clamour. The aspect under which the opposition first emerged was as follows. A given sum of motor-feelings is inevitably followed by a certain action; but the motor-feelings are a product of two causes—namely, the present circumstances and the present disposition of the agent; now suppose the coincidence of seductive circumstances with a weak or bad disposition: why may not the evil-doer call himself unlucky rather than criminal? How is there room for the imputation of the responsibility involved in the vulgar notion of moral desert? How can the agent be held responsible in such a sense, that his acts demand a category of reprobation peculiar to themselves, and deserve to be punished without reference to possible benefit either to himself or to society? To be born with a good disposition and to live beyond the reach of temptation, is

a great happiness but no merit in the vulgar sense of the term : why may we not add, that to be born with a bad disposition and to be tempted often, is a great misfortune but no demerit ?

The other side answered, that the present disposition is partly the result of a man's own previous actions, and that through them he is responsible both for its present state and also for the acts to which it contributes. It is quite true that a man's present disposition is partly the result of his own acts ; but this admission only throws the determinist argument one stage further back. If we ascend high enough towards infancy we find a state in which no one pretends that a child is responsible in the vulgar sense of the term. When does he begin to be so responsible ? Whatever moment we choose, we find ourselves landed in a contradiction. This act is by hypothesis the first "free" act ; yet previous "free" acts are needed in order to make this act "free."

The determinist accordingly holds that, as there is no free will in the vulgar sense, so there is no responsibility or moral desert in the vulgar sense : these terms denote horrid figments of the imagination, founded upon an erroneous view of the human will, which disappear with its disappearance. In a word, moral evil is reduced to take its place among all other evils, instead of standing so utterly apart, that a single sin may more than balance the despairing agonies of a starving world. When the question was asked, Why, then, ought this sort of evil to be punished, when other sorts are not ? why do we punish the criminal and not the scrofulous ? some were found to reply hastily, that criminals ought not to be punished at all. But on calmer reflection a material distinction was discerned between the two cases : the punishment of the scrofulous man has no tendency to cure him, or to bring about any other desirable end ; but the punishment of the criminal tends both to reform him (as we may hope) and to protect society from his attacks (as we may be sure). Punishment becomes, in the determinist scheme, only the means to an end ; and when this end cannot be secured by it, there is no ground for its infliction.

(3) The popular mind has been found to shrink from accepting the determinist notion of moral desert in the place of its own habitual notion ; and many persons eminent for their virtue and talents have expressed with vehemence their own abhorrence of the change.* It was therefore incumbent upon them, either to

* But the most devout libertarians have not always justified their formal profession by willingness to carry it into practice. Granting the distinction between sin and leprosy, honest Joinville did not hesitate which to choose. "Or vous demande je, fist il, [viz. St. Louis,] lequel vous ameriez miex, ou que

impugn the determinist theory of volition, or else to deny that the determinist notion of moral desert is necessarily implied in it. The latter course was too daring for the philosophers : it was reserved for the later Calvinist theologians beginning with Jonathan Edwards. This is quite in accordance with their unpleasant theology, which metes out equal damnation to the hardened sinner and the "unregenerate" infant. And their position sheltered them effectually from attack ; because the man who successfully presses a contradiction or absurdity home to a theologian, gains nothing except the pleasure of hearing it styled a mystery.

It remained for the philosophers to impugn the determinist theory of volition. Some have accordingly met it with a direct denial ; but the weight of libertarian judgment has acknowledged that the definition of a free will is open to destructive criticism. Hamilton conceded this much for himself, and destroyed Reid's efforts to escape the admission.* He was therefore thrown back upon indirect methods of impugning the theory. Having acknowledged that his own and Reid's doctrine postulated an uncaused commencement of action, he observed that the determinist doctrine postulated an eternal regress of cause and effect. These two postulates he declared to be equally inconceivable : the destructive criticism of the attempted definition of a free will was therefore balanced by an equally destructive criticism falling upon the other side. The two contradictory doctrines being thus supposed upon the same level, he held that the balance between them must be turned by the testimony of consciousness ; and this he often declared to be plainly in his own favour. He never stated with fitting distinctness which of two possible things he meant by this ;—whether consciousness declared the determinist theory of volition to be false, or whether it declared the vulgar notion of moral desert to be true. But he could hardly have meant the former ; because, if consciousness contradicted the determinist theory, where was the need of trying to meet it by indirect artifices ? We must infer that he meant the latter ; but his language is so much better adapted to mean the former, that we cannot suppose him to have heard the voice of consciousness very clearly.

(4) Yet one more point remains. To speak (like Dean Mansel) of a man as doing different things under precisely the same sum of motor-feelings, or to speak (like Hamilton) of an uncaused com-

vous feussies mesians, ou que vous eussies fait un pechié mortel." Et je, qui onques ne li menti, li respondi que je en ameraie miex avoir fait TRENTE, que estre mesians. *Hist.* (ed. Paris, 1761) p. 6. The Saint found little to urge in reply, except that leprosy is temporal while Hell is eternal.

* *Reid*, p. 599.

mencement of action, seems to throw us back upon a motiveless volition or mere spontaneity. But this, even more obviously than determinism, is incompatible with the vulgar notion of moral desert. Two men are placed in precisely the same circumstances, and feel in every respect each just like the other: one stabs an enemy and the other does not;—even if this be conceivable, why is the one more meritorious than the other? Spontaneity destroys utterly, not only the vulgar notion of moral desert, but the determinist notion also.

The psychological determinists would no doubt have urged in reply to the transcendental doctrine of the *Intelligible Character*, that they could not see how the mode of its operation differed from a mere spontaneity, and that this is irrelevant to morals. Nor would they have seen any force, or even any meaning, in the efforts of the transcendentalists to avoid this criticism.

§ III. CALVINISM.

The right assumed by theologians to elude the force of a contradiction by styling it a mystery, is enough to separate off by an impassable barrier propositions which rest upon dogmatic grounds from those which rest upon grounds of reason; because, whether the right be assumed upon good or bad grounds, it in any case makes argument impossible with those who assume it. The system here styled Calvinism, made up of sundry propositions briefly styled *Election and Reprobation, Assurance, Indefectibility of Grace*, is a theological system which appeals to dogmatic grounds for its support. And this appeal to dogmatic grounds precludes any possible appeal to other grounds also; because the theologians consent with one voice in the statement, that theological propositions, even though they could be proved, ought not to be believed upon that ground but upon the ground that they have been revealed. There is therefore some inconsistency in their not unfrequent attempts to bolster up dogma by aids of reason; since their success could only supply a motive to belief which by their own account is worthless.

The mine in which the theologian digs is so different from that of the philosopher, that the two must be expected to bring up different things. We accordingly find that Calvinism differs so utterly from determinism, that to confuse the one with the other might be thought impossible, if experience had not shown it to be somehow very easy. Of the four capital points in which determinism consists, the Calvinists ignore the first and deny the other three. (1) The determinist theory of volition was never expressly stated by any Calvinist earlier than Jonathan Edwards. Something like faint allusions to it may be traced floating about here and there at an earlier date; but these elude our grasp

when we attempt to seize them. (2) The Calvinists unanimously reject the determinist notion of moral desert, and affirm the vulgar notion. But this distinction is the *punctum saliens* of the whole controversy. (3) The Calvinists denied by implication the destructive criticism of the definition of a free will; because they attributed a free will, apparently in the exact terms of the libertarian definition, to Adam before his fall from paradise, to the devil and his angels before their fall from heaven, and (perhaps) at the present time to the angels who stood fast. (4) The Calvinists were precluded, by parity of reasoning, from urging the irrelevancy of spontaneity to morals; though Jonathan Edwards used this argument to justify his adoption of the determinist theory of volition.

These differences ought to have sufficed to prevent confusion. But the public inadvertence is always ready to suppose that all schemes must be identical which allow the certain prediction of future events: hence Fatalism, Determinism, and Calvinism have been mingled together with much recklessness. The later Calvinists, such as Jonathan Edwards and Toplady, can hardly be let off so easily. Living in times when their position was less secure from the assaults of reason, they were tempted to import visible doses of determinism into their scheme. They deliberately used the determinist theory of volition to explain the possibility of predestination, while they rejected, with more than the common vehemence, the determinist notion of moral desert. The language of Luther upon the same topic is not less violent; but, as he deduced his "bondage of the will" not from psychology but from hazy theological and metaphysical considerations, it is perhaps less absurd. His temper and the custom of the time permitted him boldly to speak of a "triumph of the faith," where Edwards was forced into the semblance of argument. The latter therefore urged the irrelevance of spontaneity to morals, to explain his adoption of the determinist theory of volition.

§ IV. HISTORY OF THE RELEVANT IDEAS.

The vague impression that actions are somehow dependent upon motives, is so obtrusively obvious as never to have been entirely absent from human thought ever since human action began; and this impression has given a determinist tinge to many remarks scattered about the works of authors of all ages. But much more than this is needed for the complete development of the determinist theory of volition; and the deduction of the determinist notion of moral desert is a great step further. The first lesson to be learnt by the critic in philosophy, is to mortify the impulse to see a whole system in a casual allusion. It is the constant practice to assume that everybody had some

definite opinion, if only it could be found, not only upon each general topic but even upon every minute detail: a habit which is leading us daily to the oddest freaks of discovery. The hypothesis of Biological Evolution is found in an anonymous sentence quoted by Aristotle; Pangenesis in a remark of Hippocrates; and, with somewhat better excuse, the cosmical hypothesis of Laplace in Democritus and Epicurus.

Aristotle is the first writer of whom it can be said, that he apprehended with any approach to clearness the determinist theory of volition and notion of moral desert. We might infer that no one had preceded him in the discovery, from his attitude towards them: he regards them as manifest absurdities which no human being had yet been found to advocate. This is the key to the reasoning of the first five chapters of the third book of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. He there presses upon the reader the necessity to choose between an indefinite free-will and a definite determinism, feeling quite secure which alternative will be chosen. The vagueness of the term "voluntary" made it the moral correlative of the equally vague term "responsible;" the determinist theory is seen to place the voluntariness of virtue and of vice both upon the same level, and, in the jealous eye of a libertarian, to destroy them both together. This is the consequence which Aristotle finds so monstrous, that he treats it as equivalent to *reductio ad absurdum*. He is content that vice shall be held voluntary in the same sense as virtue. (*Ei οὖν ἐκούσιοί εἰσιν αἱ ἀρεταί, καὶ αἱ κακίαι ἐκούσιοι ἂν εἴεν· ὁμοίως γάρ. Eth. Nic. III. 5. 20.*)

The dreadful image of an inevitable fate hanging over our heads, though it is irrelevant to ethics, was too prevalent to escape Aristotle's notice; and he thought it worthy of an elaborate refutation in the ninth chapter *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*. His conception of fate is exactly consonant with the definition above given. He there anticipates Copleston's reply to the fatalist sophism from Excluded Middle. The comment of Ammonius Hermiæ might serve for a summary of Copleston's words. *Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ὕλην [i.e., future contingent matter] οὐκέτι φησὶν ὁμοίως αὐτὰς [sc. κατὰφασιν καὶ ἀπόφασιν] ἔχειν κατὰ πάντα χρόνον λαμβανομένου πρὸς τὴν διάκρισιν τοῦ τε ἀληθοῦς καὶ τοῦ ψευδοῦς.* Copleston is ignorant of the anticipation: another proof that, as Hamilton said in 1833, "for a century and a half, at least, the *Organon* . . . could have been as little read at Oxford as the *Targum* or *Zendavesta*."

Aristotle's conception of determinism, though he regarded it as an absurd and monstrous figment, guided Buridan to a fairly exact apprehension of it as a speculative doctrine. His statement of it is contained in the *Quæstiones in decem libros*

Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nichomachum.* Determinism may therefore be said to date, as a speculative doctrine, from about the middle of the fourteenth century. Buridan's treatment is in the scholastic method: a question is proposed, followed by arguments for and against. His style is not more repulsive than that of Armacanust† (praised by Hamilton, who had an odd trick of praising odd people), and he had the merit of novelty in his matter. It is well worthy of remark that, a hundred years after Buridan, the great Platonist G. Gemistus Pletho is to be found dully retailing a traditional fatalism of the strictest type, and labouring superfluously to rescue morality from its clutches.

Bernardino Ochino, the man who, though not a determinist, is best entitled to be called the father of determinism, flourished just two centuries later than Buridan. His *Labyrinthi* was published in Italian at Basil without date; but the dedication to Elizabeth as Queen of England brings it down to 1558, and he died in 1564. A Latin translation, said to be by Sebastian Castellio, but without his name, was afterwards published at the same place.‡ He gives eight labyrinths, four enclosing in their toils those who assert the freedom, four those who assert the bondage, of the will. The heads of the discourse are as follows.

Against *free will*, we have—

1. The determinist theory of volition, set forth with great clearness and precision, and with the fullest appreciation of its bearing upon moral desert, with hints also of the destructive criticism of the libertarian definition of a free will, and of the irrelevance of spontaneity to morals.
2. The antagonism between man's liberty and God's omnipotence.
3. The antagonism between man's liberty and God's prescience.
4. The difficulty of explaining, upon the libertarian hypothesis, the fulfilment of prophecy.

Against *determinism*, we have—

1. The necessity of choosing, upon this hypothesis, between Optimism and Atheism. "Necesse est ut cogitent aut peccatum non esse peccatum, non malum, non deo displicens, aut deum esse malignum, ideoque non deum." Of these, the former seems absurd and the latter impious.
2. Determinism involves the denial of God's right to punish sin.

* A copy (Oxford, 1637,) is in the Bodleian Library.

† Richard Fitz-Ralph, Abp. of Armagh 1347—1360. A copy of his *Summa* (Paris, 1511) is in the Bodleian.

‡ The Italian is in the Bodleian, the Latin in the British Museum.

3. Granting that God may justly punish sin, yet the perfection of His counsels is open to the objection, that sin is unnecessarily allowed to exist. (Because man's free will alone can account for its existence in God's universe.)
4. Waiving the last point, the perfection of God's counsels is open to objection, by reason of the equally unnecessary damnation of the reprobate. (This is only a second and inferior version of No. 3.)

It will be observed that Ochino has great difficulty in making up the full tale of labyrinths against determinism, and that Atheism eludes all the four. We may plausibly conjecture that their number was fixed by his preconceived obligation to give as many for free will as he had previously given against it; for Ochino was not a determinist, but, like Hamilton, a strategical balancer of the arguments in exact equilibrium. His precision both of language and of method shows an enormous advance upon the habits of his age, which can be duly appreciated only after comparing the *Labyrinthi* with the *Διαρπίβη* of Erasmus published about forty years earlier on the libertarian side, and with the *De Servo Arbitrio* published in reply by Luther; both of which are destitute of any value or interest, except what may be derived from the names of their authors.

The British determinists cannot be accused of tracing the pedigree of their doctrine too high. The opinion seems to have been very nearly universal among them, that determinism sprang first and full grown from the head of Hobbes. And Dugald Stewart, arguing on the other side, makes this supposed fact the ground of a polemical objection; urging the lateness of its appearance as an argument against its truth. Perhaps Hobbes was the first man who clearly stated determinism in all its parts, and boldly avowed his belief in it. The popularity of his writings kept his opinions before the world; and since his time the relevant ideas have been easily accessible to all who were not by nature incapable of understanding them. One of this last sort was Bramhall, the well known opponent of Hobbes. A specimen of his dialectic will reveal his calibre, and perhaps make his mistake more difficult in future.

"The very first words of T[homas] H[obbes] his defence trip up the heels of his whole cause; 'I had once resolved.' To 'resolve' presupposeth deliberation; but what deliberation can there be of that which is inevitably determined by causes without ourselves, before we do deliberate? Can a condemned man deliberate whether he should be executed or not?"*

* *Works*, fol., 1677, p. 649.

Here he confuses the determinist theory of volition with external coercion or violence : a confusion which was the staple of the libertarian polemic throughout the eighteenth century.

A detailed history of the controversy during the eighteenth century might fill a large volume. Two features in the polemic of the libertarians are particularly noteworthy ; first, their obstinate misapprehension of the determinist theory of volition, which they habitually confused with fatalism and external violence ; secondly, their failure to perceive where the true strength of their own position lay. Their strength lay in the impossibility of weaning the popular mind from the vulgar notion of moral desert by means of argument. An emotion is in vain attacked by argument, because it can be effectually met only by other emotion ; and only in a very few minds is emotion stirred by appeals to reason. The determinists might therefore have predicted their own failure ; or rather, that their success would be limited, as it was, to a few minds. But they were as incapable of seeing why they failed, as the libertarians of seeing why they succeeded ; for the few men who do give an emotional assent to conclusions of reason, easily assume that everybody else does the like. Had the libertarians openly taken their stand upon the vulgar notion of moral desert, they might safely have defied the determinist theory of volition to shake the popular belief ; and assuredly the belief of no rational creature could be strengthened by their lame efforts to impugn the determinist theory. But by engaging in the battle upon these terms, they gave many dialectical triumphs, though barren of results, to the enemy.

The controversy passed into a new phase at the beginning of this century, owing to the importation of determinism into the Calvinism of the Evangelical party. We accordingly find the two doctrines joined together by Copleston in his *Enquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination*, published in 1821 ; where he argues, sometimes against fatalism, sometimes against determinism, sometimes against Calvinism, evidently supposing them to be all the same thing. His book provoked a shower of replies from the Calvinists, showing that they felt it to be levelled especially against themselves. This was the last flame among the embers. Since then the controversy has ceased to interest the popular mind, and discussion has been confined to men of philosophical tastes. But there are signs that the question is likely to be revived upon a new and practical ground. The absurd and inconsistent opinions of half educated mad-doctors touching the responsibility of criminal lunatics, are beginning to create an uneasy tone of

inquiry; and the comments of the newspapers look like the words of men who are oppressed by a secret determinism, which they dare not avow because they cannot apply it to the matter in hand.

This is an example, such as occurs from time to time, of the impact of moral philosophy upon law. The old legal tradition is a rough digest of the moral philosophy current at the time of its formation. It is therefore necessarily connected with the vulgar notion of moral desert, so that there lurks in its notion of responsibility the vague *nuance* of a right to punish offences apart from useful ends to be gained thereby. But this sentiment is quite opposed to the common practice of the Courts; which has for several generations tended constantly to pass by the theological sin and fix its eyes only upon the legal crime or injury done to society. The incongruity is now manifest, and some readjustment is probably imminent, in which we may expect an important part to be played by philosophical discussion. This opens to determinists the prospect of enforcing the practical application of their doctrine, and of seeing it recognised as the basis of legislation; a result which is inevitable unless the nation and the world at large can be induced to alter completely the present direction of their course. No determinist will for a moment believe that such alteration is possible. When determinism next comes upon the stage, we may expect to see it supported by the general feeling that its practical application to fix the rule of law cannot be delayed. And its practical application to law will inevitably be followed by a practical application to morals, of which the details cannot be anticipated.

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ART. III.—THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN AMERICA.

1. *Annual Report of the Public Schools of St. Louis, Missouri.* 1871.
2. *Co-education of the Sexes. An Address before a Meeting of College Presidents at Springfield, Illinois, July 10th, 1867.* By the Rev. JAMES FAIRCHILD, D.D., of Oberlin College, Ohio.
3. *Annual Report of the Michigan State University.* 1872.

IT is worth while to consider the method by which Americans are very largely avoiding the two most obstinate difficulties that stand in the way of the higher education of women as compared with that of men, to observe how they are supplying funds to educate women, and still more how they are providing the women themselves with incentives for severe mental work, which, all will agree, is of all the obstacles to be contended against the one most positive and universal. But while observing how they are reaching what they consider desirable results for women, it behoves us to trace out the effect of this course upon women in their relations to society, and upon others who are intimately and vitally concerned. In short, while considering the system by which American women are educated we must also consider the kind of women it produces, and its effect upon men as the correlative half of society. This *Review*, some time back, in an article entitled "The Suppressed Sex," gave a partial account of this system, but the increased demand in this country for an improved education for women, and the longer experience to which the American system has been subjected, warrant us in giving it a fuller examination.

America cannot as yet claim to have built up any institutions of learning that will rank in educational facilities and incentives with the great English Universities. Probably her first grade scholars could only take rank with the third grade English scholars. The exigencies of American society seem to demand rapid and diffusive educational training, rather than slow and more concentrated work, and the opportunities of her life favour a more even apportionment of education than is found in the older countries; but travellers accord to her people a high average standard of intelligence. A still more striking peculiarity is, that in no other country is the education of men and women so nearly equal both in kind and degree, and this is due to the

prevalent system of the joint education of the two sexes through the higher as well as the lower departments of study.

The American colonists were impressed with a deep sense of the advantages of education, but it had to be got at the least expense. In the towns and cities they could have schools for boys and schools for girls, but in the sparsely populated rural districts separate schools were impossible. It was almost more than the farmers could do to pay the cost of one. All the boys and girls, within a radius of two or three miles met together in the same school. They were companions and rivals in their pastimes, and it probably did not occur to any one to consider, whether there could be any danger in continuing this rivalry in their lessons. In the rapid growth of the population, some of these rural centres gradually became villages and towns, but the joint education of the girls and boys went on.

Two leading principles in school economy are, to secure the smallest number of classes, and the greatest equality of attainment between the pupils in each class, and these principles favour large schools rather than numerous schools. Schools affording a higher grade of instruction, and known as academies, sprang up here and there. These were private enterprises, and the commercial aim was to furnish the best educational advantages for the largest number of pupils, at the least expense. The teacher wanted to make as much money as he could, and the parents had in general but little to spend for the education of their sons and daughters. The same economical views made these joint schools; fewer teachers were required. These academies, with the district schools I have before mentioned, met almost the entire educational demand of the rural and village population. A few of the more ambitious boys went from these academies to the Universities, and a few of the girls went to young ladies' boarding-schools; but these were exceptional cases.

There are no men of wealth and leisure living in the country. The soil is owned by the men who work it, and the rich men live in the cities; but in any generation of American men, the large majority of those who lead in commerce, in politics, and in the professions, are the sons of farmers, who in their boyhood worked on the farms, and went to these rural schools in the leisure season, and the wives of these men had for the most part the same rural training. One can readily see from this, that the peculiarities of the rural life, the circumstances that gave these men and women the energy to bring themselves to the front of society, were not likely to stand in disrepute. However, joint education was simply looked upon as one of the necessities of the youthful life of

the nation till about twenty years ago. Men who rose to positions of wealth and honour upon the basis of the education they got in these schools, did not praise joint education, any more than they praised the other natural and frugal habits that attended their rural life. No one had philosophized upon this system. There was no occasion to think of it. It had simply been the most natural means of meeting a great need. In both the district schools and the academies, the boys and girls did just about the same work. They liked to keep together. Now and then a boy went a little further in his mathematics than the girls did ; or he learned more Latin and Greek in preparation for the University. There was no question about difference of capacity or difference of tastes between boys and girls ; there was nothing to suggest it. They liked to do the same things, and the one did as well as the other. Forty years ago, in one of the academies near Boston, a number of girls went along with a set of their schoolboy friends in the entire preparation for Harvard University. The girls knew Mathematics and Greek as well as the boys did, and formed a plan for going to the University with them. We cannot say whether the plan grew out of a keen zest for knowledge, or out of an unwillingness to break off the very pleasant companionship ; probably from both. The girls did not think there could be much objection to admitting them to the University, they thought the reason there were no girls at the universities was, that none had wanted to go, or had been fitted to go. They proposed to live at home, so there would be no difficulty on the score of college residence. However, as their request was new, it occurred to them that a little diplomacy might be required in presenting it, so they deputed the most prudent of the party to do the talking, and imposed strict silence upon the youngest and most impulsive one, from whom we have the story. The girls called upon old President Quincy, told him what they had done in their studies, that they had passed the examinations with the boys, and wished to be admitted to the University.

President Quincy listened to their story, and evinced so much admiration for their work and aims, that they at first felt sure of success. But he seemed slow in coming to the point. He talked of the newness and difficulties of the scheme, and proposed other opportunities of study for them, till at length this youngest one, forgetting, in her impatience, her promise to keep silent, said, "Well, President Quincy, you feel sure the trustees will let us come, don't you?" "Oh, by no means," was the reply, "this is a place only for men." The girl of sixteen burst into tears and exclaimed with vehemence, "I wish I could annihilate the women, and let the men have everything to themselves." This,

so far as we know, was the first effort made by women to get into an American University, but the incident was too trifling to make any impression, and we narrate it only as marking the beginning of the demand for University advantages for women. About the same time, Oberlin College was founded, in northern Ohio. Oberlin grew out of a great practical every-day-life demand. There was a widespread desire, on the part of well-to-do people, for larger educational advantages than the ordinary rural schools provided. They could not afford the expense of the city schools; besides, they wanted their sons and daughters to go on together in their school work. They were unwilling to subject either to the dangers of boarding-school life, without the companionship and guardianship of the other. Oberlin College was founded on the strictest principles of economy. It was located in a rural village in the West, where the habits were simple and the living inexpensive. In the third year of its existence, it had 500 students, and since the first ten years, it has averaged nearly 1200, the proportion of young women varying from one-third to one-half. There was a university course of study for the young men, and a shorter "ladies' course" for the young women, which omitted all the Greek, most of the Latin, and the higher mathematics. It was not anticipated that the young women would desire the extended University course, but so far as the two courses accorded, the instruction was given to the young men and young women in common. But the young women were allowed to attend any of the classes they chose, and at the end of six years, a few of them had prepared themselves for the B.A. examination, and were allowed, upon passing it, to receive the degree. The College authorities did not seem to consider that B.A. and M.A. were especially masculine designations; they regarded them only as marks of scholastic attainments, which belonged equally to men and women when they had reached a certain standard of scholarship. Not many women could stay, or cared to stay, long enough to get these degrees. The "ladies' course" required nearly two years less time, and contained a larger proportion of the subjects that women are expected to know. The number of women who have received the University degrees from Oberlin is still less than 100, making an average of only two or three for each year. Oberlin sent out staunch men and women; wherever these men and women went, it was observed that they worked with will and with effect. The eminent success of Oberlin, led many parents in different parts of the country to desire its advantages for their sons and daughters. But Oberlin was a long way off from New England, and from many other parts of the country; besides, some thought it an uncom-

fortably religious place, and negroes were admitted, and it was altogether very democratic, much more so than many people liked. So parents began to say, Why can we not have other Colleges that shall provide all the advantages of Oberlin, and omit the peculiarities we dislike. Now began the discussion upon the real merits of this economical system of joint education. It had sprung up like an indigenous plant; it had met a necessity remarkably well, and it was only when, its advantages becoming recognised, it began to force itself into the cities, and among people where it was not a necessity, that it evoked any discussion. This was a little more than twenty years ago. People who had observed the working of the joint schools were altogether in favour of them. The wealthier people in the towns and cities who were accustomed to having boys and girls educated apart, preferred that way: they thought that joint education would be a dangerous innovation, and that in the institutions adopting it the girls would lose their modesty and refinement, and the boys would waste their time. Leading educators were divided upon this question; those who were familiar with the joint schools were the most uncompromising advocates of that system; those who had known only the schools where girls and boys were educated apart for the most part preferred separate education where it could be afforded; not all, however, for many had developed the theory of joint education out of an opposite experience. In girls' schools they had felt the want of adequate stimulants for thorough work; they had seen the strong tendency in girls to fit themselves for society rather than for the severer duties of life; they believed that if the girls were associated with boys and young men in their studies, they would not only be better scholars, but that they would remain longer in school, that they would have less eagerness to get out of school into society; and many who were familiar with boys' schools felt the dangers attendant upon the absence of domestic influence, and saw that it might be very largely supplied by the presence of sisters and school-fellows' sisters; they saw, too, that the tendencies to a coarse physical development, which are found in an exclusive society of men, might be counteracted by the presence of women. In short, all who were acquainted with joint education gave it their most unqualified approval; while those who knew only the system of separate education were, for the most part, disposed to favour that, though many of these saw the need of something in girls' schools which the presence of boys would introduce, and something in boys' schools which the presence of girls would supply. The advocates of joint education were valiantly led by Horace Mann, the greatest American edu-

cator, the man who stands with Americans where Dr. Arnold stands in the hearts of English people. About this time Antioch College was founded in southern Ohio, and Mr. Mann was invited to take charge of it. Antioch College meant to provide educational facilities as nearly equal to those found at the best New England Universities as possible, and it was founded avowedly upon the principle that joint education, *per se*, was a good thing; that it was natural, that it was a great advantage to have brothers and sisters in the same school; that girls were both more scholarly and more womanly when associated with boys, and boys were more gentlemanly and more moral when associated with girls; and that both girls and boys come out of joint schools with juster views of life and a larger sense of moral obligation. Other new colleges followed the example of Antioch, and some of the old ones began to open their doors to women. To-day the public schools, the national free schools, in most of the cities of the North, educate boys and girls together. In some of the older cities, particularly Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, the schools have, for the most part, gone on on the original plan of separate schools. The school buildings are not arranged for the accommodation of boys and girls together, and there is still a strong sentiment against the plan, though it is gradually and rapidly giving way. In the Western cities, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis, the boys and girls study together throughout the entire course, that is, till they are ready to go to the Universities, though in St. Louis, and perhaps in the other two cities, there are a few of the grammar schools where they are still apart, the buildings not being arranged for the accommodation of both. This system prevails in the rural schools almost without exception, and almost as generally in the public schools of the towns and cities, with the exceptions we have mentioned; and there are now over thirty Colleges and Universities that offer University degrees to women on the same conditions as to men. On the other hand, there is still a large number of private schools in the towns and cities which are generally either boys' schools or girls' schools. They are for the most part schools established for teaching the children of some particular religious denomination, or for fitting boys for a commercial career, or for giving especial drill for the Universities, or, in the case of girls' schools, for giving especial training for society. But the public schools are rapidly drawing into them the children of the best educated families, for the simple reason that they are the best schools of the country.

The oldest Universities and Colleges still keep their doors shut against women. Harvard, a little more than a year ago, appointed a committee to consider the demand for admission made by women, but their report was adverse. The committee

recognised the success of the system elsewhere, but thought it not wise to attempt the change in Harvard.

Michigan University, a free State University, which stands second to none in educational advantages, except Harvard and Yale, and has double the number of students of either of those, admitted women nearly four years ago ; and Cornell University, which has as good prospects as any in the country, has this year received its first class of women. These schools and Colleges have established beyond question in the minds of American educators, that in acute perception, in the ability to grasp abstruse principles, the feminine mind is in no wise inferior to the masculine. But the question is still open, whether women have the physical strength to endure the continuous mental work requisite for the greatest breadth and completeness of comprehension.

This can be determined only by experiments which shall extend through a long series of years devoted to study. The records at Oberlin indicate that the young women are no more likely to break down in health than the young men are. The records of the city schools do not seem to be quite the same upon this point ; but the same difference appears if the girls are not in school, and hence this failure in health cannot be attributed to the school work, but rather to the more indoor life of the girls. The Oberlin statistics also indicate that the women who have taken the University degrees have not diminished their chances of longevity by this severe work in their youth. Women have less physical strength than men have, but there seems to be in them a tendency to a more economical expenditure of strength.

In regard to the social morality at these schools the results are equally satisfactory ; at the rural schools boys and girls have almost unrestricted companionship ; they have just the same freedom in their home intercourse, but improper or even objectionable conduct is a thing unknown at the schools, and almost equally unknown in the association outside the schools. Brothers and brothers' friends guard the sister, and sisters and their friends guard the brother. In cases where it is necessary for pupils to reside at the school there is more love-making, but it is mostly repressed by want of time ; besides, there are few occasions for meeting except in the presence of the class, and where there is an acquaintance with so many on about equal terms, an especial regard for one is less likely to be formed. The admiration of the boys is quite sure to centre upon the girls who are nearest to the head of the class ; but these girls have not time to return it and keep their position, and to lose their position would be to lose the admiration ; and the same is true for the boys.

It would be surprising to any one who is not familiar with

these schools to observe to what very practical and common-sense principles all these relations are subjected. In this mutual intellectual rivalry the conjectural differences between the sexes and the fancied charms of the one over the other are submitted to very practical tests. A disagreeable boy is not likely to be considered a hero in virtue of his assumed bearing, and physical strength; nor is a silly girl by dint of her coquettish airs, likely to be thought a fairy with magical gifts. Girls know boys as boys know each other; and boys know girls as girls know each other. Hence the subtle charms that evade human logic, find little opportunity to blind and mislead in the constant presence of unmistakeable facts. Our statements on this important point are based on a very extended and thorough acquaintance with the schools and Colleges conducted on the plan in question, and abundant confirmation of these statements is found in all Official Reports and published treatises that review this system, while it is to be observed that no testimony of a contrary character is anywhere to be found. In the published Report for 1871, of Mr. Wm. T. Harris, Superintendent of the Public Schools in St. Louis, Missouri, we find a condensed summary of the results of the system of joint education, as they have developed themselves under his observation and direction. Mr. Harris says:—

“Within the last fifteen years the schools of St. Louis have been remodelled upon the plan of the joint education of the sexes, and the results have proved so admirable that a few remarks may be ventured on the experience which they furnish.

“I. Economy has been secured, for unless pupils of widely different attainments are brought together in the same classes, the separation of the boys and girls requires a great increase in the number of teachers.

“II. Discipline has improved continually by the adoption of joint schools. Our change in St. Louis has been so gradual that we have been able to weigh with great exactness every point of comparison between the two systems. The joining of the male and female departments of a school has always been followed by an improvement in discipline, not merely on the part of the boys, but with the girls as well. The rudeness and *abandon* which prevail among boys when separate at once gives place to self-restraint in the presence of girls, and the sentimentality engendered in girls when educated apart from boys disappears in these joint schools, and in its place there comes a dignified self-possession. The few schools that have given examples of efforts to secure clandestine association are those few where there are as yet only girls.

“III. The quality of instruction is improved. Where the boys and girls are separate, methods of instruction tend to extremes that may be called masculine and feminine. Each needs the other as a counter check. We find in these joint schools a prevalent healthy

tone, which our schools on the separate system lack. More rapid progress is the consequence.

"IV. The development of individual character is, as already indicated, far more sound and healthy. It has been found that schools composed exclusively of girls or boys require a much more strict surveillance on the part of the teachers. Confined by themselves, and shut off from intercourse with society in its normal form, morbid fancies and interests are developed, which this daily association in the class-room prevents. Here boys and girls test themselves with each other on an intellectual plane. Each sees the strength and weakness of the other, and learns to esteem those qualities that are of true value. Sudden likings, capricious fancies, and romantic ideals give way to sober judgment not easily deceived by mere externals. This is the basis of the dignified self-possession before alluded to, and it forms a striking point of contrast between the girls and boys educated in joint schools and those educated in schools exclusively for one sex. Our experience in St. Louis has been entirely in favour of the joint education of the sexes in all the respects mentioned, and in many minor ones."

We give Mr. Harris's statement as representative of the sentiment of those who are engaged in Public School instruction in America. As mentioned before, in some of the older cities, where the Public Schools were earliest organized, this system has been accepted as yet only partially, and the teachers who are only familiar with the separate system generally prefer it. But a very large proportion of the Public Schools of the country are joint Schools, and a still larger proportion of the instructors and managers of Public Schools favour the system of joint education. Mr. Harris's testimony applies to city schools when the pupils reside at home. We now quote from another authority, additionally valuable, inasmuch as it represents the results of this system of education upon young men and women, who reside at the school and away from the guardianship of parents.

In 1868 a meeting was called of all the College presidents of the country, to discuss questions relating to College discipline and instruction. As Oberlin was the oldest College that had adopted the system of joint instruction, a strong desire was felt to secure a critical and comprehensive statement of the results of the system there. Dr. Fairchild, the present President of Oberlin, was deputed to make the report. Dr. Fairchild had at that time been connected with Oberlin seven years as a student and twenty-five years as professor. He has long had the reputation of being the most accomplished scholar and acute thinker among the Oberlin professors. His statements may be accepted as absolute in point of fact, and as wholly representative of the opinion of those who have conducted the instruction and discipline of Oberlin. But the chief reason for selecting this out of the

accumulated published testimony is that it seems to be the best digest of the subject that we have seen.

On the point of economy Dr. Fairchild says :—

“1st. In the higher departments of instruction, where the chief expense is involved, the expense is no greater on account of the presence of the ladies.

“2nd. Convenience to the patrons of the school :—It is a matter of interest to notice the number of cases where a brother is followed by a sister, or a sister by a brother. This is an interesting and prominent feature in our work. Each is safer in the presence of the other.

“3rd. The wholesome incitements to study the system affords :—The social influence arising from the constitution of our classes operates continuously and upon all. Each desires for himself the best standing he is capable of, and there is no lack of motive to exertion. It will be observed, too, that the stimulus is of the same kind as will operate in after life. The young man going out into the world does not leave behind him the forces that have helped him on : they are the ordinary forces of society.

“4th. The tendency to good order that we find in the system :—The ease with which the discipline of so large a school is conducted has not ceased to be a matter of wonder to ourselves. More than a thousand students are gathered from every State in the Union, from every class in society, of every grade of culture, the great mass of them bent on improvement, but numbers are sent by anxious friends with the hope that they may be saved or reclaimed from wayward tendencies, yet the disorders incident to such gatherings are essentially unknown among us. Our streets are as quiet by day and by night as in any other country-town. This result we attribute greatly to the wholesome influence of the system of joint education. College tricks lose their attractiveness in a community thus constituted ; they scarcely appear among us. We have had no difficulty in reference to the conduct and manners in the College dining-hall. There is an entire absence of the irregularities and roughness often complained of in the College commons.

“5th. Another manifest advantage is the relation of the school to the community. A cordial feeling of goodwill, and the absence of that antagonism between town and college which in general belongs to the history of universities and colleges. The constitution of the school is so similar to that of the community that any conflict is unnatural ; the usual provocation seems to be wanting.

“6th. It can hardly be doubted that people educated under such conditions are kept in harmony with society at large, and are prepared to appreciate the responsibilities of life, and to enter upon its work. If we are not utterly deceived in our position, our students naturally and readily find their position in the world, because they have been trained in sympathy with the world. These are among the advantages of the system that have forced themselves upon our attention. The list might be extended and expanded, but you will wish especially

to know whether we have not encountered disadvantages and difficulties which more than counterbalance these advantages.

"As to the question whether young ladies have the mental vigour and physical health to maintain a fair standing in a class with young men, I must say where there has been the same preparatory training, we find no difference in ability to maintain themselves in the class room and at the examinations. The strong and the weak scholars are equally distributed between the sexes.

"Whether ladies need a course of study especially adapted to their nature and prospective work:—The theory of our school has never been that men and women are alike in mental constitution, or that they naturally and properly occupy the same position in their work of life. The education furnished is general, not professional—designed to fit men and women for any position or work to which they may properly be called. The womanly nature will appropriate the material to its own necessities under its own laws. Young men and women sit at the same table, and partake of the same food; and we have no apprehension that the vital forces will fail to elaborate from the common material the osseous, fibrous, and nervous tissues adapted to each frame and constitution. Apprehension is felt that character will deteriorate on the one side or the other, that young men will become frivolous or effeminate, and young women coarse and masculine. That young men should lose their manly attributes and character from proper association with cultivated young women, is antecedently improbable, and false in fact. It is the natural atmosphere for the development of the higher qualities of manhood, magnanimity, generosity, true chivalry, and earnestness. The animal man is kept subordinate in the prevalence of these higher qualities. We have found it the surest way to make men of boys, and gentlemen of rowdies.

"On the other hand, will not the young woman pursuing her studies with young men, take on their manners and aspirations and aims, and be turned aside from the true ideal of womanly life and character? The thing is scarcely conceivable. The natural response of woman to the exhibition of manly traits is in the correlative qualities of gentleness, delicacy, and grace. It might better be questioned whether the finer shadings of woman's character can be developed without this natural stimulus. But it is my duty not to reason, but to speak from the limited historical view assigned me.

"You wish to know whether the result with us has been a large accession to the number of coarse, strong-minded women, in the disagreeable sense of the word, and I say without hesitation, that I do not know a single instance of such a product as the result of our system of education.

"Is there not danger that young men and young women thus brought together in the critical period of life, when the distinctive social tendencies act with greatest intensity, will fail of the necessary regulative force, and fall into undesirable and unprofitable relations? Will not such association result in weak and foolish love affairs? It

is not strange that such apprehension is felt, nor would it be easy to give an *à priori* answer to such difficulties, but if we may judge from our experience the difficulties are without foundation. The danger in this direction results from excited imagination, from the glowing exaggerations of youthful fancy, and the best remedy is to displace these fancies by every-day facts and realities.

"The young man, shut out from the society of ladies, with the help of the high-wrought representations of life which poets and novelists afford, with only a distant vision of the reality, is the one who is in danger. The women whom he sees are glorified by his fancy, and are wrought into his day-dreams and night-dreams as beings of supernatural loveliness. It would be different if he met them day by day in the class-room in a common encounter with a mathematical problem, or at a table sharing in the common want of bread-and-butter. There is still room for the fancy to work, but the materials for the picture are more reliable and enduring. Such association does not take all the romance out of life, but it gives as favourable conditions for sensible views and actions upon these delicate questions as can be afforded to human nature.

"But is this method adapted to schools in general, or is the success attained at Oberlin due to peculiar features of the place, which can rarely be found or reproduced elsewhere, and can it be introduced into men's colleges with their traditional customs and habits of action and thought? Might not the changes required occasion difficulty at the outset and peril the experiment? On this point I have no experience, but I have such confidence in the inherent vitality and adaptability of the system, that I should be entirely willing to see it subjected to this test."

Dr. Fairchild's statement thus fully corroborates our own, and that of Mr. Harris.

He also agrees with us that the grade of scholarship of the young men is in no wise lowered by this joint work, but on the contrary that the average is higher. To be definite upon this point, it has seemed to us that those marvellous feats of scholarship that sometimes occur in boys' schools, are not so likely to occur in a joint school, where a little more of the domestic and social element is found. On the other hand, from a long and close observation we feel justified in saying the average scholarship is higher. There is a more general stimulus for good scholarship. The standard of respectability is somewhat different from what it is in a school exclusively for boys. A boy may secure the respect of his boy associates by being an adept on the play-ground, or generally a good fellow, but as he is known to the girls only through his class work, he feels more especially bound to make this creditable. It would be easy to accumulate authority upon these points, but the opinions we have given are those held by the very large majority of the educators of the country.

In this system of joint education, the difficulty of getting funds to establish schools scarcely appears as an obstacle to the higher education of women. It requires so little more to educate girls along with boys than it does to educate boys alone, and the lack of the masculine incentives to study is very largely supplied to the girls by class rivalry. The girls like to remain at school, and they like to do as much work and as good work as the boys do; and the boys are equally eager to keep the companionship of the girls, and to keep up the competition in all the departments of the work. There is a mutual rivalry which both enjoy, and the girls work with zest, without thinking whether there is to be any reward beyond the simple enjoyment of their work, without considering whether it will ever bring them any further returns.

When Dr. Fairchild says he does not know a single instance in which a coarse strong-minded woman, in the disagreeable sense, has been the product of their system of education, it must not be understood that there have been no women of that type at Oberlin, for there have been, and Oberlin has done much to soften and refine them; but it could not wholly change their natures and previously acquired habits. Upon this point there is a pernicious popular delusion.

It is not association with men that develops this type of character. The reverse of this is the case, as Dr. Fairchild has indicated. It is true that many highly intellectual and highly educated women have been peculiar, have developed peculiarities or idiosyncrasies of character or habit, which lessened their companionable and womanly attractiveness; but these women have generally worked by themselves, away from society, apart from the companionship of men. Joint schools are the most complete corrective of these tendencies. Whatever elevates women in the eyes of men they are disposed to cultivate in the presence of men, and whatever elevates men in the eyes of women they cultivate in the presence of women. There is little danger of careless toilet with young women who are constantly meeting young men; little danger of angular movement, of unamiable sharpness, of egotism, and pronounced self-assertion.

The disagreeable women, the women contemptuously called strong-minded, are women who have not known a genial social atmosphere. Crotchety men and crotchety women are the product of isolation from society. The attractive women, the women who seem to have a genius for womanliness, are the women who have been much in the society of men, women at Court, women in political and diplomatic circles, women who are familiar with the thought and experience of men, women who talk with men and work with men.

Social intercourse at these joint schools is not, of course, left to chance. Girls and boys need and get as careful attention at school as in their own homes. Usually they enter and leave the school building by different doors, and indeed meet only when they are receiving instruction from the teachers, where they occupy separate forms on different sides of the room. Among the older pupils, at all times, except at the lecture hours, the girls usually have their own rooms and the boys theirs, and no communication between them is possible, except as the teachers choose to grant permission, which is not asked without explaining the occasion. The boys do not appear to care very much to talk to the girls, at least they would not be willing to have it seen that they did. At the boarding-schools the young men and young women usually have their private apartments in different buildings, but meet in a common dining-hall in the building occupied by the young women. Here they arrange themselves as they like, the size of the company and the presence of teachers being quite sufficient to exclude objectionable manners. At the times allowed for recreation the arrangements are such as to preclude for the most part opportunities for young men and young women to meet, though there are very frequent receptions at the homes of the professors or at the general parlours, when they meet as they would at any ordinary social party. At a few of the smaller boarding-schools much more freedom of intercourse has been allowed, and with very admirable results; but this requires great wisdom and care on the part of the teachers, more than they are generally able to give in a large school. Where the pupils live at home no very especial care is required on the part of the teachers, further than would under any circumstances be necessary to secure general good order.

This system of education develops self-reliance and a sense of responsibility to such a degree that, as quoted from Dr. Fairchild, it is a constant surprise to see how little direction they need.

Michigan University has already been mentioned as the best institution that has as yet opened its doors to women. This was done four years ago. For ten years the question had been pending before the trustees. At the outset a letter was addressed to Horace Mann asking for minute information concerning the working of Antioch, and seeking counsel in reference to the advisability of attempting the same plan at the Michigan University. Mr. Mann replied, that though he was an ardent advocate of joint education, and was satisfied with the results achieved at Antioch, he should be afraid to attempt the plan in a large town where college residence was not required. This letter settled the matter for the time. The trustees said, "We

cannot endanger the morality of our students and the reputation of our institution to accommodate the few women who wish to come. We give them our sympathy, but can at present do nothing more." But every now and then with the change of trustees the question was revived. The men of this new rich State felt ashamed to do so much less for their daughters than for their sons, and they were particularly sensitive to the argument that the privileges of the institution could be extended to the young women with almost no increase in the expenses. Four years ago the opposition found itself in the minority, and a resolution was passed admitting women to all the classes of the University. The dangers Horace Mann feared have not come, and in all probability will not come.

Even the young men who, in anticipation, dreaded an invasion of women into their realm of free and easy habits, now unite in the most cordial approval of the plan. They find a genial element added to their college life in place of a chafing restraint. The first year only one woman came into the Arts classes. This bold venturer was the daughter of a deceased professor, by whom she had been trained up to a point a good deal in advance of the requisites for entrance. This enabled her to step at once into the front rank of the class of two hundred young men, who had been in the University a year before her. No sooner was she there than the dread and anticipated restraint on the part of the young men were forgotten, and the most chivalric feeling sprang up in its place. For a whole year Miss Stockwell was alone in the Arts classes among seven or eight hundred young men, yet nothing ever occurred to make her feel in the slightest degree uncomfortable. She took her B.A. degree in the summer of '72 as the first Greek scholar in the University. There are now a hundred women or more in the various departments of the University. The professor of civil engineering has been in the habit of giving to his class each year a particular mathematical problem as a test of their ability. Not once during fifteen years had any member of the class solved it, though the professor states that during that time he has propounded it to fifteen hundred young men. Last year, as usual, the old problem was again presented to the class. A Miss White alone of all the class brought in the solution. The best student in the law school last year was a woman.

Many stories could be related of the successes of women in these joint schools; but it would not be safe to conclude from these accounts that the young women in America are superior to the young men, for, as would naturally be supposed, the few women who at present avail themselves of University training, in opposition to the popular prejudice, are for the most part above

the average of the women of the country. It is safe to say however, that girls are a little more likely to lead the classes in the schools than boys are. They are, perhaps, a little more conscientious in doing the work assigned them, and have a little more school ambition. We quote the following from the Annual Report of the Michigan University for the year ending July, 1872:—

“In the medical department the women receive instruction by themselves; in the other departments all instruction is given to both sexes in common. It is manifestly not wise to leap to hasty generalizations from our short experience in furnishing education to both sexes in our University. But I think all who have been familiar with the inner life of the University for the past three years, will admit that thus far no reason for doubting the wisdom of the action of the trustees in opening the University to women has appeared. Hardly one of the many embarrassments which some have feared have confronted us. The young women have addressed themselves to their work with great zeal, and have shown themselves quite capable of meeting the demands of severe studies as successfully as their classmates of the other sex. Their work, so far, does not evince less variety of aptitude, or less power of grappling even with the higher mathematics, than we find in the young men. They receive no favour, and desire none. They are subjected to precisely the same tests as the men. Nor does their work seem to put a dangerous strain upon their physical powers. Their absences by reason of illness do not proportionally exceed those of the men. Their presence has not called for the enactment of a single new law, nor for the slightest change in our methods of government or grade of work. If we are asked still to regard the reception of women into our classes as an experiment, it must certainly be deemed a most hopeful experiment. The numerous inquiries that have been sent to us from various parts of this country, and even from England, concerning the results of their admission to the University show that a profound and widespread interest in the subject has been awakened.”

It is a common statement among the advocates of joint education that they have never known any one who has spent a few days at one of these colleges who has not become a convert to the scheme.

There is in America a strong and constantly growing conviction, that the best plan for educating both boys and girls is for them to reside at home and attend day schools; that this avoids the defects attendant upon the system of governesses and tutors, and also the dangers that are inherent in the congregated life of boarding schools; and as American families seldom leave home for, at most, more than a few weeks in midsummer, this plan is easily carried out. In accordance with this conviction, the citizens of Boston have recently erected and endowed a large University [Vol. C. No. CXCVIII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XLIV. No. II. Z

in the centre of their city, although the time-honoured Harvard stands scarcely two miles beyond their precincts. The Boston University, which starts with larger available funds than those of Harvard, will be opened this autumn, and as a second step in the direction of the popular educational sentiment, the trustees have decided to offer its advantages and honours to young women on the same conditions as to young men.

There is evidently a disposition in America to open all lines of study to women, and a few women have entered each of the three learned professions, but the time is too short and the number too small for us to be able as yet to generalize upon the fitness of women for professions, or their inclination to choose them. As most American women marry, there is not that redundancy of women to trouble and puzzle the advocates of domesticity that there is here; and as fortunes are more easily made, men are not timid in incurring domestic responsibilities and as a consequence of this the industrial occupations that women seek, other than domestic, are for the most part expected to be only temporary, and are such as may be entered upon without much especial professional training, and may be given up without involving much sacrifice of previous study or discipline, and the chief industrial advantage that American women have over the women in European countries is in teaching. In the public schools of St. Louis there are forty men teachers, and over four hundred women teachers. Only about one-twelfth of the whole number are men. And this would be about the general average for the cities of the North. The primary schools are taught exclusively by women, and most of the grammar schools have only a man at the head of them, and in the high schools there is about an equal number of men and women.

In two of the most successful grammar schools in St. Louis there are only women teachers. Recent experiments in placing women at the head of several of the grammar schools in Cleveland, Ohio, give still stronger confirmation of the marked governing power of women as contrasted with men.

Women teachers have been employed in the schools in preference to men as a matter of economy, but it is now pretty well settled that, with equal experience and scholarly attainments, women teach better than men do, and that they manage the pupils with more tact—that is, they succeed in getting from the pupils what they want with more ease and less disturbance of temper. When women do precisely the same work as men in teaching they get less pay. Wages have followed the law of supply and demand. The guardians of the public school treasuries have generally not felt at liberty to offer more than the regular market prices for work; but the more enlightened public

feeling is beginning to make a change in this respect. A few women are now paid men's wages—are paid what they ought to have rather than what they could command in an open market. Teaching in America is for the most part a temporary occupation; it is chiefly done by young people between the ages of eighteen and thirty, who have no intention of making it a profession. The women marry, and the men enter other occupations. How much the schools lose by the immaturity and inexperience of the teachers, it is difficult to estimate accurately; but that they gain much by the freshness and enthusiasm of young minds is sufficiently attested by the facts connected with the tutorial system in the English Universities.

The experience in teaching is considered very valuable for young women, and many young women who have no need to earn money, teach for a few years after leaving school, sometimes from their own choice, but much oftener from the choice of their parents, who wish to supplement their daughters' education with the more varied discipline that teaching affords.

The teaching of women is encouraged from four considerations:—1. According to the present arrangement of wages it is economical. 2. Women seem to have an especial natural aptitude for the work as compared with men. 3. The general welfare of society demands that wage-giving industries shall be provided for women. 4. Of all the employments offered to women, teaching seems the best suited to fit them for domestic life, the life that lies before the most of them, and so positive are its claims in this direction, that it is being sought as an employment with that simple end in view.

A few years of teaching forms so prominent a feature in the education of leading American women, that it is impossible to omit it in any general consideration of this subject.

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ART. IV.—THE APOCALYPSE.

L'Antichrist. Par ERNEST RENAN. Paris: Michel Lévy, 1873.

THE course of M. Renan's great serial, "On the Origin of Christianity," has brought him face to face with a book in some respects the most interesting of all those which make up the New Testament. There are few books in the world with a history so strange as that of the Apocalypse. Its claims to a place in the Canon are superior to those of almost any other production that can be named, and yet there is no portion of the sacred writings around which such a cloud of suspicion has gathered at various times. From another point of view the fate of this extraordinary work and the influence which it has exercised upon humanity deserve attention. There is no strong ground for doubting that it was written by the favourite disciple of Jesus; it was certainly written by some one who might have seen, and perhaps had seen, the Master. It presents itself to us as one of the undoubted first-fruits of the great revelation and religion of love. Yet its sublimity in parts being fully accorded, it is difficult to point to any function which it has fulfilled in the modern world beyond that of stimulating the hatred of rival churches, and furnishing one-half of Christendom with ugly names—"the Beast," "the False Prophet," "the Great Harlot"—to throw at the other half; and we may add, that of causing the most lamentable waste of time in fruitless attempts to solve its enigmas.

If the Apocalypse be not referred to, as Sir Isaac Newton conjectured, in certain passages in St. Peter and the epistle to the Hebrews, or as supposed with more reason by Mr. Tayler,* in Clement's "First Epistle to the Corinthians" (a work generally assigned to the close of the first century), and setting aside some second-hand citations from Papias and others, we find the book distinctly mentioned as the production of the apostle John by Justin Martyr. Irenæus, Tertullian, and other fathers furnish similar testimony, and not to go over well-trodden ground, it is certain that there was a general consensus in favour of its authenticity and inspiration down to the middle of the third century.

* Tayler, "the Fourth Gospel," p. 30, who compares Clem. I. Cor. xxxiv. with Rev. xxii. 12. There is, however, as he justly observes, a remoter reference in both writers to the LXX. Isaiah xl. 10 and lxii. 11.

Only one obscure sect, the Alogi, appear to have rejected it, and the facts of its not being included in the Peshito version and of there being an equivocal reference to it in the fragment of Muratori, are points which have been so fully and ably discussed that we may be permitted to refer to the result of these discussions which, in the words of Mr. Tayler, has been to leave matters "in a neutral position." It was not till the third century that doubts in reference to the Apocalypse appear to have been clearly formulated, and these doubts, expressed by Dionysius of Alexandria, seem to have referred rather to its authorship than to its inspiration. Dionysius's objections were of a critical kind, but the growing dislike to the Chiliastic doctrines seems to have thrown a slight shade over the book. The alliance of the State with the Church, in the fourth century, being a very inconvenient fact for former interpretations, naturally tended for a time still further to its discredit. Eusebius speaks of it with considerable uncertainty, and according to Jerome doubts were entertained with respect to it in the Greek churches. These doubts, exhibited in its rejection at the first council of Laodicea, have existed in the Eastern churches down to a comparatively recent period; but as regards the Western churches, they were practically settled together with what is called the settlement of the Canon. Only feeble echoes of them are to be heard from time to time, till they were revived by Erasmus, Luther, and others at the epoch of the Reformation.

It is not, however, of the authorship of the Apocalypse—a matter which is open to discussion—nor, just now, of its date, which seems tolerably clear from internal evidence, nor, of course, of its alleged inspiration that we propose to speak. Our principal business is with its meaning. "What is the use of this book, with its talk about seven angels and seven trumpets?" asked the Alogi; and, in view of the various and conflicting interpretations which have been put upon it, we are fairly entitled to ask the same question in the present day. How was it understood, say in the second century? Evidently as an inspired vision or prophecy, corresponding in certain broad features with the Christian anticipations and aspirations of the epoch, while as to a great portion of the details, the imagery and symbols, no doubt every man interpreted them, as Papias says folks interpreted the λόγια of Matthew, "each one as he was able." That the great persecuting power, Rome, the beast, should engage in a final struggle with the lamb, and be overcome; that Christ should reign on earth for a thousand years; that there should be a general resurrection and a new state of things, are to Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Hippolytus, propositions which admit of no doubt, and for confirmation of which they appeal to the revela-

tion of St. John. The main scope, the leading characters, of the sublime rhapsody are plain to them as to us; with regard to the subordinates, the underplots, the shifting scenes, we may be permitted to judge from the stray indications which have reached us that they were as much in the dark as we are ourselves. And this, not only with regard to the figures which were projected by the magic lantern into the future—the vials and the trumpets and the unclean spirits, like frogs, and the locusts with crowns of gold, and the witnesses—Enoch, Moses, Elijah, Elisha, Jeremiah, are all cited as names of the two witnesses—but also with respect to the *dramatis personæ* and accompaniments of what may be termed the prelude. We may be sure that no one had a distinct notion, or rather that every one had his own distinct notion as to what was intended by the four-and-twenty elders, and the beasts round the throne, and the rainbow that encircled it. The earliest regular commentary on the book which has come down to us is that of Victorinus, Bishop of Petau, at the beginning of the fourth century. The worthy Victorinus proceeds to deal with it as more than a century before some of the earlier fathers had dealt with certain books of the Old Testament. Just as to them, and, we may add, to some writers of the present day, every personage and every incident is a type to be clearly discerned, so to him every piece of description is a symbol about the interpretation of which he feels no doubt. Fifteen centuries have worked but little change in theologians, and the method of Victorinus, Bishop of Petau, is essentially the same as that of Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester. The paps of Christ are the two testaments, and the golden girdle with which he is girt is the choir of saints, as gold tried in the fire. The resemblance to a jasper and a sardine stone of him that sat upon the throne denote the judgments of God upon the earth in the shape of a deluge of water and the final conflagration. The harps in the hands of the elders, and (we fear we must say) the paws of the four beasts, being chords stretched on wooden frames, are symbolical of the flesh of Christ nailed to the cross. He gives us several interpretations of the number of the beast. From the time of Victorinus to the present day heaven knows how many heads have been addled in the fruitless attempt to solve the enigmas of the Apocalypse, in the effort to give to what we believe to be in many cases “airy nothings,” “a local habitation and a name,” without the result being poetry, or indeed anything very different from unmitigated nonsense. When we are confronted by such names as those of the Venerable Bede, Joachim Abbas, Bullinger, Mede, Bossuet, Sir Isaac Newton, Whiston, among expositors, we are painfully reminded of the hold which anything in the shape of a mystery will take on the

fancy of even the strongest men. With regard to those productions, "enormous tomes by learned men," of which we believe no fewer than eighty of considerable literary merit have been enumerated, we will only permit ourselves an observation or two in this place, and we do hope that they may be of a character to induce hesitation in the mind of any reader who may feel a temptation to indulge in similar laborious trifling. The only possible advantage that we can conceive as likely to accrue to a human being from apocalyptic researches is that they may be the means of inducing him to refresh his mind about history, and so increase his knowledge, as the prince in the fable had his health improved by the process of digging for a treasure which had no existence.

The first observation we would make is, that these learned expositors are at hopeless variance with each other from the very outset. They are unable to agree about the meaning of symbols which one would think ought by this time to have received an acknowledged interpretation. If prophetic, they symbolize what must now be past events, or periods—what at any rate are admitted by all these commentators to be such. Take the very beginning of the so-called prophetic portion, the first seals. If these seals contain a prophecy of events shortly afterwards to happen, then we in the nineteenth century should know what they were. If every one gives a different account of them, if that is to say they may be read in almost any way, and receive every conceivable application, then, in the name of common sense, are we not entitled to deny their claim to rank as fulfilled prophecy, and to seek some other solution? Thus, for instance, in Victorinus, the man on the white horse, of the first seal, is Christ; with his bow he sends forth arrows to reach the human heart; the crown on his head is that promised to preachers by the Holy Spirit. Here we have the triumph of the Church indicated. The seals following are wars, pestilences, famines. In Berengaud, an expositor of the ninth century, these seals cease to be prophetic; the white horse of the first seal means the righteous before the Flood, the red horse of the second seal means the righteous from the Flood to the Law; the black horse of the third seal means the Doctors of the Law till the rise of the Prophets. In Anselm, Bishop of Havilburg in the twelfth century, the white horse is the first state of the Church, the red horse its next state—red with the blood of martyrs from Stephen to the time of Diocletian; the black horse is the third state of the Church, blackened after Constantine's time with heresies. In Joachim Abbas, the white horse is still the primitive Church, and the black horse gets a more definite name. He is the "Arian Clergy." The red horse is the Roman army, and his rider the

devil. In Luther the white horse means "the persecutions of tyrants;" in his contemporary, Bullinger, he figures as "the triumphant progress of the gospel," while in the latter the second seal relates to the Gothic and Saracenic desolations, and the third to famines, including that of 1529. In Foxe the martyrologist, the four first seals are the four great empires of the world, the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman. In Mede the first seal is the gospel victorious; the second, the wars of Trajan and Hadrian; the third relates to the reigns of the two Severi; the fourth to the famines and troubles under Gallienus. In Sir Isaac Newton the four seals are periods in the Roman Empire. In Whiston the first seal means Christ triumphing in Vespasian and Titus's overthrow of Jerusalem. In Dr. Keith the four seals represent Christianity, Mahomedanism, Popery, and Infidelity. Such is a brief sketch of some of the solutions given to the opening sentences of the prophecy, and the whole of the rest of it—trumpets and vials and frogs and witnesses—has been variously manipulated in a similar fashion; not to speak of the heads of the beast, which like those of a toy familiar to our childhood, may be fitted on to any number of bodies. Those who, with a view of informing themselves or others on the subject of human delusions, may require more copious details, will find them in the two hundred and seventy closely printed pages which Mr. Elliott has styled "A Brief Sketch of the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation." We will conclude by noticing the interpretation which is put by Mr. Elliott himself, whose work in four volumes is now considered by the Low Church party as the standard apocalyptic commentary, on the first seal. He supposes the rider on the white horse to designate the five good Emperors from Nerva to Marcus Antoninus inclusive. The bow is a Cretan emblem, and to establish the interpretation, an obscure passage is fished up from Aurelius Victor to the effect that the ancestors of Nerva were originally from Crete.* This learned commentary is precisely one of those works which if taken up by the philosopher in what Mr. Carlyle styles one of his "atrabiliar moods," might well make him despair of humanity. That it, or something like it, should have been elaborated by a mediæval monk in a secluded monastery would seem natural and intelligible. But that an able man, in the full light of the nineteenth century, should have devoted the best years of his life to its production is a portent more marvellous

* The real reading in Aur. Vict. is *Narniensi*, i.e., from Narnia, in Umbria, not *Cretensi*; so that the whole of Mr. Elliott's scheme falls to the ground. Mr. Elliott himself actually does not seem to be aware of the existence of the true reading.

and certainly more instructive than the beasts and other phenomena of which it treats. We have read that a distinguished American professor constructed an ingenious machine for the purpose of registering the rappings of "spirits." Mr. Elliott's learning and the American's genius have been devoted to purposes of equal utility.

In the next place, it is clear that all these commentaries have borne and always will bear the impress of the age which produced them; and that as the world goes on, fresh events will occur for which room will have to be made at the expense of former solutions. Just as in the nineteenth century the beast is no longer Genseric, so we may be sure that in the twenty-ninth century, the vials will be no longer the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon I. The process which goes on is like that which we suppose is adopted in Madame Tussaud's waxwork exhibition, where the introduction of fresh characters necessitates the melting down every now and then of a group which has ceased to interest the eye of contemporaries. Or, as we have seen it somewhat pathetically stated in a Peerage, that the younger sons of royal families continually sink in relative rank the longer they live, by the birth of more direct heirs to the throne who take precedence of them, so Decius, and Diocletian, and Alaric, and Attila, and Genseric, and a host of others have, one after another, sunk in relative importance on the prophetic scroll owing to the appearance of more recent celebrities. This is what commentators never take the least account of, invariably filling in the events down to their own time, and putting the great wars and catastrophes of their age in the foreground, while scarcely any space is left for the future. The establishment of the Church under Constantine, the Reformation, '89, and the wars of Napoleon, were all of them so many events which revolutionized the then existing interpretations of the Apocalypse; and occurrences now unknown and undreamt of will play similar havoc with Bishop Wordsworth and Mr. Elliott. If ever there was a case of building on the sand, this is one; and we have it on the highest authority that it is not the part of a wise man to build on the sand.

Another point to be seriously considered is, that no tangible benefit has ever occurred to mankind from such expositions of these prophecies as we have been hitherto favoured with; to say nothing in this place of, what has been already glanced at, the harm which they have done. And we think that, on the supposition of their being inspired, the wisest course would be to confess reverently that they are at present insoluble. A definite prediction of an event about which there could be no mistake, would be quite a different matter. Thus (admitting

the truth of the whole story) when Jonah foretold the destruction of Nineveh in forty days, his message certainly deserved attention. It might have been wise to preach sermons about it, and to issue tracts and pamphlets, if the age had permitted such expedients being adopted, with the view of arousing the careless. But if Jonah had walked about giving vent in the sublimest poetry to the most unintelligible images, talking of seals and vials, then we think that the inhabitants of Nineveh would have been as unprofitably employed in discussing these enigmas as at a later period were the Greeks in disputing in their market places over the Homocousion and the Homoioucion. It may of course be alleged that the Apocalypse has acted, in Protestant communities, as a warning against Popery. We have so great a dislike to Roman Catholicism that we should be inclined, at first sight, to view with favour any machinery for checking its advances; but we must say that a person who is prevented from going over to Rome only by meditating on the number of the beast, appears to us to be in a condition of mind not at all superior to that engendered by Romish influences. Not only has no moral good accrued from these exercises, but no commentator has ever been able to predict clearly to us any future event by the help of the prophecies which he has interpreted. Some of the explanations given of the imagery are clear and precise enough, but they have the misfortune to appear after the events to which they are supposed to refer, and which they are made to fit in the most ridiculous fashion. Thus Dr. Keith, whom Mr. Elliott follows, identifies the pouring out of the second vial upon the sea with the defeats of the Spanish, Dutch, and French fleets in the revolutionary war. "The whole naval glory of Britain," he says, "is emphatically written in a verse, *The sea became as the blood of a dead man!*" The pouring out of the third vial on the "rivers and fountains of waters" means Napoleon's campaigns on the Adige, Po, &c. "Power to scorch men with fire," means, with both of these expositors, "the artillery used by the French Emperor beyond all former example"—this artillery, by the way, as compared to that used in the late Franco-German war, to say nothing of the probable inventions of the future, consisting of so many pop-guns. The above extracts, we must notice, would serve at once to indicate to any one who should light upon them two thousand years hence, the country and the age of the commentators. In their schemes the whole of the vials relate to a few years of what may be called their own epoch, while the rest of the prophecy is spread over the preceding eighteen centuries, thus illustrating a remark which we made a short time ago. But while in all these commentators we have plenty of this kind of interpretation adapted to the great historical landmarks and characters of each

succeeding age, nowhere, we repeat, can we find a trace of the utterance of a distinct prediction drawn from the *Apocalypse*. We can call to mind but one apparent exception, in a book as far as we know not mentioned by Mr. Elliott in his "Sketch"—Fleming, on the Rise and Fall of the Papacy. In this work, published in the year 1701, it is announced that the French monarchy will most probably be humbled "about the year 1794, and a great shock to the Papacy is predicted for the year 1848. But an examination of the former of these two statements will show that what was intended by the writer was the exact opposite of what happened. He anticipated a humbling of the power of the French nation (this is what he means by monarchy)* at the date specified; whereas it marks the commencement of the era of France's greatest aggrandizement. The second is a much better guess. It is founded on a computation of the 1260 years from the Pope's assumption of supremacy. As to this we must say that so many shots have been fired in this direction, it would be strange indeed if some one of them did not hit a mark of some kind.† And this passage of Fleming too, when carefully looked at, does not correspond with the event.

Leaving these examples of a perverted ingenuity, we must now consider briefly, with the help of M. Renan, what it is that the author means in those passages of his work where he may be credited with a definite meaning. We use this expression, because it is clear that some portions of the book are avowedly prophetic, and that a variety of images of a kind not uncommon in apocalyptic literature are introduced with a necessary vagueness which does not admit of close interpretation. A Jewish Christian of the first century, prophesying future conflicts and calamities in a style founded on that of the Books of Daniel, and Esdras, and Enoch, would naturally charge his canvas with monsters, evil spirits, thunders, darkness, fire, blood, and vials. To ask what is meant in every such case is like asking what real scenes correspond to some of Martin's pictures, or what is the precise sense of some of the allegories in the second part of *Faust*. Still it is evident that the writer in certain places has his eye fixed upon contemporary events.

* This results clearly from the context, and is unmistakably confirmed by what shortly follows: "The French monarchy, after it has scorched others, will itself consume by doing so; its fire, and that which is the fuel that maintains it, wasting insensibly till it be exhausted at last towards the end of this century; as the Spanish monarchy did before, towards the end of the sixteenth age."

† Another writer, Lovett, in a work now forgotten, and, we believe, not mentioned by Mr. Elliott, fixes upon 1843 as the end of the 1260 years.

A word here as to the external testimony to the date. That given in the margins of our Bibles is A.D. 96, and this is the period fixed upon by almost all orthodox commentators. Dean Alford, the most recent, and one of the most conscientious of our English New Testament critics, thus expresses himself:—"We have a constant and unswerving primitive tradition that St. John's exile took place, and the *Apocalypse* was written, towards the end of Domitian's reign." What we really have got is the statement of Irenæus, and of Irenæus alone, to that effect; for, of course, subsequent quotations from him in the fourth century add nothing to the strength of his evidence. Irenæus, indeed, says distinctly that the Revelation "was beheld not so long since, but almost in our own generation, towards the close of Domitian's reign." But his book against heresies was certainly not written before A.D. 180, so that he is speaking of events which occurred three generations before his own time. Every one acquainted with the way in which the Christian fathers handled these matters will at once see that a mere statement of this kind is entitled to little or no weight as against internal testimony. Irenæus himself falls into the strangest errors with regard to Christian traditions of far greater importance; for example, he imagines Jesus to have lived to old age, and that his ministry lasted ten instead of three years. We must decline to follow such a guide in matters of chronology. Nor is Lücke's suggestion unworthy of notice, that the delay in Christ's expected appearance, and the apparent non-fulfilment of the prophecies contained in the *Apocalypse*, would naturally in the time of Irenæus cause a desire to post-date its composition; and we know how readily in those days the wish was father to the thought. The true tradition—viz., that Antichrist is Nero—is preserved in Commodian, who wrote in the next century; and we must add, as highly pertinent, that in the apocryphal "*Ascension and Vision of Isaiah*" (a very early work, probably in part earlier than Irenæus), the arch-fiend Belial, who is to come down upon earth, and *cause every one to worship his image*, is pictured in the form of a monarch, the murderer of his mother: where the allusion to Nero is obvious.

The brief period which includes the closing years of Nero, the rapid passage across the scene of Galba, Otho, Vitellius—figures which come and go like the successors of Banquo—and the opening reign of Vespasian, constitutes in some respects the most important epoch in the infancy of Christianity. The *Apocalypse* is its direct product, and internal evidence enables us to fix the date of the book with an approach to certainty. Before the year 64 the Christians had not indeed been free from molestation, yet such persecution as they had undergone was for

the most part due to the Jews. It was not till the reign of Nero that the whole central power of the Roman Empire was put in force for the purpose of striking them with terror. The story of this horrible persecution cannot even now be read without a blush at the depravity of our species. What its effect must have been upon the contemporary followers of Jesus it is easy to conjecture. They were anticipating the return, in clouds of glory, of their crucified Master, who should first overwhelm his enemies, and then give the dominion over a renovated earth to his faithful servants. But before the final consummation it was expected that there would be a great manifestation of evil, a momentous struggle with some mysterious power set in motion by the enemy of mankind. The dragon, that old serpent who ruined our first parents, would not abandon his prey, the "lord of this world" would not give place, before a final tussle, in which all his energies would be put forth. "A man of sin," "an Antichrist," would be revealed, and his advent would be signalled by portents in the sky, wars, earthquakes, pestilences, famines, making men's hearts "to quake with fear;" in short by all those phenomena which an untutored imagination would naturally group round such an apparition. It is not difficult to see how the great persecution of Nero, and the events which followed, must have seemed to respond to these anticipations, and how the simple Christian of the period must have thought, not without some show of reason, that he was looking upon "the signs of the last times." The appalling confusion which followed the disappearance of Nero, the civil wars and revolutions, the putting up and pulling down of successive emperors, the march of provincial armies upon Rome—all this naturally led to the belief that the last hour of the Roman Empire was about to sound. Add to this, that the arch-enemy of the Christians was supposed not to be dead, but to be hiding somewhere in the East, whence he was again destined to come forth, to resume in some shape or other his sway, and to renew, in an aggravated form, his cruelties. We find indeed traces of this belief lingering to a much later period, and testifying to the immense effect produced upon the Christian conscience by the Neronian persecution. While the mistress of the world, the great whore, was thus being made desolate by her own children, momentous occurrences were taking place in another region, of a kind profoundly to affect the mind of a Jewish Christian, and to inspire him with mixed feelings. The metropolis of his nation, the holy city, the capital of David and Solomon, the scene of his Lord's passion, was at the same time a prey to dissensions and environed by hostile armies. The anarchy of man was paralleled by the seeming anarchy of nature. We may

smile nowadays at the stories of armies being seen fighting together in the skies, and showers of blood, and children born with the heads of calves. Yet such occurrences as earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions, and inundations, though no longer attributed to the anger of a Divine being, are still capable of "shaking our dispositions."

"At no time," says M. Renan, who has carefully gone into the subject, "has the shell of our old continent been so terribly cracked and shaken as during the first century. Famines and pestilences assisted in terrifying mankind." In M. Renan's graphic language, "it seemed as though the earth and humanity were afflicted with a fever at one and the same time."

This extraordinary epoch gave birth to the Apocalypse of John the Divine. The book is not among the least singular of its products, and in every page it reflects its origin. Yet it must be borne in mind that it is only one of a series of similar productions, all of which correspond more or less to periods of crisis. At this particular crisis, when it might well seem that the fate of the Church hung in the balance, we can plainly discern the small body of adherents of the new religion, living in the world, yet not of the world, terrified by persecution, appalled by horrors of every description, invoking the return of their Lord to exterminate their oppressors, to avenge their slaughtered brethren, to inaugurate a new heaven and a new earth, where righteousness and order should reign in the place of crime and anarchy. When this species of aspiration is in the air, it is almost sure to find an enduring expression. A great imaginative genius (for such the author of the Apocalypse certainly is), a Judæo-Christian, who had fed on Ezekiel and Daniel, put the general desire into the form of a vision or revelation, adorned it with details, partly original, partly founded on the best models, and issued it as a manifesto for the comfort of his fellows. To attempt to put a meaning upon all the minutiae of such a composition would, as we have before said, be absurd; but we agree with M. Renan that the sense of some of the leading portions is plainly discernible.

The vision, and this should be noticed at the outset, is clearly announced as one revealing things which should *immediately* take place (ἀ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει), and this circumstance is again and again pressed upon the reader. The time is at hand (ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς), Jesus is coming quickly (ταχύ). In truth, the Christian of the first century, with his life in his hand, expecting at any moment to have to confront the *tunica molesta*, or the beasts of the amphitheatre, would have found feeble refreshment in a symbolical narrative of the campaigns of Napoleon and the

battle of Trafalgar. The scene of the vision is laid at Patmos; but we cannot follow M. Renan in his ingenious conjecture that the writer had been an eye-witness of the Neronian persecution at Rome, and was for some cause or other detained in the island on his way back to Ephesus. The first point which must strike the most ordinary reader on opening the book is the way in which the writer feels himself bound by certain mystical rules as to the use of numbers. Every one knows the part which the number seven plays in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha. In the Apocalypse we shall find its employment, and that of its component parts, assuming in the author's mind the position of a kabbalistic law not to be transgressed. There are seven seals, seven trumpets, seven vials, seven heads on the beast, seven thunders, seven eyes, and so forth. Apparitions find their way into the seer's head, as according to one account the clean beasts found their way into the ark, by sevens.* Hence, at the very commencement, we have the book addressed to the "Seven Churches" in Asia. We have every reason for supposing that these were not the only Christian churches then existing in Asia proper. To say nothing of Colossæ and Hierapolis, there must have been churches at Tralles and Magnesia at a very early period, as appears from the letters, either written by, or attributed to, Ignatius. But to have addressed these would have been in the author's eyes to have ventured upon the dangerous course of abandoning sacred numbers. Hence, we have seven churches, and of course seven candlesticks, seven stars, and seven angels to match. One word more upon this subject. Those who believe in the seals and the trumpets and the vials as inspired prophecies of future events, must hold that the Almighty is himself in some way bound by the sacred number, and that just as the old-fashioned "legitimate" comedies always consisted of five acts, so the great historical periods of modern times are capable of being subdivided into seven separate and clearly-defined portions. To return to our author. He is in the Spirit, he hears a great voice as of a trumpet, and turning round beholds one like unto the "Son of Man." The description of the Son of Man is entirely made up from scattered passages in Ezekiel, Daniel, and Enoch, and the falling of the seer upon his face and his feeling a hand laid upon him are from the same sources. We have very great difficulty in believing that one who had been the associate of Jesus could have produced such a travesty of that beloved form. The figure reproduced here is not the figure which must

* It is remarkable, and no doubt must have been noticed before this, that this use of seven is unknown to the author of the Gospel of St. John.

have been so well known to an apostle, but that of the mysterious personage in the older Apocalypses. He bids the seer write to the angels of the seven churches—the term “angel” evidently meaning, as even Dean Alford sees, the guardian angel or presiding genius of each church, a conception perfectly familiar to that age (Matthew xviii. 10). With regard to these epistles, we have only time to observe, in passing, that M. Renan sees in ch. ii. 2, 6, 9, 20, iii. 9, allusions to Paul and his followers. A very wide question is opened here, which might be more fitly discussed in a notice of the French author’s preceding work, “St. Paul.” Another point, to which M. Renan has not thought it necessary to advert, is the argument drawn from the mention of the Church of Laodicea in favour of a later authorship of the Apocalypse than that assigned by him. Laodicea, it is said, had been overthrown by an earthquake, and its church could not be in the situation described, “rich and increased in goods.” But the earthquake took place in A.D. 61, and we are expressly told by Tacitus that the inhabitants rebuilt the city without assistance (*propriis opibus revaluit*. Ann. xiv. 27). Laodicea was an important commercial city, and its structures, a very small portion of its wealth, were doubtless replaced as rapidly as those of Chicago.

Immediately after the dictation of the letters, a door in heaven is opened, and the seer, falling, it would seem, into a state of still deeper spiritual trance, is introduced to the Court of the Almighty. The description of the throne, and of Him who sat upon it, like that of the new Jerusalem in a subsequent part of the book, is conceived in the true Oriental taste. Everything is blazing with jewellery. The *mise-en-scène* is from Ezekiel, and the four beasts are variations on the four described by the older seer, with a reminiscence of the seraphim of Isaiah. What these living creatures were intended to typify must be considered uncertain. Whatever they may mean, we are inclined to think that they are put in here as what we should call “supporters” of the throne, as Solomon, we are told (I. Kings, x. 18-20) had lions as supporters of his throne. The four-and-twenty elders seem to be a recollection of the division of the sons of Aaron into four-and-twenty orders. They are, so to speak, the assessors of the Divine Being, a “*sénat d’élite*,” as M. Renan puts it. Before this assembly is produced a book “written within and on the back side,” *opistographus*, with seven seals, which are opened in succession by the Lamb, who appears in the midst. This again is an imitation of the prophetic roll “written within and without,” and full of “lamentations and mourning and woe,” which was handed to Ezekiel. Are these seals intended to represent events then past, or events still future? M. Renan supposes

the former ; his idea is that the seals and the trumpets (all but the sixth trumpet) deal with the past, the vials with the future. But against this interpretation is to be set the character of the book, which seems to us evidently a prophetic scroll, and the words which have preceded "Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter" (iv. 1). The point at issue is not of such importance as at first sight it may appear ; nor are the illustrations furnished by M. Renan from contemporary history rendered less valuable, if we believe that seals and trumpets, as well as vials, are in the nature of prophecies. For the seer in heaping up all kinds of miseries on a distracted world almost necessarily drew upon his experience for his chief materials, and projected into the future magnified and distorted editions of the catastrophes which were the talk of his own age. Thus the first seal is clearly the Roman Empire. It is still destined to conquer for awhile ; the writer's eyes were probably turned in the direction of Jerusalem. Those who suppose the Church of Christ to be meant, fail to notice that it is of the essence of all these seals to represent calamities. The second seal indicates wars yet more dreadful in their effects ; the third, famines ; the fourth, which at first sight indicates pestilence, is fraught with a mixture of evils, the sword, hunger, death, and the beasts of the earth—precisely the "four sore judgments" threatened in Ezek. xiv. upon Jerusalem, "the sword, the famine, the noisome beast, and the pestilence." The four horses are taken bodily (with a slight variation in the case of one of them) from Zechariah vi. The fifth seal exhibits the prospect of still further martyrdoms ; and the sixth opens with a great earthquake and portents in the sky, and a series of phenomena which, when every allowance is made, seem strangely incoherent. The sun's light is quenched, the stars fall on the earth like figs, the heavens are rolled up as a scroll, every mountain and every island shifts its place, and what is most marvellous of all, the human race still remains, and the end of the world is deferred. The author has here, after his fashion, put together a number of isolated denunciations of woe from the Old Testament ; but here, too, as in the conception of the previous seals, we may be sure that he had in his mind such events as the civil war in Rome, the great famine under Claudius, the plague of 65, the terrible storms recorded by Tacitus and others, the earthquakes which had desolated Asia Minor. Prophecies, like every other human production, take their colour from the epochs which give them birth. Awful were the judgments which the then existing age had witnessed, but they were child's play to what was coming ! Whatever character, then, we assign to these visions, it is only a truism to assert that they must be imbued with the seer's experiences : just as our dreams of the

future are largely influenced, if not mainly determined, by what has happened to us in the immediate past. Now for giving us a picture of the age under those aspects which were most likely to influence the author of the Apocalypse, for enabling us to realize what were likely to be the experiences of a man situated like him, M. Renan's pages are of the highest value.

A pause next ensues for the purpose of sealing the servants of God, before the final catastrophe. The mode in which this process is conceived is one of the numerous indications scattered throughout the book of the writer's nationality. Twelve thousand are sealed out of each of the twelve tribes of the spiritual Israel. Then there appear a countless host, arrayed in white robes, with palms in their hands. They are those whose sufferings for their religion have already obtained them a place near the heavenly throne. This is one of the earliest intimations of the honour in which martyrdom was held in the early church: some half century later, we shall find a place of honour "on the right hand" assigned to martyrs in the Church triumphant.* The seventh seal is next opened, and as curses are said to come home to roost, so in a somewhat varied sense, the prayers of the saints are poured back upon the earth to produce fresh calamities. The angel who performs this office is doubtless one of the seven who in Tobit (xii. 15) are "charged with presenting the prayers of the saints." Another set of seven present themselves, with seven trumpets. The trumpets are merely variations of the seals, a fresh series of appalling calamities, storms of fire and flood, burning mountains cast into the sea, &c. At the sound of the fourth trumpet, the author proceeds to darken the third part of the sun and the third part of the stars, apparently forgetting that the sun has been already put out, and that the stars have fallen to the earth. This is a sample of the loose mode of treatment habitual to these Apocalypses, and illustrates the futility of all attempts to find a connected thread of history running through the book. The end of the world is perpetually approaching and perpetually receding, in order to enable the writer to find room for fresh imagery. As M. Renan well remarks, "The same characteristic may be remarked in the Song of Solomon. The five acts of which that little drama is composed, are quite unconnected. In each act, the story begins again and comes to an ending. In general, Hebrew literature ignores the unities" (p. 391). The fifth trumpet produces a plague of locusts. These may be either literal locusts—those of the Exodus, a story which the seer has frequently in his eye—those locusts which are among the direst scourges of Eastern countries, or

* Hermas. Visions, iii. 2.

judging from parts of the description, we may suppose some Eastern warriors to be indicated. These are certainly intended under the next trumpet. The allusion is probably to the Parthians, among whom Nero was supposed to have taken refuge, and who were thought to be about to take up arms with a view to his restoration.* Just as there was a pause after the sixth seal, so now there occurs a similar pause and digression after the sixth trumpet:—

“The Apocalyptic drama, then, is about to finish. In order to prolong his book the author confers upon himself a fresh prophetic mission. Repeating a powerful image already employed by Ezekiel, John causes himself to be presented with a prophetic book by a gigantic angel, and devours it. A voice says to him, ‘Thou must prophesy again before many peoples and nations and tongues and kings.’ The framework of the Vision, which was about to finish with the seventh trumpet, is by this means enlarged, and the author prepares for himself a second part, in which he will unfold his views on the destiny of the kings and nations of his time” (p. 399).

His eyes are naturally turned, first of all, upon Jerusalem. At the date of his writing (A.D. 69) a close investment had not yet been made of the city; but that it was at hand was as clear as that the Germans were marching upon Paris, when they left Sedan behind them. The author imagines that the holy city will be trodden under foot by the Gentiles, in other words besieged, for forty-two months, i.e., three and a half years, a regular prophetic period. This is the time which yet remains to the end of the world. He has no conception of the total destruction of the city; what he supposes imminent is a catastrophe overwhelming a small part of its population, upon which the remainder repent and turn to the true faith. Though the numbers given—a tenth of the city and seven thousand men—are mystical, yet it is remarkable that they approximate to a true computation; the population of Jerusalem being at that time about seventy thousand.† This to us is a strong confirmation, if any were needed, that the real city of Jerusalem, and not an imaginary one is intended. During the twelve hundred and sixty days of the siege two mysterious personages, called “witnesses,” appear. These are Enoch and Elijah, the two men who had not tasted death, and whom an old tradition represented as destined to reappear before the end of the world. M. Renan has brought together a mass of authorities on this head to which

* Compare Tacitus Hist. i. 2. *Prope mota Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio.* M. Renan gives us many additional references on this head.

† This is established by an elaborate calculation at the end of the article “Jerusalem” in Smith’s “Dictionary of the Bible.”

the reader desirous of more ample information must be referred.* The remainder of the Jews having embraced the true faith, it would seem that nothing remains but for the last trumpet to sound, and the vision to close. The trumpet does sound, the kingdoms of the world are declared to have become the kingdoms of Christ, but the vision does not close. The writer has still a good deal to say; indeed one of his principal objects in writing has not yet been fulfilled. These apocalypses are like some of the sensational novels of our own day, in which the denouement is constantly in view and constantly put off, while there is no reason (no internal reason, that is to say) why it should come at one time more than another, in other words, why what the French call "*le jeu*" should not run on for ever.

The next vision—we here follow unhesitatingly M. Renan's interpretation, which is indeed the obvious one—is of the Church of Israel under the form of a woman. The crown of twelve stars on her head signifies the twelve tribes. The man child whom she brings forth, and who is to rule all nations with a rod of iron (compare ii. 27) is of course Jesus. The dragon with seven heads and ten horns, is the devil under his most powerful incarnation, the Roman Empire. A singular episode occurs here; a combat in heaven between the angels of light and darkness, in which the latter are worsted and cast out upon the earth. There is perhaps an allusion to the words of the Master, which were doubtless at that time in circulation—"I saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven." Before this period Satan had not been altogether excluded from heaven (Job i. 6, Zech. iii. 1), but henceforth the door of the celestial abode is to be closed against him for ever. The first object against which the dragon turns his fury is the woman; but wings are given her to fly into the wilderness. This is an allusion to the migration of the Christian church from Jerusalem to Pella. The twelve hundred and sixty days, or time, times and half a time during which the woman is to be nourished from the face of the serpent again refer to the period which is to elapse before the final consummation. Some

* Sometimes the names of these witnesses are varied, and Moses and Jeremiah figure as one or other of them. But Enoch and Elijah are most commonly understood. In the Gospel of Nicodemus (20) we have this passage: "Here also until now we (*i.e.*, Enoch and Elijah) have not tasted death, but have been reserved to the coming of Antichrist, by divine signs and wonders to do battle with him, and being killed by him in Jerusalem, after three days and half a day to be taken up alive again in the clouds." This is a clear reference to the Apocalypse, and shows the sense which was put upon the witnesses at the time when it was written. To M. Renan's authorities may be added Lactantius, or the writer of the tract "*De Morte Persecut.*" attributed to him, who refers to the tradition that Enoch and Elias will attend upon God at the last judgment. Compare also the "*History of Joseph the Carpenter*," 31 *ad fin.*

sort of pursuit of the emigrants seems to be indicated by the flood which the serpent casts out of his mouth, but in the absence of any detailed history of the exodus, it would be idle to offer a conjecture. It is quite possible indeed that this detail may be inserted merely with a view to furnish some sort of antitype to the passage of the Red Sea, and corresponds to no real event. For in this account of the woman's flight the author has throughout the story of the Exodus from Egypt in his mind. The Israelites were borne away "on eagles' wings" (Exod. xix. 4), they were nourished in the wilderness, they passed through forty-two stations, &c.

Another vision follows, that of the Roman Empire. And here, happily, we have small need to torment ourselves with conjectures, for the symbolism is transparent. A beast rises up out of the sea, made up of three of Daniel's beasts, a leopard, a bear, and a lion. He has seven heads, which the author himself explains to us afterwards as seven kings, and which can be no other than Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and Galba. The ten horns are the ten imperial proconsuls in Italy, Achaia, Asia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Germany. The head apparently wounded to death and which was healed is Nero, who was believed not to be really dead and to be on the point of returning to power. The true tradition on this point is preserved in Commodianus (circ. A.D. 270) in whose pages it figures in the form that "Nero shall be raised up from hell."* The power which is given to this beast over all kindreds and tongues and nations accords well with the situation of the Roman Empire. Every one worships him except those whose names are written in the book of life—i.e., the Christian confessors alone refuse to burn incense before the Emperor's image.† How absurdly inapplicable all this is to the Papacy need scarcely be pointed out. Indeed, ultra-Protestant commentators are unable to turn it to account unless upon the hypothesis that nearly the whole world is to be converted to Popery before the final consummation; an hypothesis which postpones the end, according to our present lights, for some time to come, and ought to make these interpreters very careful not to fill up all the trumpets and vials. The "names of blasphemy" are sufficiently plain.‡ The

* Instr. 41. Lactantius also alludes to a belief prevalent in his time that Nero would reappear before the end of the world.—*De Morte Persec.*, ii. 2. Dean Alford is wrong in asserting that "the first who mentions the idea of Nero's returning from the dead is Augustine." Commodianus, at any rate, had clearly mentioned it.

† Pliny's well-known epistle.

‡ *Laudatur dis æqua potestas*. Juv. Caligula and Nero caused themselves to be worshipped. Domitian styled himself *Dominus et deus*, cf. Martial, Statius, &c., *passim*.

forty-and-two months are the time which remains to it as to everything else in this lower world. The second beast which comes up out of the earth, with horns like a lamb, has given more trouble to serious commentators than any other symbol in the book. For here, at any rate, some existing nation, or institution or caste or individual is certainly designated. We have never seen a satisfactory solution of the enigma; nor does M. Renan pretend to furnish us with one. That which seems the least improbable is the one which would identify it with the "Mathematici," the Chaldeans, or Eastern professors of the magic art. The important part filled by these men is testified to by a host of authors. A considerable portion of the sixth satire of Juvenal is devoted to the subject. The Emperor Tiberius spent his last years in the society of these impostors. Nero, according to the older Pliny and Suetonius, was passionately addicted to the black art. It is not at all improbable that the false Nero, who about the time of the composition of the Apocalypse was, as Tacitus informs us, striking terror through Achaia and Asia Minor, may have found supporters among the magicians of Ephesus and other cities. Ephesus, which was celebrated for its addiction to these practices (Acts xix.), was only a few hours sail from Patmos. The early Christians and the fathers of the first centuries looked upon sorceries of all kinds in a light which it is hard for us to realize. Sorcerers, like the witches and wizards of a later age, were held to be in possession of real and diabolical powers. They worked with the help of Satan; "they spake as dragons." A little later in the book we shall find that they are consigned to the burning lake. It has occurred to us as not altogether impossible that this second beast may be in some way coupled with what we have seen was the prevailing belief of the restoration of Nero by the aid of the Parthians.* Parthia at this time included Chaldæa, the mother country of the magic art. Tiridates, sovereign of the allied Kingdom of Armenia, described by Pliny as "Magus," had visited Nero, accompanied by several other magi, and sought to initiate him in the art.† This beast rises out of the earth, which means from the East.‡ In Daniel Persia figures as a ram with two horns, and we are not sure that Parthia, which included what was

* Compare Zonaras Ann. II. of an impostor who arose in the reign of Titus, *Ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ ὁ ψευδο-Νέρων ἐφάνη . . . ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τινὰς προσεποιήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐυφράτην προχωρῶν πολλὰ πλείους ἀνηρτήσατο, καὶ τέλος πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν τῶν Παρθῶν, κατέφυγεν ἀρχηγόν, ὃς . . . ἐδέξατο τοῦτον καὶ καταγαγεῖν εἰς Ρώμην παρέσκευαζετο.* Artabanus was for marching upon Rome to set the impostor on the throne.

† Plin. H. N. xxx. 2. *Armenius vel Commagenus harusper.* Juv. vi.

‡ In Enoch lviii. 7, 8, two beasts figure, one in the sea, the other on the

Persia, might not, under the comparatively new dynasty of the Arsacidæ, be typified by a lamb or young ram. Not only by material arms but by magic arts of the Parthian or Persian magi might Nero be restored. We offer this suggestion for what it is worth, that is to say, as much as some others. The number of the first beast which we are next called upon to notice is happily placed beyond the reach of discussion; at any rate, of sane critics. It is *Νέρων Καῖσαρ*, which written in Hebrew characters (subject, however, to some observations for which the reader must be referred to M. Renan's note at page 416) makes up by the addition of the letters according to their numerical value, the number 666. Written in the Latin form, *Nero Cæsar* (without the final N of the first word = the Hebrew *Nun* 50 numerical value), the number would be 616. This is precisely the various reading given by Irenæus not much more than a century later, who adds that "he does not know how" it came to be adopted. We, however, can plainly see how it came in, and no one can now fail to draw from its presence in the text a remarkable confirmation of the true meaning of the symbol. Objection has been made that the author writes in Greek and not in Hebrew, but as Dr. Davidson well remarks, his style of thought is throughout Hebrew, and the context shows that he did not wish his enigma to be too easy. These puerile calculations were familiar to the Jews, and as a Jew it was natural that he should put it into his own language.

In the next two chapters (xiii. and xiv.) the seer returns to heaven. Two or three points are worthy of notice in these chapters; for instance, the apotheosis of celibacy in xiii. 4, a text which will be largely amplified by the fathers.* Nothing, indeed, is further from the truth than the common Protestant idea that the encouragement held out by the Roman Catholic Church to a celibate life is an example of Papal corruptions. It is a legitimate deduction from the spirit of Christianity, as set forth by its founder, and is, indeed, based on his own utterances. His immediate followers entertained no doubts on the subject. Again, the appalling curses invoked upon those who consent to "worship the beast" show that lapses were, as might be expected, not uncommon, and confirm the belief that the present writing was intended as an important manifesto. Of a like kind is the announcement represented as being made from heaven, accompanied by an order for its promulgation, "Write 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from henceforth!'" Those that die in

earth, but these are Leviathan and Behemoth. There are, however, points of similarity between the descriptions there and here.

* *Ex. gr.*, Methodius, in his "Banquet of the Ten Virgins," *passim*.

the Lord are not merely martyrs ; all are included who end their life holding to the true faith. This was intended to settle the condition of the Christian dead, about which doubts had arisen, consequent upon the delay in the return of the expected Messiah in glory to reign over his followers. Paul had already given utterance to similar ideas with the same view.

After this episode the writer returns, with a kind of increased zest, to the earth and its wretched inhabitants. He has inherited the spirit of the old Hebrew seers. One sees that, at an earlier period, he would have gone about, like them, denouncing woes against Nineveh and Tyre. The God whom he worships is still the Hebrew God, protector of a chosen nation and exterminator of their enemies, only the conditions of favoured citizenship are somewhat changed, and the foes appear under altered names. The vials which are poured out on the earth and the sea and the rivers and the sun and the air, and the vial causing darkness, are a series of awful plagues disseminated through all four elements. They are a variation upon the plagues wrought by Moses on an occasion—the deliverance of God's people and the punishment of their persecutors—which would naturally furnish a parallel to the situation of the world as conceived by the author. In the unclean spirits like frogs, the imitation is still further carried out ; but in this (the sixth vial) the author's idea is more intelligible to us than those which embody rivers of blood and voices in the air. He supposes Nero, with the help of the devil and the second beast, to be about to form alliances, and to march with a large army across the Euphrates. This, as we have seen, was in accordance with a widespread belief that Nero was hiding among the Parthians, and we know not how near the seer's vision may have approached in its main lines to an accidental fulfilment in the reign of Titus. All these forces are collected together at a place called Armageddon, and a variety of conflicting events occur which it is impossible to disentangle. This much, however, is clear—that Rome is to fall at last. The city of Rome is represented by a woman seated on a beast (the author himself furnishes the explanation). Though this beast has seven heads and ten horns, and evidently represents the Roman Empire, yet he is not identical in appearance with the one whom we saw rising out of the sea. He is scarlet coloured, whereas the other resembled a leopard, and a fresh explanation will directly be given of the first one, in the course of which the author, as elsewhere, confounds heads with beasts. These confusions are, however, of small account in Apocalyptic literature. What results clearly from the description is the date of the book. Five kings have fallen—Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius. Galba, the seventh, reigns.

The eighth is Nero, "the beast," who will last but a short time. He is also "of the seven," that is to say, he occupies the sixth as well as the eighth place. The ten horns are, as has been already pointed out, the ten Roman proconsuls, who, on the appearance of Nero, are supposed to be about to join him, and to march upon Rome. Granting the re-appearance of Nero, such an expectation would not have been an extravagant one, for, as M. Renan well points out, the reigns of Otho and Vitellius were in effect reactions in favour of Nero. At the date at which the author wrote it might well seem to some that a favourable opportunity had occurred for the provincial generals to set up independent kingdoms of their own, just as, after Waterloo, Napoleon, from his point of view, exclaimed, "Maintenant nous verrons ce que Wellington va faire." In neither case was the course which seemed feasible to an outsider a possible one for the chief agents, and the Apocalyst, surprised at seeing the accord of the generals in supporting the unity of the empire, has some justification for supposing that they will in a like spirit rally round the standard of the popular idol on his return. What follows seems at first sight a piece of pure *diablerie*. All these people join in ravaging and burning down their own metropolis. But we must repeat it, these Apocalypses are not to be judged by ordinary rules. The whole of this passage is imitated from Ezekiel xvi., where the sinning Jerusalem is styled a harlot, and is doomed to be stoned with stones and burnt with fire by her own lovers and associates. The destruction of Rome is conceived in accordance with this prophetic precedent, and here, again, recent events had occurred of a character to give verisimilitude to the dream. Nero, in the plenitude of his power, was believed to have burned down a large portion of his own city in pure wantonness. There was nothing very extravagant in the supposition that, after having been taken by himself and his lieutenants, it would undergo a similar fate on a yet more extended scale.

Rome, at any rate, falls. The description which is given of the imperial city is a *pastiche* entirely made up of extracts from the old prophets. Some of the details are much more suitable to Tyre, to which they were originally applied. We can note no single trait of description such as would almost certainly have been the fruit of a personal visit to and knowledge of the city of Rome by the author, which M. Renan supposes.* The dragon and the beast and the false prophet being next vanquished in a decisive conflict, the way is prepared for the triumphant reign of Christ and his Saints upon the earth for a thousand years. At

* "All manner of vessels of most precious wood" might refer to the mania of the wealthy Romans for collections of tables. Seneca had 500 of them, &c.

the end of that period another and a final conflict is to take place with the powers of darkness: a new heaven and a new earth emerge to view, the latter, in accordance with the ideas of his race and epoch, being pictured by the writer as without any sea,* while at the same time there is a river! The metropolis of this glorified world is the new Jerusalem, characteristically adorned with every kind of precious stone. But we will not dwell on the closing scenes of the vision, in which the writer's imagination, nurtured on the models set by his predecessors, and often employing their diction, availing itself, moreover, of certain millenary traditions, traces of which are to be found long before his epoch, runs its course uncontrolled. Our object has been to endeavour to extract from his pages wherever possible some sort of definite sense. With our present scientific conceptions, we are compelled to picture to ourselves an earth without sea, as a vast tract of land uninhabitable by man, and trees bearing twelve sorts of fruits, as a detail suited to the Arabian nights; while the dragon, as a concrete personage, has no more reality for us than have the genii. Yet it is possible (and we should be the last to deny it) that the dream of the seer may be destined to find its virtual fulfilment in the final triumph of good over evil. To those who hold this, a close examination of the images employed becomes unnecessary, and indeed it would be useless, except for other purposes than those which we have had in view. The solemn conclusion deserves more particular notice, as being fraught with a very definite meaning. Twice we are told that Jesus is coming "quickly." Indeed, the main object of the writer has been to impress his personal belief to this effect upon his coreligionists, many of whom must have grown doubting and faint of heart in the midst of persecutions. In order to confer a greater authority upon his visions he represents them—no doubt he really conceived them—to have been dictated to him by Jesus himself. An awful curse is pronounced upon any attempts to amplify or abridge the book. We can imagine the effect which such a missive, with such a guarantee readily accepted by the credulity of the age, must have had in strengthening the contemporary generation of Christians, and thus assisting in the overthrow of Paganism, which may even now be not inaptly described as a dragon strangled by infant Christianity.

It is not, as we mentioned at the beginning of this article, and must now repeat at its close, so easy to see what good end is likely to result from the study of the Apocalypse by the multitude now-a-days. The writer's object has been effected; his bolt has been shot. What he hoped and prayed for has been in a

* So in the "Sibylline Books," the beatified earth is to be without any sea.

great measure accomplished, though not in the way that he imagined, and his own production has aided in bringing about the result. Paganism is gone, and Christianity reigns in its place. Yet the war-cries of the old Judæo-Christian survive, pressed into the service of partisans in a newer religious contest. The lurid pictures drawn by his fancy have been ticketed with all sorts of successive titles, and the catalogue of these is not yet completed, for in one important particular his previsions have not been realized. Eighteen hundred years have elapsed, and the Son of Man has not returned in person to reign upon the earth. Until that event shall have occurred, or the belief shall be universally classed among exploded superstitions, we are afraid that a great many foolish heads will be employed in researches compared with which solutions of double acrostics must be held to be so many valuable additions to our stores of knowledge. At the moment of our penning these lines a printed advertisement has reached us of two lectures to be delivered in the large hall, Public Rooms, Belgravia South, by a graduate of the University of Cambridge. The subject announced is "that which remains to be fulfilled of Prophecy, whether Jewish or Christian, before the second coming of the Lord and Saviour," and the chair is to be taken by an English duke.

To lecturers and preachers of this class, and to the mass of persons who make up their audiences and congregations, it would be of course idle to recommend M. Renan's "Antichrist." To the small but rapidly increasing number of Englishmen who are prepared to accept, in place of a grovelling Bibliolatry, the methods and processes of sane criticism, the work cannot fail to be full of interest and information. Not that any new and startling views are put forward by the author, not that he has hit upon any solutions unfamiliar to previous reasonable inquirers in the same field, but the charm of his style and the graces with which he sets forth his substantial learning will carry his work into hands from which more ponderous treatises would be dropped in alarm. It was said of the late Lord Macaulay that he was one of the most successful of ambassadors from the learned few to the reading many, and the same praise may be bestowed upon M. Renan.

ART. V.—HOME RULE.

BUT little doubt exists that the next general election will result in the return from Ireland of a strong phalanx of members pledged to Home Rule. The cry, with which the party is preparing the country, is "Ireland for the Irish." Their hope is, in the British representation being so evenly divided between the two great parties, that a body of sixty or seventy home rule members may, on any momentous question, turn the scale against the party in power. Their influence, thus made manifest, they count upon it, and the British people's growing impatience of everlasting Irish questions, to secure a partial repeal of the union, and the realization of the Home Rulers' dream. The proposition of "Ireland for the Irish," as represented by the national party, seems at first sight intelligible and logical enough, but when analysed by those who know Ireland intimately, with her bigotry, the want of cohesion among her social particles, and the diversity of opinion, on the subject, existing between the two parties, it assumes a more complex form.

To understand the attitudes of Ireland's contending factions, it is necessary to glance at her history from the time when man's frailty and woman's faithlessness were exemplified by the elopement of Devorgilla, wife of O'Rorke, King of Brefni, with Dermot McMurrough, King of Leinster, whose moral obliquity resulted in his expulsion from Leinster by the combined efforts of the injured O'Rorke, and O'Connor, the Ard Ri, or elected sovereign of Ireland; his flight to England, and invitation to Henry II. to assist in the restoration of his kingdom with an offer of submission to the English monarch; and the advent of "Strongbow" Earl of Pembroke, with an English force in 1171. Strongbow was followed in less than a year by the king himself at the head of a considerable army, and in three years the conquest of the eastern portion of the island had been effected, and most of the native chiefs had acknowledged the English king as Lord of Ireland. From time to time large grants were made to English nobles, who were sufficiently powerful to hold by the sword the possessions of which the owners had been despoiled. Thus we find that before the end of the thirteenth century Ireland was, nominally, divided among ten great English families, who held as feudal suzerains under the English king, but they one and all became absorbed by the people whom they had conquered. They became to all intents and purposes Irish chieftains, and in a statute of the Parliament of Kilkenny in 1367,

it was recited that the English of the realm of Ireland had become "mere Irish" in their language, names, manner of living, and apparel; that they had rejected English laws, and adopted those of the Irish with whom they had allied themselves by intermarriage. This act does not affect to regard the Irish as the subjects of the English king, but speaks of them as "The Irish Enemy," as indeed they were, for no concerted operations for the conquest of Ireland had succeeded until the suppression of O'Neill's rebellion in 1567. To follow the history of Ireland through the events of the 450 years intervening between the advent of Strongbow and the accession of Elizabeth would require more space than a sketch like this will admit of, nor is it necessary for the elucidation of the position of parties at present. Semi-barbarous chieftains fought among themselves. Equally barbarous Anglo-Irish endeavoured to extend their grasp upon the country, and a distinct code of customs and laws, prevented a possibility of more than a partial fusion of the peoples. The Irish Septs, by a stipulation with Henry II., retained the Brehon laws. They were therefore excluded from the benefit of English law in questions of injury to persons or property, and were constrained to appeal to the sword. Nor was it till the second year of James I.'s reign, that English law was finally established throughout the island. But in 1560 was enacted the measure to which the "Irish difficulty" may be traced. In that year Elizabeth formally established the Protestant religion. Hitherto the Reformation had not been legally established. In Henry's reign, the bishops, who had been nominated by the king, and the majority of whom were of English or Anglo-Irish blood, might have been persuaded to take the oath of supremacy, but, owing to the separation of races, the Irish priests had but little intercourse with their bishops; they, therefore, in common with most of the Lords and Commons, resisted the Act of Supremacy which had been forced upon them, and its provisions were never carried out.

In the reign of Edward VI. the liturgy was ordered by royal proclamation, but effectually resisted, and Mary's advent of course removed the obnoxious proclamation. However, in 1560, Elizabeth, having fixed the Protestant religion on a firm basis at home, sent over the Earl of Essex, who summoned a parliament of the Anglo-Irish, and secured the enactment of the English laws of supremacy and uniformity, with the interdiction of all other forms of worship.

Now there are two means by which a new religion may be forced upon a nation—by the sword, or by the sustained teaching of able men. In Ireland both means were equally neglected, and the attitude of the people towards the Catholic Church ren-

dered the spontaneous reception of the reformed religion highly improbable. The Reformation in England was not so much the arbitrary act of Henry VIII. as the climax of the widespread disaffection to the Church of Rome, that had been gaining ground among the people of England from the days when Wycliffe preached doctrines similar to those adopted by Martin Luther a hundred and fifty years later. This disaffection was caused by the open profligacy of the clergy, their enormous wealth, and domineering extension of ecclesiastical privileges.

But in Ireland circumstances were different. At no time in the history of the country have we the slightest evidence that the people chafed under similar ecclesiastical excesses; on the contrary, the people, steeped to the lips in mystic traditions, regarded the Church with affection and reverence. It is not surprising, therefore, that, although the majority of the bishops were prepared to accept the oath of supremacy, the inferior clergy refused to accept it, and were followed in its rejection, by the Irish people. However, the Reformed Church was established, and endowed by tithes, and presented, even after long years, the anomaly of a national establishment of preachers without congregations, but a small section of the Anglo-Irish colony having embraced it; and so little pains were taken for its propagation, as in England and Scotland, by the preaching of its doctrinal beauties, that, although outside the pale nothing but the Irish language was spoken, no translations of the Scriptures or liturgy into Irish were ordered, the only deviation from the wording of the Act of Supremacy and Uniformity, as passed in England, being, that where the minister had no knowledge of the English language he might read the service in Latin!

From this time to the plantation of Ulster by James I., after the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell in 1607, the history of Ireland presents its usual features, continued resistance of Irish chiefs to English authority. The unsuccessful rebellion of Desmond in the south, and Tyrone and Tyrconnell's flight in the north, resulted in the forfeiture of over a million acres in Munster and Ulster, which were disposed of by the plantation of large numbers of English settlers in the counties of Cork and Kerry, and of English and Scotch in Ulster, who held their land on conditions prudently conceived in the main, for the increase of English power, and advancement of the Protestant religion.

The native Irish received a small portion of the forfeited lands, and on the whole there is evidence of an anxiety to conciliate them, as they were exempted from the oath of supremacy imposed upon the new planters.

But the Anglo-Irish colonists, and the English adventurers who came over, inspired by the determination—

“That he shall take who has the power,
And he shall keep who can,”

had no idea of conciliation: the battle of races was still to be fought: the Irish in other counties were assailed by the law of defective titles, and thus, in the counties of Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath, over four hundred thousand additional acres were adjudged to the Crown and redistributed in the same manner, and with similar conditions to those which regulated the Ulster and Munster plantations. The result of this wholesale removal of the Irish from their lands, and the stern operation of the laws against recusants, was the uprising of the Catholics in 1641, and the slaughter of many Protestants in the counties where the original proprietors had been dispossessed.

Whatever the true facts of this rising—whether the number of Protestants massacred was 200, or 100,000, we have no right to debit the Catholic religion with this massacre. The rising was of the Irish people against the English, and at first the war that ensued was between the Irish and English. After a time we find, it is true, that the Anglo-Irish Catholics joined the Irish, and the war became purely a religious struggle; but the rising was conceived by the exiled Irish, who had obtained a promise of aid from Philip of Spain, under whom thousands of Irish were serving with distinction. That the rising took place we know, and that the blow was struck by no velvet hand we may reasonably assume; but we cannot justly brand the Catholic religion with a massacre, consequent on the uprising of what every unprejudiced student must acknowledge to have been, at that time, a down-trodden and oppressed people.

From that rebellion of 1641, dates the religious feud that has raged in Ireland down to the present day. For years the insurgents held their ground, and the rebellion was not entirely suppressed until the final conquest achieved by Cromwell, as Hallam says, “with such bloodshed and rigour, that, in the opinion of Lord Clarendon, the sufferings of that nation, from the outset of the rebellion to its close, have never been surpassed but by those of the Jews in their destruction by Titus.”

The horrors of the transplantation of the Irish of Munster, Leinster, and Ulster to Connaught, and thousands to the West Indies, are vividly depicted in Prendergast’s “Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.” Forty thousand men, it is computed, went to Spain, where they obtained an asylum, and the three provinces were divided by lot amongst the soldiers of the conqueror; but after the restoration of Charles II., an Act of Settlement was passed,

by which about one-half the forfeited estates of the Catholics were returned to their owners. The Episcopal church, too, which under Cromwell had fallen to a very low ebb, was restored without delay.

The accession of James II. once more changed the aspect of affairs, and for the first time in Ireland's history, the native Catholics found themselves the party in power. The Protestant soldiers were disbanded, Protestant citizens disarmed, and all the offices under the Crown were filled by the Catholics.

The Protestant church was not formally disestablished, but the tithes were withheld from the clergy, and the Protestants felt for a time the bitter reverse of the ascendancy in which they had gloried for over a century. The Catholics would have been more or less than human, had they not retaliated as they did, for the miseries that they had so long suffered. But their victory was of short duration; the star of Catholic ascendancy began to wane with the closing of the gates of Derry, and set with the fall of Limerick in 1691.

The effect of the few years of Catholic ascendancy was to intensify, if possible, the hatred existing between the Catholics and Protestants. The spirit of William's troops was deepened by the thirst for revenge of the regiments of French Protestants who, having been driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had taken service under him, and materially contributed to the victory of the Boyne, but their presence was hardly necessary for the generation of passions already at white heat. In the two following reigns of William and of Anne the repressive laws against the Catholics, depriving them of every vestige of civil and religious liberty, were so many and so terrible, that Hallam says—"To have exterminated the Catholics by the sword, or expelled them, like the Moriscoes of Spain, would have been but little more repugnant to justice and humanity, but incomparably more politic."

However, if the Catholics of Ireland were to be crushed by the Protestants, the English Parliament was determined that the Protestants of Ireland should be no less sacrificed to English interests. In 1698 a law was passed prohibiting the exportation of wool and woollen manufactures from Ireland. This ruined many thousand poor Protestants, in whose hands the manufacture had been principally carried on; and from time to time, for forty years, new laws were added forbidding Irish merchants, of whatever religion, to trade with any foreign nation, or to export or import any article, except through British merchants. The effect of these measures was that the Protestants became little less hostile to England than were the Catholics.

The American War of Independence drained England and

Ireland of troops, and a threatened descent upon the Irish coast in 1799 determined the formation of corps of volunteers, who answered so readily to the call that in less than two years over forty thousand Irishmen were under arms. This opportunity was too good to be lost. In 1782 Grattan brought in a Bill removing all restrictions from Irish commerce; the Government opposed it, but the volunteers, who by this time appear to have resolved themselves into a vast political club, declared it should be so, and it was passed. The Government then saw the danger of the movement. The regular army was increased, a militia raised and officered by English adherents, and in a few years the volunteers were disbanded.

For a short time, Catholics had been permitted to join the volunteers, and thousands had done so; after their dispersion the Protestants, in gratitude for the assistance of the Catholics in the removal of trade restrictions, joined their late comrades in a demand for Catholic emancipation, forming in 1791 the society of United Irishmen.

The society had existed but a short time, when the Protestants seceded, refusing to look for an alliance with France, or to contemplate an armed struggle with England. The Catholics utilized the knowledge derived from their volunteer service, and became the party whose wild hopes culminated in the rebellion of 1798: a rebellion that, however conceived, developed into a religious war, as did every rebellion that had gone before: conceived with shortsighted desperation, it was prosecuted with hideous and revolting cruelty, and suppressed with a bloody fury at which humanity shudders. All this took place under an Irish Parliament—the Parliament for the return of which O'Connell clamoured, and Irishmen laid thousands at his feet; but happily for the future of the country, the year 1800 saw swept away the senate of a faction, dignified by the name of a Parliament: an assembly in which no Catholic dare show his face—in the election for which no Catholic had a vote; and the year 1829 saw, for the first time, the Catholic and Protestant representatives of Ireland, elected by the people of both religions, take their place in the united Parliament and their share in determining the destinies of a great united nation.

The rebellion of 1848, following so closely the frightful famine of 1847, was a consequence of the wave of revolution that then swept over Europe. A few people, frantic with the madness of despair, rose at the call of some harebrained enthusiasts, beginning and ending their campaign with the skirmish at Ballingarry, commonly called the battle of the Cabbage Garden. Happily that rebellion was an almost bloodless one, and then commenced the emigration to America that has in five-and-twenty years

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materially changed the proportion of parties in Ireland, and may, in five-and-twenty more, render possible the loyal fusion of the two parties, now as rigidly divided as French and German, and the growth of a healthy national sentiment.

Having thus glanced at the history of the two races from the Conquest, we find that Ireland is now peopled by the descendants of those planted by James in Ulster, by a few thousand pure Celts in West Connaught, and by a mixed race in Leinster and Munster, where the descendants of the English settlers have become fused with the Irish, have adopted their religion, as the deserted churches dotting at short intervals the counties of Waterford, Cork, Tipperary, and Limerick can testify; and men whose English names and splendid physique betray their origin, shout "Ireland for the Irish," and execrate the hated name of those cruel, but stalwart, soldiers from whose loins they have sprung.

But there is another point, the religious one, from which Irish society must be contemplated by those who would probe the causes of her discontent and propound a remedy with even a shadowy prospect of success. Some years since, an ingenious statistician arranged the proportion of the two religions in the various trades and professions, in a pyramidical form, numbering on each step the percentage of Protestants on one side, of Catholics on the other. The leather-breeches makers had the honour of being represented by the base, which showed 100 per cent. on the Catholic side, while the apex, representing the Viceroy, showed a like proportion on the Protestant side. The different steps between went upwards from manual labour to trades, farmers, professions, proprietors, nobility: and as each ascending step showed an ascent in the social scale, so did it display an ever-increasing proportion of Protestantism. This is not to be wondered at, when we remember that the penal enactments of William's and Anne's reigns resulted in the acceptance of Protestantism by almost every holder of property in Ireland; but the fact remains, that cutting the social pyramid in half, we find that an overwhelming proportion of the rank, wealth, and educated intelligence of the country is Protestant, while the proportion of the lower social strata is equally Catholic. The effect of this is to place in the field two great rival powers seeking political leadership—the Aristocracy, and the Roman Catholic Church. That the landed proprietors, the great merchants, and the intellectual giants of a community are its natural leaders, is a proposition in sociology that would appear to require no proof, but the Catholic Church says:—"No, I am your natural leader and adviser in matters of faith and morals;" and the action of the Church in Ireland shows that she looks upon every incident in the lives of "the faithful" as a matter of faith and morals.

From poor Paddy's cradle to his burial the phrase is held over him *in terrorem*. His marriage—the education of his children—the purchase of a farm—his vote at an election, whether of a relieving officer, guardian, dispensary doctor, or parliamentary representative—every event, social or political, in which he is called upon to take a part, comes within the Church's elastic definition of “faith and morals.” How, then, is he to be satisfied? By satisfying the insatiable demands of the Catholic Church? That were hardly possible, except England undertook to dip her finger into every politico-religious pie in Europe. For instance, here is one of the many “reasonable” demands put forward gravely, a short time since, by the leading exponent of Catholic opinion in Ireland :—

“ While the Pope is kept from his rightful sovereignty, there can be no lasting peace in Christendom, and the Catholic population of the world meantime will be restless and discontented. ‘In the meantime,’ says the Holy Father, ‘the Catholics of each state should insist that their Government shall take heed of the disastrous condition of affairs at Rome. They have a strict right, as well as a solemn obligation, to do so, ‘for,’ says the Pope, ‘if each of the faithful has a right to demand of his Government to guarantee him his personal liberty, he has not the less right to invite it to guarantee the liberty of him who is for each the guide and interpreter of his faith and religion.’ ”

No doubt every free subject has a right to “invite” the Government to do anything he chooses; but it is unlikely that in this instance the British Parliament would see things in quite the same light. The Home Rule Association now steps in and cries, “Ireland for the Irish!” but the Protestants of the north of Ireland have sufficient sagacity to see that it means, Ireland for the Catholic Irish, and refuse to join the movement. The Home Rule leaders declare for a dual representation—a Parliament sitting in Dublin, elected by the present constituents, and an Imperial Parliament, sitting in St. Stephen's as at present. The one would vote supplies for Irish purposes, resume the management of the Irish national debt, and enact all laws relating to Ireland; the other would continue to regulate Imperial affairs as at present. The election for the two Houses would be separate. This plan, to any but the merest visionary, is palpably unfeasible. Not alone would it be impossible to define where local affairs might or might not become of imperial moment, but no person who studies the Irish representation can be blind to the certainty that an Irish Parliament, elected by the present constituencies, would be a Parliament devoted to the Catholic Church interests, and faithfully obeying the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The Irish Catholic Church is not alone Catholic but Ultramontane, and the Ultramontane Church of

the present day is essentially aggressive. She is making a last struggle against intellectual progress—a struggle in which she is being worsted in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and Switzerland; she is losing thousands by the clash of free thought in America. Outside Belgium her great stronghold is Ireland, where the priesthood have recovered the loss of influence caused by their opposition at first to the Fenian movement, and resumed their sway over a people naturally devotional and superstitious.

There is not a doubt that an Irish Parliament would simply register the decrees of the Catholic Church; but is it likely that England would stand by, and permit a reactionary Education Bill to pass? or that the Protestants would calmly submit to being left out in the cold, while the Catholics were, as they would be, the recipients of every national plum that could be bestowed by a Home Parliament? Ten years would not roll over “re-generated” Ireland ere her soil was red with the blood of the rival factions. To know the feelings of a free people we must read the papers that circulate amongst them. The press at once leads and follows public opinion; it may deflect it considerably; it cannot turn it back. Now, when we take up one of the “national” papers of Ireland, what do we find? We find the most uncompromising hatred of England and everything English; we find that the translation of Home Rule is separation from England first, and Catholic Ireland in the future. The unpractical Irishman turns his longing eyes to the West, and forgetting that, for better or worse, Ireland is by geographical position indissolubly wedded to England, indulges in the impossible dream of a union with the United States, where so many of his kindred have found a home. He is told by his political leaders that Home Rule will place him in a position to choose his own future, and, with the want of political sagacity that has ever been a striking feature in the Celtic character, he places a blind trust in every fluent demagogue who best proves his freedom by the boldness and impunity with which he declares him to be a slave.

If the religious aspirations and bigotry of the Catholics be extreme, those of the Protestants are no less so. A story is told of a northern Protestant who returned to Ireland after an absence of forty years; old friends were looked up, old memories revived. At length a sturdy Orangeman, in answer to an inquiry how things were progressing at home, said:

“Eh, mon, the counthry’s jest gone to the bod; why, a’hear the Lord Lieutenant does have Popish priests and beshops diuin’ at his table. Ah, weel, weel, a’ mind the time when ef ye shot a Papist *it was no harm*; but the noo, wud ye believe me? ef ye went oot

an' kelled a Papist, a'm dommed ef they wudn't tak an' hang ye for et. There's leberty for ye !"

If any person hesitates to believe that the same feeling exists to-day, his doubts will be removed by making a short tour in Ulster between the 1st and 13th of July, when an additional army of about 4000 troops and constabulary is annually moved to the north to prevent her Majesty's liege subjects from breaking into internecine war. If he assumes a green necktie in an Orange quarter or an orange one in a Catholic, he will, if he has not paid for his temerity with his life, return to England with a somewhat clearer idea of the frightful bigotry that disgraces Irish civilization and renders a working Irish Parliament an utter impossibility.

The question then remains: what are the causes of Ireland's discontent, and how can they be met? England asks plainly, what do you want? Ireland's burning patriots come forward, and, exhibiting the exhumed horrors of dead and buried penal enactments, cry out in frenzied orations for "Justice to Ireland." The Protean demand is reiterated in so many forms, and its clamorous vitality so plainly increased by every fresh concession, that bewildered England knows not what to do. Mr. Gladstone came into power for the purpose of grappling with the Irish difficulty, which he divided into three parts: Church, Land, and Education. The first was disestablished, to the delight of the Catholic Church, and disendowed, to her horror, for she had a pretty little scheme of coming forward generously, when the English Establishment is attacked, as it will be, and saving it on condition that the English Churchmen assist in her establishment in Ireland as the Church of the majority, when the funds would be found all ready for transfer. The disendowment not alone spoiled the plan, but inspired the Irish Church with a new vitality, and paved the way to a union between the two great Protestant sects in Ireland. The Land question, unlike the Church, came home to the great mass of the people, and much as has been written on the failure of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, it has effected much good in the west and in the south of Ireland, where the increase in the value of land may be imagined when the interest of a tenant at will, in three acres situated far from a town, and paying a yearly rent of 7l. 10s., was disposed of a short time ago for three hundred and fifty pounds! The Education, like the Church agitation, is purely a clerical question in which the Irish people take no interest. The Catholic clergy see that the system of education adopted in the national schools is enlarging the mental calibre of the youth of Ireland, and imbuing them with a spirit of in-

vestigation inimical to the unquestioning reception of mediæval fictions. A desperate fight will be made for denominational education, and the rallying cry of danger to faith and morals will be raised from Malin Head to Cape Clear, but England will hardly grant such a measure while its disastrous effects are so plainly shown in the province of Ulster, where denominational education practically exists, and the members of the two religions are kept separate from the cradle to the grave.

But besides the three leading questions there are many minor ones arising daily in Ireland, on which the Government appears to have adopted the policy that the peace of the country can only be secured by following the dictates of the Catholic hierarchy. The convents and other religious houses have been, as industrial schools, endowed to the amount of 50,000*l.* a year—an endowment increasing daily. The Local Government Board—Catholic, of course—has consented to the introduction into the workhouses of Sisters of Mercy as paid nurses, and immediately, in obedience to directions from Marlborough Street, the boards of guardians in the south and west proceed to pass resolutions that these ladies be invited to come and be paid for the work to which they are popularly supposed to have devoted themselves, without fee or reward, from motives of self-sacrificing charity. The effect of this will be an endowment of their order to the extent of many thousands a year. Everything the Government can give is handed to Catholics, while the Church cries “More, more!” and the Protestants begin to grumble deeply and dangerously at the prospect of being subjected to a Catholic ascendancy.

The Bar is more than three-quarter Protestant; the Bench is more than three-quarter Catholic; while to secure the appointment of Catholic magistrates a system of social subsoiling has been commenced, and frieze-coated farmers appointed to the commission of the peace, who, no matter how honest they may be, are neither respected nor trusted by a peasantry more aristocratic in their leaning than any people in the world. Where, then, is the solution for this political problem? Not in Home Rule, for the Protestant third of the nation would go to the wall; not in the present system, for Catholicism bids fair to attain the ascendancy that Home Rule would give her, and a change of government would result in a similar state of affairs, only the Catholics would go to the wall instead of the Protestants. Between the fanatical extremes of the two parties there are many thousands who ask for and dream of no impossibilities, and who look for a measure of local government as a necessity that must ere long be acknowledged by England. The impossibility of obtaining Government assistance towards the development of national resources

while Ireland claims that she is taxed to a larger proportion of the united revenue than was stipulated for at the Union, is a standing grievance that points the moral of many an inflammatory harangue. Irish fishermen learn lessons of disloyalty from the contemplation of the thousands annually expended in the fostering care of Scotch fisheries while assistance is denied to them ; Irish seaports know that wherever besides improvements may be effected, no money handed to the tax-collector will be returned for their benefit ; Irish riparian proprietors see thousands of acres annually submerged by preventible inundations, and ask in vain for assistance ; Irish projectors of the most trivial works of utility requiring an Act of Parliament, must, even though unopposed, spend at least two thousand pounds in making their application for the Bill, and sending their witnesses to London, while it might be done in Dublin for one-tenth of the cost. The outcome of all this is a demand for federation from one party and for local legislation by Irish members of the British Houses from another. The most practical scheme proposed since the commencement of the Home Rule agitation was embodied in a letter written by the late Earl of Clancarty to Mr. Butt, M.P., in 1870. He says :—

“ I have long been of opinion that in lieu of a Select Committee of the two Houses, sitting in London, a General Committee composed of the Irish members of the House of Commons and of Irish Peers having seats in Parliament, meeting in Dublin a month or six weeks before the opening of the Parliamentary session, would be a body much better fitted to inquire into and report upon all private Bills from Ireland intended to be laid before the two Houses.”

He adds further on : “ To the same General Committee might also, in the first instance, be submitted to be reported upon, all public Bills relating exclusively to Ireland.” With the exception that the Committee should consist of equal numbers of Liberals and Conservatives, the scheme is sensible and feasible. When the day of its adoption comes, a giant stride will have been made in the sentimental union of the islands and consolidation of the kingdom.

But something more is requisite. The Irish are a sensitive people and peculiarly subject to sentimental impulse—a weakness it may be, of national character, but no less worthy of study by a nation and a dynasty who wish to bind Ireland in bonds of affectionate loyalty. That the Irish have ever been aristocratic in their leanings their history shows ; but they cannot be loyal to an abstract idea, and to them Royalty is nothing more. There are many reasons why it would be impolitic to place one of the Royal Princes in the position of Viceroy of Ireland, but there are

none why royal residences should not be purchased in the north and south, in either of which the Sovereign, or one of the Royal Family might reside for a portion of every year. An Englishman can hardly understand the effect of such an arrangement in attaching the Irish people to the Royal Family; but those living in Ireland know it well—so well, that the project is discouraged in every possible manner by the national press, and the agitation-mongers, for whom contentment were ruin. The same observations that apply to relations between the Royal Family and the people, apply with twofold force to those existing between the landlords and their tenants. More than one-quarter of Ireland is owned by absentees, who annually draw from their properties nearly three millions sterling, of which but the merest fraction is spent in Ireland. This is a gigantic evil and one that must yet be grappled with, either by an increased proportion of poor-rates on absentee proprietors, or in some other manner. While it exists to its present extent, it is a dangerous flaw in the social fabric of the country.

The curse of Ireland has been government by extremes: obstinate refusal to hear any complaints, alternating with undignified and impolitic concessions to popular clamour; and while that system continues Ireland will remain discontented and dangerous. We have endeavoured to “nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice,” but to show how unfit is the disunited Ireland of to-day to govern herself, yet how necessary it is that her local governing powers should be extended in a more satisfactory manner than by a Government Board, and that the solution of her difficulty is, a firm Government, refusing to identify itself with either extreme faction. With perfect religious equality, and an educated people, with Irish measures debated at home, and brought forward in the Imperial Parliament with the stamp of the country’s approval, and with one of the Royal Family living in Ireland—neither the head of a party, nor the representative of a ministry, but one who would attract to him the people of all parties—the well-wishers of Ireland might reasonably look forward to the time when the patriotism of Protestants and Catholics would work together for the national benefit, and render Home Rule possible. When that time comes, Home Rule will be unnecessary.

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ART. VI.—THE POEMS OF DAFYDD AB GWILIM.

THE value of Celtic remains for the purposes of history and archæology has been fully acknowledged; the great store of Welsh poetry is almost unexplored. But to those who seek to penetrate the dimness of the mysterious language which surrounds early Welsh poetry the reward is ready, and we venture to say adequate. It is with a view of throwing some light upon the works of one of the sweetest and most fascinating of forgotten poets that the present paper has been undertaken.

The last and greatest of the Welsh lyrists was Dafydd ab Gwilim. He died in the year 1400, and a portion of his poems appeared first in print a century ago. The language in which they are written is obscure to the majority of his countrymen, and has been investigated only by some few archæologists. He has therefore never found the audience to which his merit entitles him. A short account of his life, for which the materials are scanty enough, and of his works, which are rarely to be met with, will aid in forming some estimate of his real worth.

The most trustworthy accounts of his life affirm that he was born about the year 1340, the son of a Welsh gentleman of family. He was thus the contemporary of Chaucer and Petrarch, and was subject to many of the influences which affected the "Father of English poetry." The Wales of Ab Gwilim was in many respects like the England of Chaucer. The same French wars drew their contingents from England and Wales. In the battle of Cressy the Welsh soldiers were specially distinguished, and in the army which besieged Calais, it is said there were nearly five thousand Welsh foot soldiers. Minstrelsy was supported and encouraged in both countries, and in both countries abbeys and conventual edifices were centres of influence and hospitality. The spirit of feudalism and chivalry was still strong.

Little is known of the early life of Dafydd. When young he was taken by his parents to the Court of Ivor the Generous, a nobleman who kept a great house in Monmouthshire, and who is said to have been a relative of his father. This nobleman became a warm patron of the poet, who was never weary of proclaiming his gratitude in verse. But it was chiefly to his uncle Llewelyn, of Emlyn, that Dafydd owed his education, for by him he was trained in the severe discipline of Welsh verse, and from him he acquired an elegant proficiency in the management of the harp.

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ART. VI.—THE POEMS OF DAFYDD AB GWILIM.

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household of Ivor. His position, however, seems to have been rather an anomalous one, for he was both steward and tutor to Ivor's daughter. The latter appointment was an unwise one, as the result showed. Dafydd soon entertained a too warm feeling for his pupil, and her father thought to avert the consequences of his indiscretion by sending her to a nunnery in Anglesey, whilst he retained her lover as his steward. But the poet immediately took service in a monastery not far from the retirement of his lady, and fed his passion with such infrequent opportunities as he had of seeing her. Other means, too, he found of wooing her, for poems of no doubtful meaning appear to have reached the young nun.

"Is it then true," he asks in one such effusion,* "O lady of my love, that the summer grove of graceful hazels charms thee no more? Dost thou muse with the psalter in yon still house, my lady of the starry eyes? Art thou indeed a saint, and beloved sister of yonder choir. In God's name, away with the bread and water, away with the wretched cresses. Have done, in Mary's name, with the pattering prayers and creed of the monks of Rome. No nun is the spring; our wood is brighter than the cloister. Love dies, O maiden fair, at thy vows. Ah, better the ring and cloak and bright light dress of spring. Come to our beechen chair, and learn the cuckoo's hymn. There in the green shade will we learn the true lesson of heaven and love."

This piteous appeal was, however, of no avail, and nothing remained to Dafydd but to return to his stewardship, which Ivor seems to have kept open for him, perhaps from the feeling that the mischief was partly of his own making.

Ab Gwylim had now enrolled himself in the order of minstrels who made each year, like the Provençal troubadours, a circuit of their patrons. Not only in Glamorganshire, where he was recognised as laureate of the shire, but in all South Wales, and especially at Llewelyn's house at Emlyn, the minstrels found a warm welcome. This circuit, which was called the *clera*, often drew Ab Gwylim from Ivor's Court and extended his reputation. One strange story throws some light upon the manners of the minstrels. The incident is said to have occurred at Emlyn, where many minstrels had assembled. Between one of these and Dafydd a quarrel arose, occasioned probably by the youthful vanity of the latter. At such poetical gatherings it was customary for the minstrels to choose one of their own number as a butt for the wit of the others, and upon him they were allowed to turn all the raillery of which they were capable, abusing and ridiculing him with extreme licence. Indeed, all abuse was tolerated except

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that which was *founded on truth*. To these attacks the unhappy poet had to make such impromptu replies as he could. Generally some one was chosen who could readily meet and retort the fanciful invectives, and upon one occasion our poet occupied this position. His special enemy seized the opportunity for venting his feelings, and exceeded, it is said, the very wide margin of toleration which was granted. But the next day Dafydd ab Gwylim took a terrible revenge. He read in reply a poem so caustic and bitter, and which dealt so severely with the character of his opponent, that the unhappy young man fell dead in the hall. To this event Ab Gwylim refers as to a matter of notoriety in one of his extant poems. The fatal poem itself survives, and will certainly bear comparison with the article which did *not* kill Keats.

This was not the only occasion when Dafydd had a poetical contest with a rival. Sometime later a poet of Anglesey ridiculed him for his devotion to a lady, and Ab Gwylim replied by taunting him with plagiarism and literary dishonesty. The dispute lasted for a considerable time, and neither poet would admit himself vanquished. Fortunately this contest had a happier ending than the previous one. A reconciliation was effected by a third person, Bola Bauol, who first declared in North Wales that our poet, known as the Demetian Nightingale, was dead, and then in South Wales that a similar fate had overtaken the poet of Anglesey. The rivals then found that, like warriors after a combat, they had a greater respect for each other than they had imagined, and each wrote a pathetic elegiac lament upon his adversary. The result was most satisfactory. When the truth was discovered the old state of warfare could not be renewed, and a sincere friendship united the poets ever afterwards.

A Welsh clergyman of the reign of Queen Elizabeth tells us that he had spoken with a woman who in her youth knew another who had conversed with Ab Gwylim. He is described as a handsome man of slender person, with golden hair, that fell in abundant ringlets upon his shoulders. Of this hair he was not a little vain, as his poems testify. He says that the girls in church would whisper that he had stolen his sister's hair.

We turn to his printed poems. Half of them are love-poems, and reflect a joyous, changing character, but never a trivial nature. We have seen that the lady whom he first loved was separated from him by her father. In his next passion he was not more fortunate. Six of his poems are addressed to this lady. The following verses are not dissimilar to the invitation which he gave to her predecessor in his affections. He implores her to meet him in the grove—

Whilst we are there beneath the leaves
 Birchen boughs shall form our eaves ;
 We shall see the great-eyed deer,
 Hear the spring birds singing near ;
 There the thrush shall tell his tale,
 To the brown backed nightingale.
 Nine tall trees with arms that meet,
 Form a bowery retreat ;
 Thither, when the day is done
 All the cooing doves are gone ;
 Below, a sheltered rest is given,
 Above, the temple arch of heaven ;
 And, if I dare whisper more,
 Golden clover forms the floor.

There the wood is hushed and still,
 Save where sings the bird or rill ;
 There our house is fresh and fair,
 Joy and love and heaven are there.
 * There the blackbird meets her love,
 Kestrels haunt this darkened grove ;
 There our bower, by jealous eyes,
 Undiscoverable lies.
 Thither then, to-night repair,
 (Wilt thou not ?) my lady fair ;
 Bright-eyed maiden, I implore,
 Grant me this, if nothing more.*

But to this invitation the lady sent no favourable reply, and shortly after we find him resigning all hope of her favour. In truth, the Laura of our Petrarch had now appeared. And some title to the Italian name Ab Gwylim may claim, if we consider the constancy of his devotion and the number of poems—147—which he addressed to her. He describes their meeting as taking place at Rhosyr, in Anglesey. Rhosyr, now known as Newborough, is at present a small village, whose inhabitants barely earn subsistence by the sale of coarse matting, which they make from the sea-reeds. It was then the brilliant resort of noblemen and the wealthy.

“On St. Peter’s eve,” says the poet, “I was watching at Rhosyr on the Sea, the gay and gallant people who passed me by, when there appeared the bright star of Venedotia, my renowned and peerless Enid. Fair was she, of slender neck, white and wise, and gentle and kind ; for love of her bright face followed many a one, and her colour was like the pure snow. It was a wonder with the people that the heavens had given so sweet a maid.”†

* Gwahoddiad Dyddgu i’r Deildy, xix.

† I Forfudd partwelodd y Bardd hi gyntaf, xxi.

This lady was Morvyth, the daughter of a gentleman of Anglesey; and, as was to be expected, the poet's love did not run smoothly. His first present, a vessel of wine, which he tells us would have gratified a monarch, was rejected with disdain. The costly offering was thrown upon the head of the servant who presented it. "This," says the poet, more in sorrow than in anger "was disrespect to *me*." His love was not, however, quenched. It broke forth in song. As the lady was not accessible to himself, the birds from the groves were commanded to utter his appeal. The wind, the cuckoo, the woodcock, the blackcock, and the seagull all bear his plaintive messages. It was thus he addressed the seagull:—

Seagull, child of the ocean stream,
Pale as the slow moon's silver beam,
Spotless, inviolate beauty is thine,
Thrown like the flash of a glove on the brine;
Light are thy steps on the foam of the sea,
Whose fish are a dainty prey to thee.
Blameless bird, wilt thou deign to bear,
My letter of praise to a maiden fair?
To a maiden whose love like an arrow of fire,
Pierces my heart with wild desire?
Ocean lily, come to my hand,
Take me this letter across the strand;
Nun of the edge of the foam of the sea,
Tell her how she is renowned by me;
Climb to the height of her castle hall,
Thence shalt thou see her, the fairest of all;
Tell her the passion with which I pine,
Haste to my lady, bid her be mine.
But bird, be wise, be this thy care,
That gently thou speak to my lady fair;
And yet, my messenger, say for her sake,
If I do not please her my heart will break.

Alas! my love is tender and true!
Never did Taliesin woo,
Or Merlin a maid that with her could compare.
O, bird, shouldst thou see her when thou art there,
Greet her the fairest of all the fair.

If Morvyth will not smile on me,
I care not how soon my death may be.*

How long this wooing continued unsuccessful is uncertain. Thirty poems at least are addressed to her during this period,

* Y wylan yn llattai, xxviii.

varying in their expression, like a lover's mood, from hope to despair. The lady was not easily won, or if she had given her heart to the poet her parents would by no means consent to unite their daughter with a lover whose only wealth was his song and his harp. Upon the whole it went ill with Dafydd at this time. In the following melancholy stanzas he reproaches her for her unkindness, and speaks forebodingly of the result of her cruelty :—

Ah, shouldst thou slay thy lover true,
 'Twill prove thine own demerit ;
 Such fate where only love is due,
 Will stain thy spotless spirit.
 Then me a woodland grave shall hide,
 And earth shall be my pillow ;
 Two trees shall grow on either side,
 A birch and weeping willow.
 And on me only shall be laid,
 Cerecloths of summer clover ;
 The quivering trees shall stoop to shade
 Thy broken-hearted lover.
 There they shall gently lay him low,
 Beside the upland meadow ;
 Where many an old and gnarled bough,
 Shakes down its chequered shadow.
 There Jealousy can never come,
 To touch what earth encloses ;
 Nor Malice find the quiet home
 Where thy dead love reposes.
 But there the studious priest to stray
 In hours of learned leisure,
 As well befits his robes of grey,
 Shall find a sober pleasure.
 And there the blackbirds oft shall brood,
 And church-like music hover,
 Where far within the solemn wood,
 Low lies thy hapless lover.
 And round the thrush's song shall float
 And summer growths be greatest,
 And there the cuckoo's organ note
 Be earliest heard and latest.
 And all the birds shall masses say,
 That I may be forgiven,
 Until my spirit purged of clay,
 Be fit to enter heaven.*

* Claddu y Bardd o gariad, xxxii.

These gloomy forebodings were unfulfilled. Morvyth without the knowledge of her parents consented to a union, which it must be admitted was irregular even for those times. The forest aisles and woodland chancel which were to have witnessed the poet's burial saw the celebration of his marriage. A brother minstrel, one Madoc Benfras, officiated, and the thrush, we are told, was clerk. Morvyth's friends however indignantly repudiated the ceremony, and shortly afterwards gave her to a wealthy husband, by name Cynvrig Cynin. Dafydd ab Gwylim says that he was an old and decrepid man. Whenever he speaks of him he calls him the "Little Crookback," and he loses no opportunity of illustrating the Welsh opulence of abusive terms upon this instance. The truth was, however, probably at variance with our poet's assertions: Cynvrig Cynin was a captain in the English army at the battle of Cressy, and the poet himself had a wholesome fear of coming into personal contact with the "decrepid old man." But in one of his letters to Morvyth he describes him as a "sootbag," a "speckled alligator," and an "Atheist." However, Morvyth now became the legal wife of Cynvrig, and Dafydd was compelled to make the best of the situation. From his point of view it does not appear to have been a very bad one, for he never ceased writing poems to the lady, or having clandestine interviews with her. At last he so wrought upon her that she eloped with him, an event which he celebrates in two poems of triumph. The "speckled alligator," however, again appeared upon the scene, took back his wife, and brought Dafydd before a court of justice, who punished him with a heavy fine. As the poet had no effects except a trichord harp he was unable to pay the fine, and was thrown into prison. Unexpected help was at hand. The men of Glamorgan, whose laureate he was, and who held his songs in high esteem, came forward, and by paying the fine set the poet free. In return for this he wrote a graceful poem, in which he entreated the sun to visit and bless Glamorgan:—

"Go, Sun, I implore thee, thou bright, slow splendour, and in that dear land suffer not the bridges to be borne away by immoderate waters, nor unkindly frosts and untimely winds to blast the crops. Let not the angry stars rain calamitous influence on tree or herb, nor the rough winds descend from their mountain strongholds. But pour thou each day upon Glamorgan thy warmth at morn and eve, and fold my country in thy amplest light." (xciii.)

In spite of the warning which he had thus had, the poet attempted once more to carry off Morvyth, but this time without success. He wrote, he tells us, seven score and seven poems in her honour. About a hundred are to be found in the printed

collection. The titles of the following will indicate their contents :—

- "To the Shepherds who terrified Morvyth with a rattle."—LXV.
- "The wreath of peacock's feathers—Morvyth's gift."—LVII.
- "To the hare that frightened Morvyth when she was going to the grove to meet the poet."—L.
- "To the overflowing waters that prevented the poet from crossing the river to visit Morvyth."—XLI.
- "To express the poet's regret for a presumptuous word which had offended Morvyth.—To Morvyth when the poet heard that she was about to marry the Little Crookback."—LXVI.
- "What the cuckoo told the poet about Morvyth's marriage with the Little Crookback."—LXX.
- "The story of how the poet took Morvyth from the Little Crookback."—LXXIV.
- "Praise of the Nightingale, and a satire upon the Raven that croaked while the poet was waiting for Morvyth in the grove."—LXXXV.
- "The willow-hat that Morvyth wore for the poet."—LXXXV.
- "The poet's complaint when he was compelled to pay a fine to Crookback for carrying Morvyth away."—XCII.
- "A prayer that little Crookback might be drowned when he sailed to France as an officer with Rhys Gwgan and 300 Welshmen under Edward III."—XCIX.
- "To the grey brother who sought to make Morvyth a nun."—CIII.
- "A comparison of Morvyth to the harp."—CV.
- "Satire upon the Echo-rock that answered the poet when he was calling upon Morvyth."—CXIII.
- "To Morvyth, when she said the poet was growing old."—CXVII.

Ab Gwylim survived Morvyth for many years. As age really came upon him he retired to Cardiganshire, where it is probable he was one of the many minstrels connected with the noble Abbey of Ystrad Fflur or Strata Florida. Ivor the Generous and his wife had died of the plague, but at this time in Wales a home was never wanting for a true poet. This home Ab Gwylim found at Strata Florida, and beneath the yews of the abbey he was buried in the year 1400. The same year saw the death of Chaucer, and thus the last great poet of Wales and the first of England, who had probably never heard each other's names, passed away together; their works were to meet with a very different destiny. The epitaph upon the tomb of Ab Gwylim stated that below were buried Dafydd ab Gwylim and Welsh song. In the next year the abbey was burned by Henry VI. Two centuries afterwards the place was visited by Leland, who says of it :—"The cemetery wherein the country about doth bury is very large, and meanly walled with stone. In it be xxxix great yew trees. The fraternity and infirmary be

now mere ruins." More than two centuries have elapsed since the visit of Leland. The "fratry and infirmary" have vanished altogether; the "xxxix great yew trees" have left not a trace of their existence, but there stands yet one wall of the ancient abbey, with an admirable Norman doorway and a window. Overgrown as they are with ivy and flowers, they indicate with sufficient emphasis the former splendour of the place.

The compositions addressed to Morvyth form nearly a third of the printed works of Dafydd ab Gwylim. The remainder consists of poems of a similar character, of idylls, elegies, and a few religious poems. All these bear the characteristics of the second epoch in the history of Welsh literature. The first epoch, which lasted from the fourth to the sixth century, exhibits very certainly a pagan element. Christianity is being assimilated, and the noble but barbaric mysteries of Druidism cloud and obscure the language and images of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch, and Merlin. It is otherwise with the poems of the second epoch. These have lost the metaphysical obscurity of the first period, and have gained an idyllic sweetness or a courtly grace which contrasts forcibly with the battle-cries of Aneurin or the rhapsodies of Taliesin. Narratives, such as that of which the "Gododin" is an uncouth fragment, have given place to the graceful ode. The laureate crown of this period must be adjudged to Dafydd ab Gwylim. The following idyll will to some extent illustrate the poet's playful style:—

THE POET AND THE MAID.

He. Fair morrow to my lady-love.
She. Thanks, cuckoo-poet of the grove.
He. Art thou well in health and glee?
She. Yes, if that is aught to thee.
He. How I joy to see thee, maid.
She. Many a fool the same has said.
He. Love, how fair thou art to see!
She. If I am, no thanks to see.
He. What a lovely face is thine!
She. All the cost of it is mine.
He. And thy dark eyes like the sea!
She. Both of them belong to me.
He. Well thou answerest, maiden fair.
She. Thee to please I do not care.
He. Wilt thou grant me or deny?
She. Maybe I can not reply.
He. Thou art dumb then, I suppose—
She. *That* of course, my answer shows.
He. Maid, is money dear to thee?
She. Fool, such questions anger me.

He. Are there kinder words in store ?

She. No, there are not ; ask no more.

He. Tell me, in a word or two,
Should I win if I should woo ?

She. No, by Mary ! this I swear,
In my heart thou hast no share.

He. What ! dost thou refuse to wed ?

She. Thee I hate—enough is said.

He. I am strong, disdainful maid.

She. By Mary, I will cry for aid.

He. Then let us to the altar go.

She. To deceive my father so ?

He. Can I ever hope to please ?

She. Not with questions such as these.

He. Then I'll seek a maid more kind.

She. And I a lover to my mind.*

The next poem which we shall translate recalls by its joyous delight in the natural beauties of spring-time, and by the ringing reiteration of its rhymes, the lays of the German Minnesingers. Indeed, a striking list of resemblances might be drawn up between the songs of our Welsh poet and those of Walther von der Vogelweide, the greatest of the Minnesingers.

THE MONTH OF MAY.

God knew well when it was the day
And fitting hour for the birth of May.
The growing leaves in their green array,
Welcomed the first of the morns of May.
I watched the forest's tasselled spray,
And yesterday God gave the May.
Praised of the poets, she did not delay,
Glad was my heart at the coming of May,
For the gifts are many she gives away—
A generous-handed month is May !
She gives me money, the best alway,
The fair green hazel coins of May.
Florins that grow in the leafy way,
And fleur-de-lyst† of the mint of May.
Surely treachery keeps away,
As I shelter me under the wings of May.
Sad is my heart that she will not stay,
For ever and ever, the month of May ;
For then my lady does not delay

* Ymddiddan rhwng y Bardd a merch. clxxx.

† The florin stamped with a fleur-de-lys was, as we learn from Mr. J. A. Symmonds' admirable "Introduction to the study of Dante" (p. 158), a coin first struck by the Florentines to commemorate their victories over the Pisans and Sieneese in the year 1252.

To speak to me under the circle of May ;
And gentle poets learn their lay—
Their sweetest and best, from the songs of May.
The blameless child of the heavenly day,
In a pure green robe is innocent May.
Her wisdom purges our follies away,
And life is bright in the month of May.
Then with my love in the groves by day,
I wander alone in the month of May ;
By night beneath the stars I stray,
Blackbirds, not hawks, are the birds of May.
O, but a quivering green array
Falls on the folds and fields of May ;
O, but the nightingale's roundelay
Rings in the musical rhymes of May.
The poets are right when the poets say,
"There is no beauty as fair as May !"
The blue-winged peacocks are fair and gay ;
Which of them all is as fair as May ?
Who would build him a house of clay
Rather than dwell in the groves of May ?
Nurse of the wild-rose and the bay
And tender hazels is gentle May.
The farther the autumn the better away,
Kinder, I wot, is the month of May.
Summer will come, then she will not stay,
And loving tears will be shed for May.
Yet now I clothe me in green array,
Glad is my heart at the coming of May.
Ah ! would that God would hear me pray,
And Mary, that we might keep the May,
And the twelve long months I would ask that they,
If God permitted, might each be May.

The deep impression which the ceremonial of the Church made upon an imaginative mind is vividly shown in these poems. The great houses of Ystrad Fflur, Conway, Valle Crucis, Neath, and others scattered throughout the country, brought the people into contact with an imposing ritual, which awed them even when they had ceased to respect its ministers. In the fourteenth century there was already a reaction in the popular mind against the Church. The power which the Romish establishment wielded for many centuries, and especially its direct authority over the whole life of the individual, was felt to be an intolerable burden. The orders of the Benedictine monks and mendicant friars contributed also, each in its several way, to bring about the general sentiment which is humorously reflected in the pages of Chaucer and Boccaccio. The first order, by its

indolence and devotion to luxurious living rather than to sound learning, aroused the distrust of a people who were already awaking from their lethargy; and the second was particularly unlikely to find favour with the minstrels, whose rivals they were for the patronage and hospitality of the wealthy. Indeed, tradition still records many of their quarrels and mutual recriminations. Thus there existed, not only through the country but often in the mind of a single individual, a double feeling—respect for the ritual and a distrust of the priest. This double feeling is to be seen in the poems of Ab Gwylim. The following, for instance, with its fanciful allusions to ritualistic service, will illustrate one side of this feeling :—

Early to-day my footsteps strayed
Underneath the hazel shade;
There I heard, at morn's first blush,
The inimitable thrush.
Swift, with neither stop nor stay,
He had come from far away;
He had come across the Dee,
My love's messenger to me.

Bell-like from his slender throat
Through the thicket rang his note.
Many a branching flower graced
The cope about his dainty waist,
While his cassock floated fair
On the blue wings of the air;
At our altar there was seen
Nothing common, nothing mean.
Morvyth sent him, sent to me,
This bright priest of melody.

For I heard him, loud and clear,
Preach the Gospel without fear;
To the land I heard him read
An intelligible creed;
And the holy wafer he
Raised—a leaf from off the tree.

'Then the fluent nightingale
(Priestess with him of the dale)
Rang the bell to signify
That the Host was raised on high;
While the priest, high overhead
Raised the symbol of the bread,
And with it, in sweet accord,
Worship to our King and Lord.

All the rite delighted me,
And the woodland minstrelsy.*

* Y ceiliog bronfraith. xlv.

With the sombre doctrines of the Friars our poet had little sympathy. These ecclesiastics did not seem to him, as to some of his contemporaries, to be hypocritical, but to preach wrongly a gloomy view of life. His own nature delighting in joyous open-air communion with wood and mountain, and breaking into spontaneous song with the music of hill and grove, shrank from asceticism as untrue. His doctrine is at least intelligible. To the "grey brother" he says:—

"God is not so cruel as withered monks affirm. The belief in His cruelty comes from priests who brood over ancient parchment. God will not destroy the soul of an honest man for his love of matron or maid. Three things are loved throughout the world: beauty, fair weather, and health; and a maid is the fairest flower in heaven, next to God himself. From heaven comes all joy; all sorrow and sadness come from hell. Song is esteemed joyous by young and old, by the sick and by the whole. It is as right for me to sing as for thee to preach, for me to wear the minstrel's garb as for thee to trail thy beggar's rags. And what are thy hymns and suffrages but songs and antiphons? What is the Psalter of King David but poems to God the Lord? Not with one and the same meat does God feed all men. Few be they who are the creators of a true poem, but every man can patter a paternoster. But when this shall give as much pleasure as the recital of a poem, and when the maidens of Venedotia love the Psalter as they do my lays, I will sing, by my troth, perpetual paternosters, and cease not. Until then, confusion seize me if I sing any song but love songs."*

In other poems Dafydd ab Gwylim uses the friar to point his moral. Without direct abuse, he sufficiently shows the estimation in which the mendicant priest is held by himself and his audience. Some instances of this will be found in the following amusing quarrel between the Poet and his Shadow:—

Yesterday waiting my lady fair,
Until the passing shower were over,
Beneath the birch-tree's drooping hair,
I stood like any foolish lover.
When lo! I saw a figure rude
Standing in hideous solitude,
And bowing oft with mien polite
Now to my left, now to my right.
I crossed myself in dire dismay,
And all my patron saints I named,
Then to the figure I exclaimed—
"If thou art man, who art thou, pray?"

SHADOW.

"Tis I, whom thou hast seen before,
Only thy Shadow, nothing more.

* Y Bardd a'r Brawd llwyd. cxlix.

Remain thou still for Mary's sake,
 While I my proper office take.
 My office is to follow thee
 And always by thy side to be;
 And thou shalt find me faithful still
 Abiding ever—thus I will
 Reveal thee, gentle master mine,
 What man thou art, what shape is thine?

POET.

What cause hast thou, incessant sneak,
 To follow me thus? What dost thou seek?
 Is it that thou for hire dost serve
 Some jealous wretch, thou ugly curve?
 Spying me out, thou long-shanked knave,
 Thou mercenary scarecrow slave?

SHADOW.

In this, good sir, thou dost but err.

POET.

Do I, thou devil-descended cur?
 Why is it then, thou giant shoot,
 Thou lank, distorted, haglike brute
 (Save that a hag is fair to thee),
 Thou piece of aged gluttony,
 Thou art more like some hideous dream
 Than form that might a man beseem;
 Some priest that mouths and mumbles much,
 Or wrylegged hag on blackened crutch,
 Or shepherd of the imps of hell,
 Or scarecrow in a monkish shell,
 Or leprous chief of scurvy men,
 Or heron bloated in the fen,
 That stumbles on the frozen ground,
 Where its uncleanly food is found,
 Or shrivelled witch amongst the weeds,
 Or crane that vomits as it feeds;
 Thou palmer-face, of dullest race,
 Black friar in a hempen case,
 Hung round with rags from head to sole,
 Whence hast thou come, old garden pole?

SHADOW.

I have followed thee with secret glee,
 Full long by wood and lawn and lea,
 And at thy side I well descried
 Thy myriad tricks and sins beside.
 Were I to show one-half I know
 My tale would work thee many a woe.

POET.

Thou pitcher-neck, I little reck ;
No man but knows all thou canst show ;
Thou devil's spawn, have I forsworn
My oath, or slain a lamb forlorn ?
Do I at chickens pebbles throw,
Or frighten children on the way ?
Why, scarcely ever in my life
Have I misled a stranger's wife,
Or led a virtuous maid astray.

SHADOW.

Faith, should I make those secrets known
That now are kept by me alone,
Thou certainly wouldst quickly be
Swinging right high on the gallows-tree.

POET.

Ah, cruel snare ! Yet thou beware
Of telling, though thou mayst divine ;
Be silent still, as though there were
A muzzle on that mouth of thine.*

Perhaps the two most marked characteristics of these lyrics are a naïve vanity and a straightforward simplicity even in matters that tell against the poet himself. He is never ashamed of describing the dread which the approach of Little Crook-back caused him, nor the discomfiture which his own vanity brought upon him. As he saw himself growing older and losing those personal advantages whose possession had been his greatest delight, he could endure no longer the sight of the mirror which told him the unflattering truth. "Thou blue, round concave moon," he says, "illusory mercurial image, mysterious verge of dreamland, brittle brother of ice, treacherous yet alluring jewel, a wizard formed thee. Liar, blue-black deceiver, wry-mouthed untruthful mirror, to the flames with thee !" With the same vivacity he prays for the disaster of his enemy, and narrates his own. There is an account, almost in Chaucer's vein, of a night spent by him at an inn. There, as usual, he was enamoured of a lady whom he saw at the host's table, nor was it long before he became acquainted with her, and an assignation was made, to be kept when the rest of the party had retired. "There were not uttered between us," he says, "three words ; or if there were no one heard them." As, however, the poet was a stranger to the house, the darkness brought him into great confusion. Having left his room he stumbled first upon three English pedlars snoring amongst their goods. They awoke and took him for a robber,

* Y Bardd a'i gysgod. clxxi.

and it was with difficulty that he escaped them. Then bewildered he continued his flight, striking his shins against stools and benches, and his head against doors, and knocking down tables in his passage until he fell amongst a clanging array of pots and pans. Then arose the howling and barking of all the curs of the establishment; the servants hurried to and fro seeking the cause of the disturbance, whilst the poet with a beating heart hid himself until quiet was restored. Then emerging from his place of concealment he found by a lucky chance his own chamber, where he asked heaven's forgiveness for the mischief he had done, and the wickedness he had meditated.

Reference has already been made to the poet's power of vituperation. Anything that thwarted him drew down upon itself a voluble cataract of abuse. Some instances of this have already been given. The thunder which frightened Morvyth was a "red and howling witch, a cymbal-clashing hag, a screaming hoond, a rainy crow-clapper, the horselaugh of heaven, the braying of the copper clouds," and so on through fifty lines of energetic invective. The mist which hid his path to Morvyth was the "vapour of the furnace of hell, the father of rain and thieves, and the grandfather of hoar frost." The pool into which he fell on the morass was a "demon's fishing pond, the foul swine's chosen bathing place." Like a child Dafydd ab Gwylim was ready to strike any object that hurt him. The next translation shall be almost literal. The lover is speaking beneath his lady's window:—

He. There is an icicle at my heart, my head is distraught. I am exposed to the blast, and my tears freeze upon my cheek. Long have I walked over the snow, like snow myself. I must needs leap the brook at night, and the clods are hard and heavy: I dare not turn my head lest the treacherous soil yield like marsh ground beneath my step.

God knows that it is evil speaking here below. Open thy lattice, beautiful one, that slumberest in thy couch above.

She. Indeed I shall not open it, speak from without, good sir.

He. The closed window prevents, draw but the latch, my beautiful one.

She. The casement will creak; my father will easily awake.

He. He sleeps, he sleeps deeply; by heaven he will not awake.

She. My mother will hear it; she will chide me if I open it.

He. Wet thou with thy finger the pivot of the hasp of the window.

Afterwards, if it creak, I will ask, alas! for nothing more.

She. If thou art, indeed, in earnest in thy love—there, I have opened it.

He. Good evening, fair maid. How beautiful thou art!

She. Good evening, fair sir, if thy message be an honest one.

He. Suffer me to come nearer that I may deliver my message.

She. It were uncourteous of thee to ask it: alas! I dare not.

He. In my breast there is fierce pain. It is stabbed through and through. And my heart, say they what they may, is pierced a hundred times. I must needs disguise myself that none may know me. In bitter truth I shall die for the love of thee.*

But neither the imaginary and querulous sorrows of unrequited love, nor the transient triumphs of successful passion, filled up the whole nature of Dafydd ab Gwylim. He had far deeper and more real feelings than those which united him to his brother minstrels, as they journeyed a musical but roystering band from abbey to castle, and castle to hall, upon their "*clera*." The sincerity of his gratitude to his early patrons cannot be doubted. His elegy on Llewelyn of Emlyn, his poems to Ivor, and elegies on the other friends whom he survived, bear witness to the true affection with which he long remembered his benefactors; and his passion for Morvyth, though chequered by many errors, was in some respects an ennobling one. Nor should it be forgotten in estimating the poet's character, that the ceremony which brought himself and Morvyth into relationship, irregular as it was, was deemed by him a real marriage. And when meetings with her were no longer possible, through the just jealousy of her legal husband, the poet's muse remained faithful to her; and long after her death, when he himself was oppressed by the infirmities which attend advanced age, he recalled in his latest songs the memory and the name which had given their beauty to his earliest productions. These specimen translations may be aptly closed by a poem written in a different vein from the preceding. It was composed in the poet's declining years. Memories of Ivor had come upon him, and of Glamorgan, which had early appreciated his song, and stood by him in trouble. But all his affection culminated at the tomb of Ivor, where he laid his wreath of undying roses.

THE POET SENDS THE SUMMER TO GLAMORGAN.

Summer, sire of might divine,
All the newer growth is thine;
Jewelled king, thou dost awake,
Life and light in bush and brake;
We may trace in fresher grass,
Where thy royal footsteps pass;
In each forest of the land,
Thy triumphal arches stand;
All the lowland open lies,
Like another Paradise.
Thou hast built us bowery eaves,

Ymddiddan a Merch dan ei Ffenestr. *chi.*

Thou hast given us flowers and leaves ;
 Now by ash and oak are heard,
 Chirpings of the callow bird,
 Now there floats the whole day long,
 In the copse the blackbird's song ;
 Summer fair, summer bright,
 Thou art giver of delight.

Hear me, Summer, thou shalt be,
 Bounteous messenger for me.
 Fly to *Essyllt*,* hasten forth,
 From the rude land of the North,
 Go, until thou reach the sea,
 And the land beloved of me ;
 Take my greeting, kindly told,
 To Glamorgan twentyfold ;
 Twice a hundred blessings bear,
 To Glamorgan true as fair.
 From the mountain to the strand,
 Pass and compass all the land,
 Let her grasses stay thy feet,
 Bless her fields of corn and wheat,
 Fruitful lakes and fertile dells,
 Marble halls where kindness dwells.
 There her lords for poets' meed,
 Pour the wine and pour the mead ;
 There in bright continuous band,
 Orchards* stretch across the land,
 Birds that sing from tree to tree,
 Fill the air with love and glee ;
 Tangled branches cluster o'er,
 Leafy wall and flowered floor ;
 There the fields as tribute pay
 Eight kinds of corn and three of hay,
 Fields that stretch from hill to sea,
 A cloth of trefoil tapestry.
 There the lord does not withhold,
 From his poet mead and gold ;
 Through the palace ever rings,
 Music of the voice and strings ;
 Day by day from out the soil
 Spring the crops to guerdon toil,
 Wheat beneath the labourer's hands,
 Wheat to spare for other lands ;
 Dear Glamorgan, by the sea,
 Other lands rejoice for thee.

Summer, come with season fair,
 Blessings to Glamorgan bear,

* A name for South Wales.

Opening flowers and buds that grow,
 Golden herald, take and go.
 Let thine earliest sunlight fall
 On each white and glittering hall;
 Give her all the growths of Spring,
 Add thy choicest blossoming:
 Smile upon her palace halls,
 Linger by her cottage walls,
 Let thy footsteps tarry long
 Where her grass is rich and strong.
 Shake thou down in all her bowers
 Flower-like fruit and fruit-like flowers;
 Let her crops for plenty be
 As the streams that fill the sea.
 Still with orchards clothe her land,
 All her hills with vineyards bless,
 Scatter from a generous hand
 Largess of thy fruitfulness.

And when thou hast given these,
 When her foliage thickest grows,
 I will gather from her trees
 Bud and blossom of the rose;
 Jewels of the woodland way,
 Trefoil and the meadow bloom.

These memorials I will lay
 On my golden Ivor's tomb.

A few words should perhaps be said upon the metrical system on which these poems are written. It depends upon a complicated principle of alliteration and rhyme. Alliteration is scarcely a good name for the consonance of these verses, as the principle is much more involved than that upon which the old English alliteration depends. An example or two will illustrate this best. A consonant verse, we must premise, is divided into two parts; the second of which repeats the consonants of the first, with a variation of the vowels. If we now take the line which describes a fog:

TAID LLWYDREW || TAD Y LLADRON;
grandfather of hoarfrost, father of thieves,

or this:

GWALABE HAUL || GLOYWLWYBR yw HI
the pathway of the sun is a track of light,

we find each to consist of two parts corresponding with one another, except in the case of the last consonant, where uniformity would render the sound monotonous. This is the general principle, but it is capable of infinite variety; twenty-four

different systems have been acknowledged from the earliest times, adapted to different rules of harmony. Dr. Pughe, the Celtic scholar, says of the principle—

“These rules of harmony are adapted to the concatenation (or consonance) to form the component parts of a metre in a manner similar to a passage in music, the concatenated periods answering to perfect chords and accented notes, having in their intervenient spaces, their auxiliaries to perfect the idea without prejudice to the essential harmony; and particularly observing that the rhyme which terminates the verse be different from the concatenation, as if a musical strain after continuing on a certain chord should change to another to produce that variation of sounds which is requisite for the structure of harmonized melody. It seems, therefore, that all the melodies in Welsh poetry tend towards this point, and that its harmony arises from a reverberation, as it were, of similar sounds from different accented parts of a verse to others.”

It is very probable that this system was at first used as an aid to memory by the poets to whom was entrusted the preservation of early historical records. Variations were naturally introduced by the lyric poets of later times, and became almost as numerous as the Töne of the Minnesingers. Most of the present poems are in one metre, known as the “Cywydd” or ode. It is said that Dafydd ab Gwylim, by the invention of this measure, gained the laureate crown of Glamorgan,* and that this afterwards became a favourite metre of Welsh poets.

Of the Welsh language in these poems, it may be said that it here rises to the height of its power and dignity. No other Welsh writer ever ran such expert and masterly fingers over the full diapason of his language. It is a language which, as it has been little read of late by persons of wide culture, is in danger of not meeting with a just appreciation. The eulogists who speak it as a mother-tongue are suspected of a natural partiality, the philologists who acquire it, of that enthusiastic over-estimation with which vanquished difficulties are regarded. Yet it is in reality a language of remarkable energy and unequalled plasticity. Its sounds are never effeminate like the Italian, nor coarse like the German. It has the subtleties of mood which characterize the Latin, and a delicate system of euphonic changes more complete than that of the Greek. In expressing the tender emotions it can be made to whisper with soft vocalic sweetness, upon other occasions it learns to grate and roll with a fierce guttural volubility that forms an admirable counterpart of the sentiments it is intended to convey. Perhaps in no poetry is the correspondence between the feeling and the expression so continuously preserved as in the poetry of Dafydd ab Gwylim.

* Iolo MSS., p. 484.

It is most probable that the poet was ignorant of the English language. His aversion from us was expressed upon many occasions by bitter epithets, of which perhaps "surly" is least likely to give offence. But even among the nobles and gentry of Wales at this time English was unknown. Nor was Norman French spoken by them as it was by those of equal rank in England. We are told that when Owen Tudor, the husband of Catherine, widow of Henry V., was taken prisoner, he was visited by a hundred Welsh gentlemen, none of whom could speak English or French, so that Catherine exclaimed, "That they were the most gallant dumb animals she had ever seen!" But, notwithstanding this, many Saxon and Norman words found their way into Wales, and became naturalized there. It is interesting to mark these, and to see the form they assumed. In most cases they are the designations of articles of luxury, or words relating to ecclesiastical affairs, and thus show that the English had now assumed that position to the Welsh which the Normans for a short time after the Conquest held towards the Saxons. In these poems we meet with the following English words:—*Abid*, habit; *ambr*, amber; *beril*, beryl; *butres*, buttress; *cuets*, cates; *cumbr*, cambric; *damasg*, damask; *dwbled*, doublet; *larder*, larder: *men* and *trebl*, mean and treble; *miragl*, miracle; *palmeres*, palmer; *prelad*, prelate; *profid*, profit; *sadler*, saddler; *secwensiau*, sequences; *siambrlen*, chamberlain; *solffeüis*, I sang the solfa; *tassel*, tassel; *tincr*, tinker. Unfortunately also they took from us other words not so much to our credit, such as:—*Anghwrtais*, uncourteous; *bilain*, villain; *cwcwallt*, cuckold; *ffals*, false; *nigmars*, necromancy; *pilwri*, pillory; *tafarn*, tavern; and *wlla*, outlaw. St. James's is transformed into *Sian Siam*, and the "shops of Cheapside" into "*Siopau Sieb*."

Of the history of the text there is not much to be said. Indeed, there can scarcely be said to be a text at all. The present collection of poems was made by Dr. Pughe and Mr. Owen Jones in 1789. It is faulty in the extreme, and includes poems obviously by other writers. Nor does it contain nearly the whole of Ab Gwylim's works. One collection, long preserved, was made in 1460. That is said to have disappeared, unless it be the MS. in the Hengwrt library, to which we shall presently refer. Dr. Edward Lhwyd, the Cornish grammarian, asserts that he had seen a MS. of twenty-two poems in Glamorgan, and adds—"at longe plura elegantis hujus poetæ opuscula vidimus variis Venedotiæ museis."

Dr. Pughe's collection was written out of the books of the brothers Morris, of Anglesey. It is to be hoped that the MSS. are still in the possession of the learned gentleman who represents that family. The editors, however, complain of the great

variety of the readings, and tacitly admit that their collation was hurried and imperfect. In the Hengwrt library at Peniarth, now in the possession of Mr. W. W. Wynne, M.P., a careful archæologist, there are several MS. collections of Ab Gwylim's poems. Some of these belong to the fifteenth but most to the sixteenth century. An admirable catalogue of this library, drawn up by Mr. Wynne, exists in the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*" for 1871. The MS. numbered 450 is undoubtedly of the fourteenth century, and Mr. Wynne claims for it the honour of being in the poet's autograph. Mr. Wynne argues both from a peculiarity in the method of signing, and from the fact that it belonged to the library of one of the poet's patrons, a library which has sent other MSS. to Hengwrt, that the MS. in question was written by the poet's hand. It is a small quarto MS. of, and certainly in, a handwriting of the poet's time. Unfortunately it contains but few of the poems.

A reprint of Dr. Pughe's edition has recently been made by Mr. Foulkes, an enterprising publisher of Liverpool.* Some few of the poems have been translated into English. A small anonymous volume printed in 1834, was the first attempt to introduce the Welsh poet to English readers. It contained translations of forty-nine poems, or portions of poems, and was not without elegance or merit.

We commend to the Welsh patriots who devote so much time and enthusiasm to literary and musical meetings the practical suggestion that they should obtain at once a literal accurate translation into English prose of this their greatest poet. In doing this they will do more to raise the reputation of their national literature than they have ever done by offering prizes to mediocre poets for pretentious verses. And if they entrust the translation to competent persons, whereof there are several in Wales, they will at least partially repay the benefits that they themselves have received from other literatures. *

* *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym. Tan Olygiad Cynddelw*, Liverpool. Cyhoeddwyd gan I. Foulkes. Cynddelw, the editor of this work, has collated Dr. Pughe's edition with a trustworthy MS. The result is an extremely handsome and commendable edition.

ART. VII.—CATHOLICISM AND PHILOSOPHY.

1. *A Memorandum of the Archbishops and Bishops assembled at the tomb of S. Boniface, regarding the present position of the Catholic Church in the German Empire.*
2. *A Bill for the Extension of University Education in Ireland, February, 1873.*

BETWEEN culture, learning, letters, and the Catholic Church, there has always been, and must always be, a feud without palliation or parley. It is an "ancient difference" which cannot be bridged over. Science and the Church are, and remain, at opposite poles. The Renaissance bore more part than the Reformation in the negation of the Catholic principle, and Bacon is a greater Reformer than Luther or Calvin. These two things we must choose between—we cannot have both. On the one hand, we may choose enlightenment, progress, the extension of the kingdom of man over nature, enlarged reach of mind, increased accuracy of investigation, the humble and fearful spirit of the worshipper of facts. There is pride here to be had, but more distrust; there is grandeur, but with it coldness and hardness of view; there is an added vividness of vision, but accompanied by the loss of all that comfort and prettiness which lived in partial sight when no more was to be known. On the other hand, instead of the kingdom of man in the world, the kingdom of Christ in the heart may be our aim; we obtain the trustful confidence and the peaceful resignation which the spirit of prayer is known to evoke; we live without uneasiness, we live in a happy, even state, though without acquainting ourselves with, or even because we know nothing of, the pleasures of high emotion; we dispute and hate little; we live at peace; we die with assurance, if not with any extremely comfortable prospect in the immediate future. These two ideals there are. We know not any other worth considering.

Of chief importance in science is its method—the philosophy of science. From practice in this, the scientific habit of mind is attained. To the scientific mind it is of chief importance, not that truth should be obtained, but that error should be avoided; that the truth should be purged as far as may be of its infection of error.

Verification is of infinitely higher significance than the acquisition of knowledge; it is accounted the very prime condi-

tion of discovery. Scientific and unscientific knowledge differ chiefly in this, that the former is more exact than the latter. The philosopher is in no way concerned to read books, or to investigate facts, which confirm his own theories; it is only the exceptions and the adverse arguments which are worth his attention. It is not important to him that he knows this thing or that, but according to the old saying, that he does not think he knows a thing of which he is really ignorant. He *professes* to know not more but less than the world. He *knows* more by so much as his own ignorance is not unknown to him. Ignorance, if it is the ignorance of simplicity, he even respects; he saves the fulness of his contempt and scorn for partial knowledge. Above all things he is chiefly interested in the verification of the extent of his own faculties, which are the media of experience. Else perchance there may be error in the very outset. Above all things he is silent in the presence of truths (or falsehoods) which he has ascertained to be beyond his reach. And he commands equally in respect of these silence on all others of mankind. Finally, if the verification of truth is that after which he thirsts, if this is his object in life, the result gained is nevertheless more the scientific temper than the scientific fact. Science is nothing if she is not rigorous, and going to school with philosophy, we may chiefly rejoice to have acquired that calm consideration and dispassionate evenness of mind which is the first condition of scientific acquisition, and in the face of which all opposing systems or dogmas possess worth and become respectable in the historical significance of their several deposits of truth. It must not be thought, however, and on this we especially insist, that there is here anything specially ideal or grand, or exclusively characteristic of philosophers in the biggest and most high-sounding sense of the title. We must all be philosophers in one sense whether we like it or not, and the only question is whether we philosophize truth or falsehood, and whether we will philosophize everything we accept truly.

A description can only be definite of the type, and we have here described the fully developed habit of the scientific mind. But the point to which we wish to draw attention is, that no beginnings, even, of progress in knowledge can be made, we care not whether it is in history, in natural philosophy, even in language and the arts, without the mental attitude tending in this direction. True that history, &c. can be taught, as people profess, without doing anything of the kind, nay, on the contrary, quite dulling and blunting the keen edge of intellectual apprehension, and infixing in the mind a non-natural finality. But in this method of teaching and learning, in reality no knowledge is acquired or conveyed; the colligation of facts is not knowledge;

and when this spurious knowledge comes to be produced, it is only repetition by rote. Knowledge is *reasoned* fact, it includes both the cause and the warranty. In this sense no first step in knowledge can be made, whatever be the subject, however inchoate or insignificant, without to that extent and in that particular adopting the scientific attitude, in kind the same with that of the most finished philosopher. And out of repeated practice habit is formed. Thus there is only the choice between no knowledge or learning in a true sense and a mere more or less of the tone and temper of mind we have described. It remains to examine how this may sort with the tone and temper of mind required for the acceptance of absolute Christian dogma.

The Catholic Church is "an assembly of Christian men," which believes and accepts among other things these two:—*That* an assemblage of beings of the human species, subject to the influences to which such assemblages are subject, in which accordingly the members are to be gained by intrigue or inducement, or to be overawed by force or combination; an assemblage liable, as all such are, to the unforeseen turn of the moment, that this assemblage cannot but pronounce eternal and necessary truth. The confused chaos of individual views and motives, of political intrigues, of ecclesiastical influences, is in the moment of decision guided and controlled by the immediate Spirit of God. The majority decides; yet the decision is infallible by the divine inspiration which resides in the whole. Further, this Church believes, *that* an old man, an individual also belonging to the human species, or each of an interrupted series of such individuals, speaks and has spoken, under certain conditions and on certain subjects, so that God himself, to whose infinity solar and astral systems are but as dots, could have spoken it no more wisely or truly. These extraordinary utterances are nevertheless only such when given *ex cathedrâ*—a convenient distinction, by which all dicta are *ex cathedrâ* at the time of their promulgation; but if their falsehood ever becomes too loudly notorious, it is at once discovered that they were not spoken under the required limitation. Such being the warranty of the Catholic creed, the substance of it only connects itself with the institutions of its Founder by such forced interpretations of the original documents as would never be endured in any other cause but that of piety—including, among other tenets, a theory dependent on gratuitous assumptions respecting, for example, the nature of substance and accident and involving such objections as the mouse experiment of the philosopher Hegel—the theory that in a little bit of dough, a quarter of an inch square, a million or more people every week devour each and severally the entire body of a man who has been now dead nearly 2000 years. This is held to be the literal fact, [Vol. C. No. CXCVIII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XLIV. No. II. D D

because this same personage before he died, when his body was there for every one to see, sitting at table distributed bread, of which he said, "This is my body"—a saying which, *therefore*, must have been intended literally! Nor, indeed, are such absurdities and forced constructions unshared in by less absolute Christians. Even, the genuine Catholic has less or no interest in the authenticity or otherwise, the meaning or no-meaning of mere documents. What the Church speaks—not, God knows how many years ago, but to-day—is to him the final arbitrament; the Church theoretically, that is, the teaching body, the priesthood (once the most, now the least, scientific portion of it); practically to the individual Christian, that particular priest under whose teaching he is placed, whose advice he may take it as a rule that it would be irreligious to doubt. It is the duty of the priest—or at least of each member of a section of the priesthood—to make himself acquainted with all views of religion and morality, as well those he has to advocate as to combat. It may be a pleasing occupation for a layman here and there to pursue the same researches. But it is for him always a dangerous amusement, and it is an occupation to which he is not called by duty, and in the pursuit of which he is devoid of any personal or vital interest. It is a merely ingenious and scholastic speculation, which is worth nothing at all, for it either leads to the same conclusions as the Church pronounces or it does not; if the first, we gain no new truth; if the second, we only repudiate another falsehood. It is unnecessary to point out that the attitude of mind here has no point whatever in common with the scientific attitude. But it might be objected—but by no one except a Roman Catholic, or at any rate a *pro hac vice* supporter of paradox—that though the spheres of religion and morality are closed to inquiry, and demand submission instead, yet in the sphere of natural and historical science Catholic and Protestant alike accept, and are willing to accept, the philosophic principle and method of the modern age. This is something like the circle of Archbishop Manning, within which to a Catholic loyalty is superseded.

But let us suppose for a moment the Catholic student introduced to the study of science in this real sense. The first effect that begins to make itself felt in his mind is, we apprehend, a half comical uneasiness or doubt as to the ordinary strictures which he hears passed on people of an awkwardly scientific temperament, or on conclusions that do not approve themselves to strict theological orthodoxy. His terminology he will find becoming insensibly different to that of his other Christian friends. To writers whom they call Atheists, he, having made himself acquainted with their writings, may be unable to give any worse names than Deistic, Unitarian, Protestant, Old

Catholic, after he has learnt the meanings and the differences of these names. He will find himself constantly using the term "liberal" of habits of thought and attitudes of mind, of which he wishes to express approval; while his friends use indifferently "liberal," "communistic," "revolutionary," "subversive," as euphemistic synonyms for the devil and the end of the world. He will in these particulars especially find himself in opposition to his friends the clergy. Some caustic personage, we forget who now, once observed that he had "never been able to find a clergyman who could speak the truth." It is needless to say that in this there is no imputation intended upon the social integrity of the cloth, which would be an unwarrantable slander against a body of men, many of whom are gentlemen. But it is perfectly true that the clergy as a body do not cultivate truth as a habit of mind. We have rarely heard a clergyman of whatever "denomination," come to speak on any theological subject without in the first sentence overstating some point or another, and that we fear almost consciously—quite as consciously as is possible to a mind so little accustomed as the clerical mind is to conscious thought. A half-truth is always more than half a lie; an incomplete statement is a misstatement. The clergy go about to persuade people into a particular view, and they are not concerned with niceties which might interfere with their life's occupation. They are professionally and essentially rhetoricians, and there is nothing in common between the rhetorician and the philosopher. Hasty statements, strong statements, one-sided statements, unauthenticated statements, who has ever heard anything else in a sermon? We will take a popular instance. Most people believe that Mr. Darwin has asserted that men were originally monkeys. They have no hesitation in stating that this doctrine is the characteristic feature of his theory. At any rate we have good reasons for believing that no clergyman of any "denomination" in the country who exercises the ministerial function, will object to that mode of statement. Yet it is absolutely certain not only that Mr. Darwin never expressed, or never could express himself so dogmatically, but that he has never anywhere said anything of the kind. On the contrary, the statement would give the lie to his entire theory. That theory is, as every one acquainted with the subject knows, that man is a higher species (or variety, for this is at issue) than the apes, later in appearance and more specialized in development, but that, the theory of special creations being abandoned, it is conceivable that an exceptionally highly developed ape (by selection) might have produced a man—that man is a development of the ape. We fear, however, that the clerical mind cannot even

grasp the distinction between these modes of statement, or thinks, at least, that the distinction is slight and immaterial.

The neophyte of science finds himself then, on the ground of science, presenting a different front to that of his religious teachers; this soon becomes, still on the same ground, an antagonism to them—even finally an irritation over their summary judgments. Nothing is so inadmissible in science as an unverified opinion, a statement not based on personally ascertained fact. We recollect that on a certain occasion the present Bishop of Lichfield declared in Convocation that the essay of Dr. Temple was most heretical and dangerous, but confessed, at the same time, that he had not read it himself. This would be an impossible thing to be said in any but a clerical assembly. In fact, the attitude of the student of science in science is not an assumed mode of investigation, but is and must be a temper and habit of the mind, and so cannot be exercised in this and that subject, and altogether kept out of sight in others: the spheres of the various sciences are not limited and defined; into all science in many ways questions religious and moral enter for their solution. Thus it may be supposed necessary to leave history and philosophy untaught, for example, in Ireland, to save the religious conscience. And, if the student is ever to break through the prescribed circle, he has an inclination and a reason to do so in this—that he has lost confidence in his religious teachers as teachers, and that already in the progress of his own studies he has acquired a tone of mind at variance with theirs. If religion and morality are, as we believe them to be, the most intimate and essential in human nature, if they are the highest and the chief, the attitude adopted in these cannot help but colour the entire mental attitude. The absolute Christian, who has been educated in dependence on authority for his religious and moral truths, who has no interest or motive for inquiry in respect to them, is scarcely likely to feel any intense ardour of investigation in other branches. May we not also say conversely that one who has acquired this thirst for experimental certainty elsewhere, has at once ceased to be an absolutist in religion or morality either? Just as without the human interest of exposing religious and moral falsehood scientific inquiry might have lost a principal incentive, so also the fatuity of authority in natural truth carries with it the futility of the same in the supernatural. Nor is this a mere *à priori* theory of what might, would, or ought to happen. Ever since the days of Nominalism and of Pantagruelism the thing has been and is being done, is being done in our midst now every day, as in their

hearts people well understand. But, it is said, one class of minds always will require proof and assurance, another will be ready to believe and take on trust. We do not deny it. But our assertion is that the one character of mind is right and the other wicked. That is our only difference with these apologists. On the other hand, we are perfectly ready to acknowledge that not every mind requires every truth to be proved to the satisfaction of the logical faculty. Even that may be higher which assures itself of its own perception by a kind of spiritual instinct or directness of sense, where the judgment is determined by nobility of feeling more than by power of intellectual discernment. But reason or instinct, what we insist upon as the only right, is, that the judgment should be direct and self-determined; what is wicked, is that it should in any way be in the old-fashioned phrase *simplicit*.

But the Catholic believes that God has spoken and still speaks, and there is no doubt about it. Believing this, he further holds that it is best that a man should by any or whatever means or reason accept what God has spoken. Not as we should say, that were it God or man who spoke it, we would not, ought not, to accept it, unless the word approved itself to our mind. For where morality enters, there the mere question of fact disappears; the question becomes not what is, but whether what is ought to be. And further, we should be anxious to know, not whether God or man spoke, but whether it was anything we could understand that was spoken, and how we understood it. Teach as you please, we should say, but the truth accepted is not the truth taught by you, but the truth learnt by the other. The more exactly he can reproduce your words, the less he believes them, and there is no faith in any creed or confession. But these things are not known to Catholics. Even the Protestant Churches have not too firm a grasp of them. Protestantism upholds the right of the individual conscience to itself, the right of each man's own assurance to himself of the faith he subscribes. But the logical conclusion is shrunk from in timidity—namely, that it is absolutely immaterial how much or how little of truth be accepted, if only that which is said to be believed is believed, if nothing which is not, is so said and professed. The point is here, that if one fails to accept as a portion of his belief some mathematical ingenuity, for example, concerning comprehensibility, the consequences will be such as are not usually alluded to in these pages; but herein it is not distinguished that one does not any the more believe these minutiae because one subscribes and confesses them. And this distinction not being made, it follows quite logically that the all-important is to accept the entire so-called deposit without letting a crumb fall through inattention or want of dexterity. Read

and study all things that are good and correct; but what is otherwise must be put in an Index Expurgatorius. There must no poison be allowed to infiltrate into the mind—by which is meant nothing but what is according to the old pattern. We must especially guard against the imbibing of liberal ideas—by which is meant, any appreciation of external humanity outside the prejudgments of orthodoxy, or any more intimate distinction than is compatible with its generalities. The body of truth is complete and determined, capable indeed within limits of development, but incapable of alteration or rectification. It is therefore unnecessary and a misemployment of energy to inquire into its ground or investigate its authenticity and material truth. God has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the wise, and all we require is sufficient docility to repeat our *credo*, and such degree of appreciation as will prevent our comprehending anything beside it. With the utmost of human wisdom we can but attain to an infinite *untruth*. Meanwhilo, ignorance will bring us actually *there*, into the truth itself, if sufficiently resolute to be unquestioning. Thus it is even a profitable saving that learning is a hindrance to the Christian, rather to be avoided than sought, and all the extravagances of the extremest “dissidence of dissent” are found first in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and have been taught by its most sainted and orthodox doctors. An oasis in the midst of the desert, the Church is marked and bounded from the infinite population of the world; the Church, a chosen people of so many millions, more or less genuine, all living for another place, having given up this present one as hopelessly incurable—another place where they expect on the whole to fare comfortably, and certainly to be clothed in purple and fine linen before they have done; the world, the infinite majority of human kind, including the entirety anterior to A.D. 1, of whom the best that can be said is that it is not unlawful to hope that they may not be consigned to eternal damnation. Even some ingenious saint is recorded to have prayed earnestly for the conversion of the devil. This world is the possessor of all the good things of this life, and that because it is wicked; it is quite incorrect to suppose that prosperity is due to good government, an acquaintance with the principles of political economy, &c. The god of riches, Mammon, and the god of this world, are indifferent synonyms for Satan. On the other hand, the Church rather lays up treasure in heaven; God has chosen the poor, and those whom He loves He chastens, &c. But with prosperity is easily seen to coexist the knowledge of mechanical invention, the spread of science, &c. Hence these too are things to shake the head over, and Christ’s kingdom is almost incompatible with the electric telegraph. The chief thing is to save the soul. “It is better that

the whole universe should go to ruin, than that one venial sin should be committed." Living on such a fearful razor-edge of peril, and that for eternity, it is best at any cost to avoid risk. Keep away—touch not, taste not, handle not. It is better to go into the kingdom of heaven maimed, than not enter at all; it is better to have no mind, than to have any chance of being damned by reasoning. What is insight? what is science? Is it the love of God, is it faith in a Saviour, is it obedience to the Church? Will it help to gain a place in heaven? If not, it is absolutely worthless. Let the Christian, if he must, if he will, use his understanding, enkindle his affection, within the bounds and barriers of the fold; but his reason is too uncertain to be safe by itself, his affections too corrupt to be left free. Nevertheless, it is forgotten that those who first became Christians never did or could have done after this fashion. By the exercise of their free understanding, by their unbiassed spiritual instinct, by the instinct of an unfettered conscience, they obtained for themselves a priceless boon. They became Christians by their own free determination. But hereafter this, the source of so much to them, is to be a forbidden and accursed thing. Born in the Church, baptized, bred in it, the set of the mind is made so, that doubt is at once a sin, and question terrifies the conscience. We believe the late Professor Faraday proposed (perhaps rightly) to hold an investigation of spiritualistic phenomena, *if* Mr. Home would beforehand certify his belief that the phenomena were not spiritualistic. Something similar is made to happen to the orthodox Catholic. Even if he investigates a doubt, by his education he has already prejudged it; he investigates only to justify his repudiating it. We may quote the words of Professor Jowett in a London sermon:—"Christ might say to the Christians of the fourth, the ninth, the thirteenth, and the sixteenth centuries, 'Verily, ye are the children of them that crucified me; for they indeed crucified me, and ye build churches in my name and in the names of my apostles!'"

We make no apology for having drawn our outline with a broad point. The truth in the general is disguised under a cloud of verbiage, and none understand better than Catholics the effect of a startling negative. It is well that the naked reality should be for once before our eyes. Catholicism stands in eternal conflict and opposition to philosophy. It opposes to doubt infallibility, to experiment dogma, to verification authority, to reason faith. It depreciates the intensity of belief—which is its negative element, limiting the number of beliefs, in so far as the question is not *that* I believe, but that I do *not* believe, factitiously. It emphasizes the necessity of the positive extent—equalling and in no tittle falling short of the entire depositum. The religious sense of belief,

therefore also of reception and affirmation, is the direct contrary of the scientific. To the Christian it is an argument in favour of a truth that it is impossible; the more inconceivable the more divine; while the philosopher refuses to allow his belief to outrun his comprehension. Thus if the celebrated Bacon with his accustomed irony placed the things of faith outside the range of understanding as being for that reason believable, his successor, Hume, with an assumed seriousness, gives the answer to the riddle. But the ground of belief forms the determinant of the mental attitude. Hence, the attitudes, Catholic and philosophic, are and remain antagonistic. We find by a curious instinct the more original and creative minds in every sphere of literature and culture from the beginning disburdening themselves of the Catholic incubus. What Tacitus entitled an "*exitiabilis superstitio*," has so appeared to all intellects since of equally intense character; or if it be on the contrary maintained that science and art were for the early ages of Christendom exclusive to the Church, the reply is that men of letters were at that time just as much and as little Catholic Christians as Rabelais was a monk. Among the orthodox, history was indistinguishable from sacred legend, science was only an elucidation of the Biblical narrative of the creation, philosophy the difficult explanation of the impossibilities of the Trinity, the Eucharist, the angelic hierarchy. If religion was devoted to science and art, so far science and art became only disguised sermons. But true scientific research was condemned as heretical in Galileo, in Roger Bacon; true art was found incompatible with the preservation of the received religion, and in a life and death struggle the beautiful picture of a Romance people was erased from history. On the one hand the introduction to the scientific spirit produced as its distinctive result an heretical attitude; on the other it must be confessed—an important consideration—that it was often only by a previous repudiation of the faith for other causes, moral or otherwise, that due freedom for scientific research could be obtained, that it was often the disobedient sons of the Church who were the pioneers in science. Whether and how far Catholic believers are names in science and art at the present epoch it only requires a glance round the European world to determine. Shakspeare and Dante are no more Catholics than *Æschylus* or *Virgil*, *Gibbon* than *Tacitus*, *Kant* than *Aristotle*. Especially in England the best books or the received books in all branches of science are not Catholic—are, we must agree, anti-Catholic in tendency. It has here to be added, that England is a Protestant country, where the educated people are for the infinitely large majority Protestant, where consequently we should not even on this ground expect to discover

the best works other than anti-Catholic. Consequently the Catholic student in England must do one of two things. If he is to compete on equal terms with his Protestant compeers, he must be content to devote himself to a study of heretical literature almost wholly. If his principles revolt from this, he must confine himself in philosophy to Thomas Aquinas, who is a great doctor, and his interpreters and imitators; he will have no history of his own country that he can study except Lingard, and even Lingard is not always safe; in science he will be stranded who knows where? even in theology, on the intelligible ground of more or less research and acquaintance with the subject, the Germans are the masters. Without an acquaintance with the writings of Mill, Buckle, Froude in England; of Gibbon, Comte, Hegel, it matters not where; how is it conceivable but that scientific knowledge must appear by that much unintelligent and inferior? There is absolutely no choice. For parents and guardians, pastors and masters, the position may be stated in this way. If you confine your instruction to what is scientifically inferior though theologically unexceptionable, you must expect to find your pupil fail by so much in a competition which is scientific and not theological. The case for the student himself is more vital and serious. It is, whether it is best for him to remain religious at the price of ignorance. It is, whether it is not lawful to risk if need be the inviolability of faith in gaining a scientific reality. It is, whether the *natural* obligation is not to be intelligent, and *that other*, to maintain the faith inviolable, of mere positive and human enactment. For ourselves we are convinced that we must either be content to maintain education at a lower level, or we must break with Catholic influences. In a matter of national policy there ought to be no hesitation between the two. Catholics will never be satisfied, they will never be one iota more nearly satisfied, until the education of their youth is wholly conducted under religious influences—that chief, regardless, in comparison of that, whether the education be high or low. Englishmen, as a nation, will, we believe, refuse any countenance to such an insult to the national learning and to the national tradition, which out of knowledge obtains its liberty. The timid system of preventive, separative, semi-conventual education is not more opposed to the interests of science than it is un-English and illiberal. The best minds do not wish for a liberty which is here and not there, so far and not farther—a liberty which is half-hearted throughout; and in England, morally, intellectually, and dogmatically, we train the mind to stand alone. Far short of shutting a boy up from the temptations of the world, more and more at school and college we introduce him to them. Similarly in literature and knowledge, more and more is everything left free to self-

determination. Not that in either the one or the other there is no regulation, no preparation. This is on the contrary, the essential other side of the training. The motive here is that we are not competent to say for another nature what is and is not good, and where its good is to be found ; while at the same time we are sure that an unproved morality and an unverified opinion are just no morality and no real opinion.

It is hopeless then to attempt any accommodation between these opposite principles. It has been mistakenly assumed that Liberalism to be true must provide for the satisfaction of all the scruples of conscientious people. The Roman Catholic in Ireland, the Nonconformist in England insists on his scruples being respected. On the other hand, the Church of England equally looks upon it as sacrilege and tyranny if she is not to have every opportunity for promulgating her respectabilities as heretofore. Liberalism, let it be well understood, has done altogether with persecution of religious opinions, by the secular arm, or by public approval and advancement, and disapproval and disfavour. Liberalism is not disposed to burn, imprison, or deprive of their civil or political rights Roman Catholics on the bare ground of their religious convictions. It has determined the exact contrary, and that out of pure self-interest, and on the most rigorous utilitarian principles. Not that persecution if it be thorough, may not be successful : it is a total misreading of history to deny that a creed may be stamped out, as well as introduced, by force of arms and State influence. But there is no pretence about the conviction of Liberalism, that no human opinion, especially in spiritual affairs about which so little is known, can be more than an approximate guess. Hence it is in the interest of the truth that no adverse opinions should be stifled. Persecution, especially in a country swaying intellectually the same way, would almost certainly be successful, if the religious influences could be shown to be noxious to society and especially perverting the simple and unprotected. But Liberalism cannot forget that the highest truth has been and always must be in some few minds somewhere, called afterwards in advance of their age, called in their lifetime revolutionizers of it ; and the civilization of any epoch is like a picture by a consummate artist in which the composition being true, the whole is beautiful, but collapses into vacuity on the excision of a single one of its parts. But because Liberalism has rejected persecution once and for all, for that very reason the liberty of opinion is left unviolated, and opinion is in itself a species of persecution. Liberalism has nothing to do with a religion being unpopular or opposed to the national sentiment. It certainly is not called upon for that reason to bolster it up by extraneous support. Still less is it called upon to any however

partial extent to perpetrate its own destruction by lending support to principles which it detests, and which are subversive of its own. Nor with any religion on any ground has Liberalism as a guiding principle of government anything whatever to do beyond the negative duty of providing that from Government patronage it is really excluded. Religion is a thing perfectly outside of the domain of politics, except so far as indirectly it touches the security and comfort of people against their wills. Government has no other object than the security and comfort of the subject, and the subject is taken as the judge of what interferes with his own security and comfort. On the other hand, the comfort of the nation depends on the degree of its intelligence. Hence it is one of the first duties of government to promote education and learning. Exactly to the same extent is it its duty not to promote dogmatic religion. The course then to be taken on these two principles is clear. Let proper educational institutions be provided purely on educational principles. Let the education conveyed be as thorough and efficient as it can be made. Government has nothing whatever to do, certainly not among the intelligent classes, with whether any one on religious grounds does not avail himself of this instruction. The freedom of a fanatic who damned all profane learning as of the devil would be and must be still as perfectly entitled to respect as that of any other person. At any rate the educational curriculum must not be cut up and deteriorated to gratify his whimsicalities. Neither must this be done because a Roman Catholic is by the necessities of his faith an obscurantist. This is a policy which we would fain urge upon our Liberal friends as the true Liberal policy. It is not patronizing and coquetting with Ultramontaniam, it is not persecuting it, it is simply ignoring it, and carrying forward in simplicity the necessary designs and projects of Liberalism. This Roman Catholicism, not for its immoralities or its hypocrisies, not for any British absurdities of monastic imprisonment and torture, in the nineteenth or any other century, not for the memory of the Inquisition or the certainty that priests, if they had the power, must on principle, and still might not, revive it; no, rather because it is the enemy of inquiry and of science, because it would stifle all that is beautiful in art, because it is frightened at the unknown, and shocked at the (artificially) immoral, therefore Roman Catholicism is and must be to clear and straightforward thought an "*exitiabilis superstitio*" still. Opinion is free, and least of all should we Liberals deny to ourselves the freedom of our own opinions. While it remains in England, Catholicism can be sure of being let alone. But it should not expect to be embodied among the institutions of the empire, it should not suppose that its interests will in any way be

promoted here. The constitution of the polity is such that the will of the majority rules. The majority in England is Protestant and Liberal.

Catholicism is not to be met by repressive measures of any sort or degree, for these in England would as a matter of fact never be thorough enough to be successful, and would always be carried out in the teeth of the national conscience. But Catholicism is to be met, and met successfully, by the growth and the promotion of free and liberal institutions, were this done with sufficient simplicity and singleness of aim. The ancient Greeks found in the interests of a free universal policy, in the intensity of art and philosophy, the interior satisfaction of the spirit. In the Romance epoch, in the Renaissance, in Provence and Lombardy, in Rome and Florence, we have the same invigorating picture. Religion, if possibly reasonable, and under the regulation of the pure intellect, is also on one side of it essentially a passion. Like all other passions, it becomes morbid when the various faculties of the spiritual nature are deprived of their healthy exercise. Religion is that which is highest and best in the soul of man, but it may become brutal and bestial in the guise of superstition. Superstition cannot blossom, must die, among a people, where the political and social environment is not first corrupted. Religion is the duty of all, the pleasure only of a few favoured minds. As a duty, it can command the allegiance of the will; but it will remain a duty generally, a spontaneous delight only in the few favoured moments of an unacted emotion. Religion in its natural and healthy condition has no power to compete with the instincts of self-preservation and advancement, with the immediate and wholly real passion of the senses. It follows from this that the sure method of overcoming that over-religiousness, which is one among the dangerous symptoms of the existing morality, which is the foe of true life and wisdom, is in providing for the training and satisfaction of the mind. Let us not suppose that if we provide institutions for education and culture, these will be without their own attraction to the people. Do not let us so wrong in thought the innate impulse of human nature towards what is better. Compulsion is, we believe, unnecessary where the truth of intelligence is given in its simplicity. England is a Protestant country. It is hopeless to attempt wholly to protect any one in England from Protestant influences. Protestantism is in the air. Meanwhile there may be other things prior to the particular importance of special religious dogmas. While there remain multitudes amid our civilization literally and wholly uncivilized and barbarous, the first step will not be to go to these with the Bible and Christianity. A man must cease to be a brute before he

can become an intelligent being; he must be an intelligent being before he can attain to ideas; and the adequate idea of God is one of the last he is able to attain to. Is it, we might ask, comparatively any question with the children of the humbler and poorer classes, what particular shade of Christian truth they imbibe? Shall we not have done a big work to have brought them into the outskirts of religion? Will their young minds even be able to go further? will not the differences that divide our sectaries always remain mere names to them? Again, it is surely for the interest of every religion, if it be reasonable and rational (and this almost every "denomination" professes to be) that mankind should be made reasonable and rational? So, on the *argumentative* ground of every professor, must mankind be the more disposed to embrace his special dogmas. If religion stands therefore in the way of education and culture, even in its own interest it ought to be so far eliminated. In this age and in this country we may hope that no religion will be bold enough to assert that it desires a lower grade of intelligence in order to its acceptance. We shall not, then, if we are allowed to have our way, trouble ourselves at all with the "injustice" which Roman Catholics may suffer from their religion not being aided and advantaged, and from there being no exception drawn on the score of their religious scruples in their favour. We shall only be careful that precisely the same injustice is suffered by every denomination in the empire. If the Catholics, for example, in Ireland, are willing to support a university at their own charges, it will be no concern of ours. Similarly if any other sect proposes to do the same. But if a university is to be set up by the national will, and supported out of the public purse, we shall insist that it be done in accordance with the national temper. Unless the empire is to be altogether dismembered, if we are in any degree to rule Ireland, we cannot evade the responsibility of doing our best to prevent her cutting her own throat, and we must certainly avoid cutting her throat for her. With religion we have nothing to do. The public patronage of it has been proved by the result to be to its own injury. We have only to make an efficient educational provision. If any one has an objection because we do not teach his religion, if this is his grievance, the reply is that every one else may make the same complaint. If because we do not teach his religion, he refuses to avail himself of the advantages we offer him, that is a matter for his own judgment, but has nothing to do with us. We are aware that a university in the modern usage may be either a mere examining board, or it may be a place of education and learning. If the first, it has just as little to do with us where and under what

religious influences the candidate for examination has been prepared; we have simply to discover what he knows of the subjects proposed to him, out of the number of which religion is *ex hypothesi* carefully excluded. But if the university is a teaching body, it may grant its degrees either exclusively or not to those who have been under its teaching. But if it is a national university, supported by the public money, it cannot as a university, equally *ex hypothesi*, exercise any religious influence on, or convey any religious instruction to, those who come under its teaching. For ourselves, we are unable to see the extreme hardship here, even to the most religious sensibilities. Parents and guardians of every sect apprentice their children to purely secular businesses, place them in purely secular warehouses and offices, at an early age. If education must have a religious tone up to the age of fourteen, need it have this tone up to two-and-twenty? If it need, how can this necessity be obviated in the case of those whose education at fourteen terminates? When a man begins to take his part in life, at any rate, he finds himself in a social and political world, which is undenominational, because all denominations are embraced in it. This does not, nevertheless, preclude him any whit from pursuing his own religious profession as he pleases. So at a national university we do not mean that the free attendance upon religious exercises, the free profession of faith, should be interfered with or suffer wrong. Let the Catholic, for example, by all means hear Mass, confess himself to the priest, and commit any other enormity that does not interfere with his neighbour, according to his conscience. If there is a dearth of priests, that is for the Church to consider, not for the Government. But we would have no college whatever, in connexion with the national university and therefore deriving advantage from the expenditure of the public purse, where dogmatic religion was taught as a portion of the collegiate system. To whoever makes a demand for anything of the kind the reply is, that however desirable and even obligatory it may appear to him and to those who think with him, it cannot be done under English administration. Do not let us suppose that Liberalism lays any obligation upon us to accede to consciences such as these. Liberalism has its own creed. This creed it is its duty to carry out, it is a creed of freedom, and that same freedom and right to opinion reflects back on the upholders of the creed. The creed is one of freedom, and therefore constrains none except those who would themselves constrain freedom and so far as they would constrain it. Liberalism preaches universal liberty, but for that very reason can allow no liberty to the despot. The short and the long of it is, that those who oppose Liberalism, those, in behalf of and within

the limits of her own creed, Liberalism is bound firmly and without parley to oppose. We have no sympathy with the Liberalism that does not know its own mind, and the time of the world has arrived when nothing is so culpable as a weak amiability. In this age, when the opponents of Liberalism are driven to make use of its language, when every reactionary appears in a Liberal garb, when authority appeals to reason, and absolutism claims to have share in "live and let live," it is no time to speak in uncertain language. The principles of Liberalism are few, for they are all corollaries of that ancient one of the Thelemites, "Fay ce que voudras;" its principles are clear and definite, for they are all negatives; they have their root in the instincts and approve themselves to the reasoning faculties of mankind; there is nothing wanting to their being undertaken but simplicity and singleness of aim; there is nothing wanting to their success but their being so undertaken. As a principle of moral conduct, Liberalism enjoins simply—Have that religion which you believe; and of political—Have nothing to do with the religion of any one: and the ground of both maxims is the same, that religion is an affair of each individual conscience alone. The two are, moreover, correlative, for if each man must subscribe only that which he believes, then no external political authority has the right to dictate to him what he shall subscribe. It is indeed a further question whether a Liberal programme may be made obligatory *ab extra* on a people who have not themselves willed it. This would be to graft Liberalism on a Tory stock. Even here, perhaps, in the highest sense of right, the right is with those who are the representatives of the higher principle, and in the judgment of history the tyrannisms of free thought may be justified. But in *England* no such question arises. Where the Government is representative each is his own ruler, and no man can wrong himself. Nor does the fiction of the rule of the majority invalidate this conclusion. This, too, is a matter of contract, and is so, that if in one particular an individual be injured he is advantaged in another, and the least restriction of liberty is attained that is known to be attainable.

Roman Catholicism is the religion of a former age. The political conditions of its establishment are past, and the incapacity in human nature to return to them partakes of the character of a physical necessity. The State that allows to this religion a privilege here and an exemption there comes for that no nearer the satisfaction of its claims. It will, it can, be satisfied with nothing short of absolute autocracy; as of doctrine, so of moral training; and this autocracy is compelled to establish obscurantism as a condition of its reign. The Church must be content (or not

content) to stand alone on its own merits ; it may no longer "compel" proselytes into the kingdom of Christ. But in this the altered condition of its existence it will but return to its primitive state. The Church of the Catacombs at least did not owe its successes to political patronage or favour, not to its possession of institutions and endowments, not to any substantial inducements which it could offer its members on a par with those to be had elsewhere. Is it the fault of the Church that on the same conditions it cannot now reckon upon the same success? Is it the fault of the age? We have no interest to decide the dispute. The fact is unquestioned on either side that the Church and the age are at variance. At least the Church acknowledges this without obscurity, and gathers all its resources for its defence. Is the Liberalism of the day to reply by an irresolute unconsciousness, especially when it need or can use no weapons on its own side? It has only to let its face be seen clearly and unhidden. It has but to move on always ; it has but, perhaps, to let events move it. It needs no great ability, no big theories, no great men. It needs only the simplicity which does not understand to be politic. Then, instead of its opponents crying out here, and objecting there, its half-friends becoming its professed enemies, it will be carried forward irresistibly as ever on the enthusiasm of peoples. Human nature is not depraved, and if you offer it unfaltering justice, you will have no need to intrigue for support. Then enemies are silenced or become friends ; they are caught in the whirl of the moment. But if, on the contrary, existing interests here, and expectations there, have to be consulted, if not that which is just is proposed but that which can be carried with the least disturbance, how can you expect anything else but argument, and dispute, and opposition, when the more or less of utility has been already introduced into the question? Justice is equality to all ; but when unequal rights come to be adjusted, all conceivable variations are possible. Then arises partisanship on this side and on that ; but justice, if the ultimate advantage of all, if immediately the loss of some, carries yet with it the goodwill of the majority, and of those who suffer loss, none has the face to quarrel with a justice that is clear and understandable. By simple methods alone reform is possible.

ART. VIII.—THE USE OF LOOKING AT PICTURES.

MATTER-OF-FACT people sometimes ask what good is to be got by looking at pictures. The good is of different kinds, differing of course according to the nature of the picture. It is a good thing to look at the picture of a beautiful man, or woman, or child. It is a better thing, no doubt, to look at the realities themselves; but then a truly beautiful face is not to be seen every day, and when we do see it, it is often unequally yoked to an unshapely body, and when face and figure are alike beautiful, the effect of both is often half spoiled by a hideous dress, be it tall hat, tail-coat, crinoline, earring, or some such monstrosity. If once or twice in our lives we see a perfect combination of face, figure, and drapery, even then we cannot stop our prize and look at it for half-an-hour, as we can with a picture. And yet again, supposing we could do this, the majority of us would be unable to appreciate what we saw, unless we had first been educated by pictures. Between a Madonna of Raphael's and a pretty dairymaid, there is much the same difference as between a sonata of Beethoven's and "Rule Britannia." An uncultivated man can no more appreciate the Madonna than the sonata, and would probably regard the Madonna vivified as inferior to the heroine of a provincial ball-room. The first thing, then, that a picture does for us is that it makes us see a certain good thing, which without it we should see either not at all, or less wisely and less well. This good thing is beauty.

So much for pictures which reproduce man's face and form. An analogous good is to be got by looking at a landscape painting. A landscape does one of two things for us. It either reproduces the rarities, or interprets for us the commonplaces of nature. It either represents for us a singularly beautiful scene such as few of us ever see, and that seldom, a grand mountain-pass, a peculiar sunrise or sunset; or else it paints for us "things perhaps we have passed a hundred times nor cared to see," the play of light and shadow on hill, and river, and tree. Here again the good thing which the picture makes us see is beauty, the beauty of things such as rocks, and clouds, or of half-things such as trees and flowers, while the other picture made us see the beauty of persons. Pictures of animals occupy the border line between these two classes of painting. Animals are both too near us, and not near enough. They are so near that in judging them we cannot help applying to them a human standard. They are so far from

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us that their best beauty appears a more caricature of human beauty. Thus it comes that pictures of animals commonly affect us less than pictures of men or landscapes. We stand awed before Titian's "Christ" in the Dresden picture, overwhelmed before the glory of the setting sun in Turner's "Ulysses and Polyphemus;" but Landseer's dogs and horses at most please and interest us. But, be this as it may, it is the beauty which a seeing eye can trace in beast, bird, flower, and thing, that a picture shows us, and shows us better than anything else can show us. To interpret therefore this beauty is the main end of the art of painting, and the right enjoyment of this beauty is the main end of the act of picture-seeing. Such enjoyment is not the main good of life, but it is the good which we go to a picture to get. We call it the *æsthetic* good as contrasted with the moral or scientific or utilitarian good to be got from it or other things.

Now, what do we mean when we talk of beauty? The term stands for a highly composite quality, nor does it carry any one uniform meaning. It stands, first, for a visible quality, which the eyes can appreciate unaided—namely, brightness and harmony of colour. This quality may be seen alike in a landscape, in a bird's plumage, or in flesh and drapery. It stands secondly for a quality of form—namely, gracefulness, by which we mean the attainment of a certain end with the greatest possible economy in the means used to produce it. Thus a high tree stably supported on a slender stem, a difficult movement performed with little exertion, are alike, and for the same reason, considered graceful. It stands next for symmetry of parts, a quality little found in trees and flowers, but eminently characteristic of a perfect animal. It stands last for a certain quality of feature, for marks of health, of goodness, and of high intellect, for the type of human countenance with which Greek statues have familiarized us.* It will be clear from this that the conception of beauty is a conception of singular complexity, and that in the use of the term there is great danger of equivocation. The term, however, differs in complexity according to the things to which it is applied. When applied to a landscape or drapery, it signifies little more than brightness and harmony of colour, although here there is danger of confusion with the really distinct terms, grandeur and sublimity. When applied to the body of an animal it signifies also gracefulness and symmetry of parts. When applied to the human face, all the constituents of the conception are introduced.

* Consult on this subject Mr. H. Spencer's admirable essay on Personal Beauty.

The ideal human face, therefore, will be the face in which a certain brightness and harmony of colour, joined to a certain symmetry of parts, is found in combination with the marks of health, goodness, and intelligence. The first test will exclude the combination of red hair and blue eyes, the second test will exclude the crooked nose or the squint, the third test will exclude sallowness or a prominent jaw, or a retreating forehead. To be perfectly beautiful, a face must satisfy all the three tests; to be beautiful, it must satisfy most of them. Deviations from the ideal cannot be tolerated by the impartial critic beyond a certain limit. Let us assume that there is such a limit—an ideal line marking off beautiful from not-beautiful faces; and let us define beautiful faces as faces in which the beautiful elements so preponderate over the not-beautiful, that the perfect critic can contemplate them with pleasure. Now, any face which is included within this line and the point of ideal beauty, will not only please this man or that man according to personal feeling or casual association, but will please every one. It follows that a picture which reproduces such a face will (if the skill in representing be as excellent as the thing represented) please not this man or that man, nor this age or that age, but all men and all times. It will satisfy the æsthetic sense of mankind. On the other hand, a face which falls outside the mean line of beauty must derive its charm from some association interesting to this man or that man, but not interesting, or if interesting, interesting for other than æsthetic reasons, to the world at large. It follows that a picture which reproduces such a face will fail to satisfy the æsthetic sense of mankind. But a large number of modern painters, especially painters of the Dutch school, habitually reproduce faces and figures of this class. Either, therefore, such painters are deficient in the power of discriminating what is, from what is not, beautiful, or the public, to which they appeal, is deficient in this power, or they set before themselves in painting some other aim than that of gratifying and educating the instinct for beauty.

But not only is there an ideal line and a mean line of beauty considered absolutely, but also an ideal line and a mean line of picturesque beauty. Not beautiful faces and figures with any expression, or in any attitude, are fit subjects for painting or sculpture—i.e., look beautiful on stone or canvas—but only such faces and figures in comparative repose. The reason for this is obvious. There is something unnatural in the prolongation of a peculiar expression or an extraordinary attitude. The artistic perpetuation of such an expression or attitude is therefore disagreeable. A beautiful face is not rendered less beautiful by a smile, a beautiful body is not less beautiful when preparing for a spring.

Nevertheless, the smiling face and the strained body are unpleasing when represented in art. The immobility of the stone or canvas stands in too striking contrast with the mobility of the expression or attitude represented. This is the reason why the so-called "Venus" of Milo satisfies us more than the dying son of Niobe; why the struggling, desperate figures, in Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment" hit the mark less than the "Jeremiah and Ezekiel" of his earlier picture. This is the reason, again, why we find the representation of groups so seldom satisfactory. Between a number of men engaged in some common act, there is a ceaseless action and reaction of thought and feeling, and consequently of expression. If the most important moment of the action be happily caught, yet the perpetuation of it, being in fact impossible, becomes in art disagreeable. Hence the groups which satisfy us most, are all characterized by a certain statuesque immobility. They are groups indeed, but essentially undramatic groups. The pictures of "Mary," and "Mary Magdalene at the Foot of the Cross," or of "Mary with her Child;" the figures of Demeter, Persephone, and Iris (?) in the pediment of the Parthenon, alike partake of this character. It may be questioned whether an action as dramatic as that of the "Last Supper" has ever but once been quite successfully treated in the history of art; and in that one instance it is the repose of the central figure which is treated with the most perfect success. There is, therefore, an ideal line marking off picturesque from unpicturesque actions and situations. But mediæval and modern artists habitually represent figures and faces which transgress this ideal line. It follows either that they are unacquainted with the law of picturesque repose, or that the public for which they paint are unacquainted with it, or that the end aimed at is something different from beautiful artistic effect.

We thus arrive at the large class of pictures which violate one or both of the æsthetic canons proposed, and we ask what good can be got by looking at them? It is clear that they fail to attain the characteristic end of the art of painting; they fail to do for us that which pictures can do better than anything else—gratify and educate our love of beauty. But they may appeal to us in other ways. They may be universally interesting, because the subjects, though not beautiful, have good or intelligent faces. Every one likes goodness and likes intelligence, and the marks of them, not only when they are stamped in feature through hereditary transmission, but when they occur in passing expression, are interesting. Thus the figures of Dutch boors and housewives, though they are mean in themselves and the surroundings squalid and unlovely, often

interest us from the expression of good-humour and content borne on the faces. So again, pictures representing situations which our æsthetic sense condemns as unpicturesque, may interest us as illustrating a conflict of motives with which all men can sympathize. All such paintings, though they violate the æsthetic canons, may be said to have a universal *poetical* value, inasmuch as they reveal to us the soul of beauty that may exist in things ugly, the element of human interest in actions unpicturesque.

Next we come to pictures which possess poetical interest, not for every age and class, but only for a certain age or a certain class of men. We may take as examples the numberless pictures of monks, saints, and nuns in devotional attitudes, which mediæval art delighted to multiply. These appealed to the religious emotions of those times, but awake little direct sympathy now. So again, actions not interesting to every one—such as battles and meetings of Parliament—may possess interest for a certain age or class from the influence of personal or national bias. But it would be untrue to say that such pictures have no value except to those whose emotions they directly stimulate. They may have no poetical value except to the few, but to all others they have a psychological value, and to after ages they have a historical value. They may help to show how people living in a different moral and intellectual sphere think and act, or thought and acted in past times. And thus to the man of large mind and deep sympathy they may come to have an indirect poetical value, for such a man is ready to sympathize with every human feeling that he understands.

The poetical value of all works of art tends to become more and more indirect till at last it ceases to exist altogether. There are several reasons for this. First, the figures in a picture look, just as the characters in a poem speak and act, in a way wholly intelligible only to the age in which the picture or poem was composed. No doubt the greater the artist is, the less does he appeal to the mere prejudices and fashions of his own day and the more to the larger sympathies and wider intelligence of posterity. Still, except in very few instances, there is something in his work which only his own age can understand, and each succeeding age the gulf grows wider and wider which separates him from his admirers, till at last no one who is not an antiquarian himself, or has received special help from an antiquarian, can place himself in the proper point of view for appreciating the artist's work. Three centuries have sufficed to make the intelligent appreciation of a play of Shakspeare impossible without special study. But that which fails to appeal to the poetical sense may yet appeal strongly to the historical sense. It is one

thing to have a critic's eye for differences, another thing to have a poet's eye for the sameness underlying differences. The one is the gift of the many, the other of the few. Secondly, the time may come when men who are able will no longer care to seek their amusement in the laborious study of ancient art. There are those who see in the idolatry professed by some persons for the works of past ages little more than a finely-disguised distaste for the present and distrust in the future. But what has ceased to amuse will not therefore cease to instruct. Artistic tastes come and go, but knowledge and the appetite for knowledge remain the same. All facts and works which throw light on the process of human evolution will continue to be interesting. Hence the historical value of a work of art is in some sort a value for all time and almost all minds, while its poetical value varies directly with its absolute or relative distance from the age which contemplates it.*

That which pictures illustrating social life and manners are to the philosophical side of history, that portraits are to its biographical or personal side. A string of words and actions is all that a book can reproduce for us of a man. A portrait gives a visible framework to which we can attach these words and actions, and thus brings the book nearer to us, helping us to talk with the characters as if they were present in the flesh. Of course a portrait may be more than this. The face or figure it represents may be beautiful or otherwise interesting in itself, and so the picture may have a direct æsthetic or poetical interest apart from fidelity to its original. But *quâ* portrait it is primarily imitative, only secondarily beautiful.

Here we may remark, that wherever the primary object of a picture is faithfulness rather than beauty or poetry, the photographic lens is probably destined to supersede the pencil. The intrusion of the imagination is an impertinence when it is made at the expense of truth. The advantage which the pencil once possessed of being able to catch momentary expression, has been neutralized by the invention of the heliotype; the advantage which it still possesses of being able to reproduce colour, is perhaps counterbalanced by its comparative unfaithfulness. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the art of painting any longer has a *raison d'être* except when it is directed and ought to be directed by the imagination.

On the border-line which marks the poetical from the unpoetical come comic pictures, pictures which appeal to almost all men, but only by a side-wind as it were, and for a certain

* This branch of the subject has been admirably illustrated by M. Henri Taine, the first critic who brought the matter into due prominence.

season. Where such pictures exhibit humour of a very high order, they are classed as works of genius and imagination, and may be said to have a quasi-poetical value. Where the humour is coarse or commonplace, or approximates to the coarse or commonplace, this title is denied them. Between extremes such as M. Dore and an illustrator of *Fun*, there is an ideal line somewhere, but only the humourist can draw it.

Lower down in the scale come pictures which neither move nor amuse, but teach. Not being beautiful or picturesque, they have no æsthetic value; not exciting any human sympathy, they have no poetical value; not appealing to the anarchic love of incongruity common at times to most men, they have no comic value. But they may have a didactic and utilitarian value, and may range according to the admixture of secondary æsthetic, or poetical, or comic elements, from the satire on canvas to the illustration of a scientific text-book.

Next come pictures which do not even teach because they are not true, which illustrate emotions by unsuitable expressions.* The large class of so-called historical paintings often fall under this category; that which is imperfectly understood being generally incorrectly represented.

Next must be classed pictures which are not only not true, but not honest, pictures in which the painter not only misunderstands, but misunderstands intentionally. It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that painters of the later Italian school where they attempted to represent miraculous events, were not honest. Between their pictures and those of the earlier Flemish and Italian schools there is much difference. In the latter the supernatural event is neither disguised nor explained. The figures stand or kneel on a rest of clouds with hands clasped and eyes uplifted. In the later pictures there is an attempt to get over the difficulty, and the figures are represented in the attitude of swimming or flying, attitudes which the absence of wings or water reduces to a transparent absurdity. Thus the genuine grotesque of the early painters is exchanged for the elaborate mendacity of the later. Such artistic dishonesty carries its own nemesis with it, as the artist mostly fails to produce in others an illusion to which he is a stranger himself.

Lastly come pictures which are purely purposeless—mere exhibitions of technical skill innocent of any further object or meaning. These may be called the “compositions,” the works which are in the history of painting what many poems of the eighteenth century, and almost all prize poems, are in the history

* This arises from a defect on the part of the artist—carelessness in observing, want of technical skill, or lack of psychological insight.

of literature. In painting these compositions the artist is dominated by no desire to move or to instruct mankind, but simply groups together a number of striking or pleasing figures in striking or pleasing attitudes, and then calls his picture the "Triumph of Love," or "Hell," or "Heaven," or anything else, so long as the title be striking or pleasing. The display of great technical skill makes such compositions to the eye of the true artist or poet only more offensive. The meanness of a really mean thing is only heightened by elaboration. Perhaps it may here be objected that no human action is really purposeless, and that the artist must have some object in painting as the scribbler in scribbling or the bad musician in playing. This is in a sense true, and it would be more correct to define "compositions" as works in which it is the object of the artist to show off his skill, as it is the apparent object of the figures in his pictures to show off their round limbs and graceful attitudes, and as it is the object of the amateur public to which he appeals to show off their power of discriminating his skill and his figures' grace. The futility of these objects is obvious. An attitude is not graceful which is purposeless. An attitude is an arrangement of limbs giving expression to a particular feeling—*e.g.*, the desire of movement or the desire of rest. An attitude of rest assumed by a person who does not desire rest is the reverse of graceful. Hence the artist who represents an affected attitude or expression, violates not only the laws of good sense but the law of beauty as properly understood. His work is, therefore, æsthetically valueless. Still more valueless is it from a psychological or historical point of view, except in so far as it illustrates the love of affectation peculiar at certain times to certain strata of society.

A few words may be said to show the bearing of the aforesaid remarks upon landscape painting. First, a tract of country may be so dull, as a man may be so ugly, as to defy successful reproduction in serious art. Again, there are phenomena in nature so sudden and momentary that they look absurd when transferred to canvas. The propriety of introducing a flash of lightning into a picture may be questioned. Again, a landscape, though it be not strictly beautiful, may appeal to our feelings of wonder and awe, and so have a poetical as distinguished from a purely æsthetic interest. The picture of a storm-beaten cliff may move us fully as much as that of a sunny Italian bay. Of course no psychological or historical interest can attach to a landscape as such. Where an attempt is made to excite interest of this sort, we resent it as an impertinence, or condone it as a venial affectation, according as the picture is in other respects worthy or unworthy of praise. We resent the continual intro-

duction of nymphs and Greek temples in the pictures of Poussin and Claude, we condone the unmeaning figures and fanciful titles attached to some of Turner's landscapes. The "pathetic fallacy" suggested in the famous picture of the "Téméraire" trembles on the line which divides the poetical from the sentimental.

The sum of this essay may be expressed in a few words. When we see a picture we may ask ourselves questions such as these: Is it beautiful? then let us sit down and enjoy its beauty. Is it interesting as revealing elements of beauty, such as good or intelligent expressions, in faces not beautiful? then let us sit down and learn to sympathize with that which at first sight does not please. Is it instructive, as illustrating one of the stages of man's development? Then let us contrast it with analogous scenes in our own everyday life, and note the progress which has taken place between the two periods. Is it comic or satiric? Then let us enjoy the joke or take to heart the lesson that the artist meant to convey. Every picture ought to offer us one of these things, and every man with a clear eye and a mind untrammelled by pedantry can see whether it has one of them to offer. But to be any one of these things the picture must first of all be truthful in fact and intention. Let us first ask, then, whether it be free of lies and affectation, and for the rest judge no work of art, so it be not marked by these plague-spots, to be common or unclean.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

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*[Under the above title a limited portion of the Westminster Review is occasionally set apart for the reception of able articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the work, contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it may advocate. The object of the Editor, in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]*

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ART. IX.—ETHICS, RELIGION, AND THE CHURCH.

1. *The Problem of the World and the Church, reconsidered in Three Letters to a Friend.* By A SEPTUAGENARIAN. Revised and Edited by JAMES BOOTH, C.B. 2nd Edition. Longman & Co.
2. *Enigmas of Life.* By W. R. GREG. Trubner and Co.

FOLLOWING the example of the most intellectual of the fallen spirits, who, as pictured by Milton—

“apart sat on a hill retired,”

and there, midst the troubles of a painful present, and the uncertainties of a vague future—

“reasoned high,
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,”

the élite of our so-called “fallen” humanity has, from time to time, and through all time, discoursed on these and analogous topics with varying powers and doubtful advantage. The questions of “good and evil,” of “happiness and final misery,” have a natural and strong fascination for minds gifted with sufficient verve to break away from prejudice and conventionality, into untrammelled speculation. The “reasoning,” however, on such topics, seems like the beating of a confined intelligence against the prison bars, or, at best, an unsteady flight with clipped wings. How can it be otherwise, when thought, which to be worth anything, must be sharply and hardly defined, using an instrument of precision, with no power of chromatic expression, like language, seeks to indicate man’s subtlest intuitions and loftiest aspirations? Can shape and measure be fairly assigned

to those high attributes, the possession of which makes man, if not "likest God," yet lifted farthest from earth? And if impelled to the fruitless task, how otherwise can it be that "lawless and uncertain thought," breaking away into "vain imaginings" should lose aim and coherence, and end—

"in wandering mazes lost?"

The remarkable works before us are two of the latest examples of the insatiable craving to "condition" "the unconditionable." Their merits are their own; their shortcomings are mainly inherent in the subjects they discuss. They grapple earnestly and eloquently with some of the most abstruse topics of which thought can take cognizance, or intuition bring within the scope of consciousness, and if we cannot altogether coincide with the aims, or admit the conclusions of either, we can testify to the consummate ability with which both are written. The "Problem" (which as its name denotes is the more practical of the two) is worked out with an admirable blending of thought, logical to hardness, with feeling tender and refined, conveyed in language which fascinates from its simplicity and entire absence of effort. The statements and reasoning are so candid and judicial, that our frequent hesitation as to the author's own opinions, has to be resolved rather by general inferences drawn from the entire scope of the work than from any special argument. By cautious limitations and frank admissions, the main arguments are so carefully guarded from objection, that dissentients might often state their case in the very words of the author's own qualified acquiescence. It is, for example, in this undogmatic spirit that the influence of a future state of existence upon moral conduct is discussed. "We are," it is stated, "in fact mainly influenced by present and immediate considerations. The reward that is future, and the punishment that is distant, have little effect on our conduct." (P. 122.) This is clear, and contains the gist of the argument.

"But," the author remarks, "although it is impossible to accept the orthodox doctrine respecting future retribution, which must shock the sense of justice in all intelligent and good men, we must admit that the feeling that our condition hereafter must in some way be dependent on what shall have been our conduct in this life, is very general among men, and it is one over which, as over the rest of our religious feelings, a useful influence may be exercised by education. It may be that we cannot altogether justify it to our reason, but there are many things in this life which we cannot explain, and which we must be content to accept as mysteries; and as we find the feeling implanted within us, however it may have been acquired, and however involved in darkness the way in which it is to receive its fulfilment, I

am not disposed to quarrel with those who think it wise to cherish and cultivate it in the service of morality and virtue."—p. 123.

Then comes the statement: "Though, in the view taken in these letters, a future life is not required to supplement the present one, there are many and strong grounds for entertaining the hope that such a future state is in store for us." And this is succeeded by the lavish outpouring of the results of extensive reading, carefully culled from the works of poets and philosophers, expressing in varied form, and from every point of view, the prevailing belief in a future life. But in the face of much concurrent testimony and of his own partial acquiescence, the author ignores the practical *influence* of such belief, and seems to say with Antonio—

"I use the world, but as the world,"

as a condition rounded off and complete within its own limits, to be used for its own results and to be judged solely in respect of its own merits.

"Evil" is virtually regarded as the result of "ignorance or neglect of the laws which God has ordained for the government of the world," and within this narrow circle, it is argued with an incisive logic, that with the elimination of that ignorance and neglect by "an education founded on an intelligent comprehension of man's nature and of the system of the world" (such education not to exclude moral and *religious* training), much, if not all, of the evil the world exhibits will be removed. But this question seems to remain. If man's consciousness of a future state of existence be innate—part, in fact, of his nature—and the comprehension of that nature, along with "religious training," be the legitimate aim and comes within the scope of the specific cure, how is it possible to ignore the influence of that consciousness upon his moral status in this world? We could understand the bold questioning of all "belief" which is based upon supersensuous intuition; or we could understand that the rewards and punishments of a future state formed the mainspring of human action; but we cannot comprehend an assent to the universality of such a belief, coincident with the disregard, which amounts to a denial, of its influence in the moral economy of the world.

The doctrine that evil, so far as it springs from ignorance or neglect, is not a necessary element in the moral economy of the world, is theoretically incontrovertible. To this extent the argument drops into the triteness of a syllogism. There is no disease *irremovable* from the *individual* which may not be traced to ignorance in the *race*. There is no sort of accident which human forethought and care and self-control might not have

prevented. The epidemic which appears to be guided by Fate from the farther corners of the earth, was generated *there* by blindness and impulse, and travels onwards by the aid of neglect and miscalculation to batten *here*, on soil prepared by ignorance and recklessness. The perils of the sea, if unpreventible, at least need not be encountered; and perhaps there is nothing "evil" short of the suffering which may arise from an earthquake, which cannot be avoided!

But still the question arises, whether in dealing with human nature, the ideal "perfection" is not as apocryphal and unrealizable as the fulcrum bespoken by Archimedes, or the machine by which Babbage was to prove the co-existence of miracles with fixed laws. As the *individual* perfection can only be attained at maturity, the highest possible *average* of the *race* must necessarily fall far short. The chrysalis states of infancy, of youth, and even of manhood, with their inherent weakness, ignorance, and impetuosity, are each and all only phases of progress through, and from, characteristic "evil," towards perfection; again to wane into the physical listlessness and impaired mental capacity of extreme age. The average development, therefore, of the individual moral life; and, as regards society, the balance of individual averages, *must be that of a chronic imperfection*. Out of this state proceeds much of the "evil" decried in "The Problem" as the result of ignorance and weakness, and for which the remedy prescribed is Education, or, in other words, an intellectual development, which itself can only advance, *pari passu*, with advancing age. No training can make the child into an athlete or a philosopher; and neither Hercules nor Plato could make any bequest of their respective powers to any successor. Homer's capacity died with Homer. His works are a standard whereby succeeding ages may measure their relative incapacity, but beyond the power to soothe and charm, and to stimulate in the process of development, they add nothing to any one's intellectual capacity. The man of science may bequeath *the facts* which it has been his life's work to discover; and his successors, with less capacity, starting where he left off, may carry further and further the great work of scientific research until every commonplace unit of humanity may, *by inheritance*, know more than a Newton, a Watt, or a Faraday; but there is no transmission of the *power* itself to unravel the secrets of nature. Mr. Greg treats this subject with a rare eloquence, and asks—

* "What sculptor has surpassed Phidias? What poet has transcended Æschylus, Homer, or the author of the book of Job? What devout aspirant has soared higher than David or Isaiah? What statesmen have modern times produced mightier or grander than

Pericles? What patriot martyr truer or nobler than Socrates? Wherein, save in mere acquirement, was Bacon superior to Plato, or Newton to Thales or Pythagoras? Very early in our history individual men beat their wings against the allotted boundaries of their earthly dominions; early in history God gave to the human race types and patterns to imitate and approach, but never to transcend."

In like manner the impossibility to transmit personal qualities limits the *absolute intensity* of physical suffering to that of the individual. The contemporaneous suffering of two, or two hundred persons adds nothing to the agony of any one. The condition of accretion is that of lateral equality, and in no case can the level be altered. It spreads, and in so doing, carries with it a correlative power of *endurance*. In all cases, therefore, of general distress, we may isolate the worst case, and narrow our sympathy to the single home. The thrill of horror which ran through the length and breadth of the land when the *Captain* upset was natural and creditable. The national misfortune arising from the loss of five hundred valuable lives, was merged in heartfelt sympathy for the bereavement of the survivors; but to this extent, it would have been more creditable, although less usual, if a similar sympathy had been excited by the washing overboard of a single sailor. Sensational excess of feeling, arising from simultaneous misfortunes, is simply adventitious and sentimental.

When Mr. Greg says that "the design of the Creator, and therefore the duty of man upon earth, is not the highest development of the *individual*," he means (from the context) that no one gift shall be exalted at the expense of the rest. When he adds that "the perfection of the race" is the design of God and the duty of man, and that to attain to it each specimen of humanity must be "*thoroughly but harmoniously developed*," he means not the *progress* of the race, as possessing any collective attributes, but the general realization of the best individual standard.

In one sense, therefore, we entirely agree with him; but, on the other hand, we are disposed to maintain that "the Race" will gain more, and so progress further in a collective capacity, if men devote themselves by a species of ethical division of labour, to particular pursuits, and partial perfection, rather than to general "harmonious development."

We believe Mr. Greg's "thoroughly but harmoniously developed specimens of humanity" to be as practically impossible in this world as Mr. Booth's elimination of "evil;" and we hold that the duty of any man directly to attempt the "perfection of the Race," except by prosecuting the task of developing himself, which must go on until arrested by death, to be Utopian. Very possibly Mr. Greg may intend by the use of vague terms, to include all practical means for effecting this object, and that of

example among the rest; but we think he would have added weight to his argument had he specified example, as shown in self-development, to be the most practical, although indeterminate; and because the most practical, the least selfish means, to carry out the great work of life. But where or in whom have we warrant for supposing that humanity has been, or can be thoroughly and harmoniously developed? Even as regards Christ himself, although we do not deny "human perfection" in him, we hold with Mr Greg that we know very little of his life. From the little we do know, however, we may infer that as he was never married, he could not have experienced all the mingled sweet and bitter of domestic life; the gentleness of 'the ten years' wife,'

"Whose customary love is not
Her passion or her play, *but Life;*"

the superlative blessing of filial devotedness, the pain that is "sharper than a serpent's tooth," and all the varied anxieties and happiness that cluster around home and its duties. In the presumed absence of all these common emotions, the strongest and best of which humanity is capable, we cannot realize "the highest development of the individual;" and when Mr. Greg speaks of "the welcome and feasible task of *bringing up the whole human race to those limits,*" we are forced to question the wisdom of this species of Socialism, in lieu of the more practical, because more philosophical doctrine of Individualism.

But having argued that "evil," as described and discussed in the "Problem," and in the "Enigmas," must always exist in this life, there still remains the question, Will such so-called "evil" turn ultimately, if rightly used, into a blessing?

The consequences of ignorance and weakness, if they be painful and to be shunned, must always act as a spur to progress. If the ills are such as "flesh is heir to," and if the sins of the fathers be visited on the children; still, we well know, that what is privation and suffering to one man is not necessarily so to another man. Why, therefore, if certain ills are convertible by a species of transcendentalism into nullities or even blessings, should we term the causes of variable results bad, in the sense that they are intrinsically antagonistic to God's governance of the world?

We maintain, therefore, that all such "evil" is relative only. The "sharp malady of life," and the often and ably discussed question of the struggle for existence in the "Enigmas of Life," should be stripped of all adventitious accessories. The "age, ache, penury, and imprisonment" that make up the sum of "the weariest and most loathed worldly life" is "Paradise" when under the shadow of greater calamity. All outward circum-

stances must be estimated from the standpoint of sufferance—not of ease. One man may be not only contented, but happy, with “a dinner of herbs,” while another frets over some fancied deficiency in an epicurean feast; and a street Arab would refuse to change places with a pampered child, when swallowing what the other has turned from with disgust. The secret of the counter-feeling springing from the same cause, is to be unravelled by the fact that “habit is second nature.” Any one born to the expenditure of 500*l.* per annum regards all that it commands as necessaries. Less would be privation; more would be luxury. The man accustomed to the expenditure of 300*l.* per annum would be acted upon by precisely the same considerations; and in like manner the man would feel who had become habituated to the range of comforts brought within his reach by much larger incomes.

Again: every one has felt more or less the truth of Paley’s saying, that the most perfect happiness arises from the cessation of intense pain. The nerves are like the overtaken spring—the recoil marks the strain; and for continuous pain Nature provides an anodyne in deadened susceptibility. The law of compensation for localized pain acts throughout the ebb and flow of circumstance in life. Hunger chases satiety from the feast, and makes a feast of the peasant’s crust; and when physical suffering becomes the rule, and Nature’s aptitude for adaptation flags, sickness may find consolatory refuge in the mind’s kingdom,* or love will shed an anæsthetic over all, and hope smooth the wrinkles of pain into a smile of unearthly happiness.

Sooner or later, therefore, every variety of oscillation becomes compensated, and through the life of every one there runs an average line of contentment, like the “plane of planetary stability.”† The level may vary as an income may vary; but it is true to human nature, that from prince to peasant all have their joys and sorrows, their pains and pleasures; and that, in the little cosmos of each—if life be of average duration—the balance is fairly struck by a beneficent law of compensation.

* My mind to me a kingdom is,
Such perfect joy therein I find.—*Old Sonnet.*

† “It has been generally demonstrated that all the changes which the mutual actions of the planets on each other can produce in the course of indefinite ages, are *periodical*—that is to say, increasing to a certain extent (and that never a very great one), and then again decreasing; so that the system can never be destroyed or subverted by the mutual action of its parts, but keeps oscillating constantly, as it were, round a mean state, from which it can never deviate to any ruinous extent. In particular, the researches of Laplace and Lagrange have demonstrated the absolute invariability of *the mean distance of each planet from the sun*, and consequently of its periodic time.”—Sir J. Herschel.

We do not venture to affirm that the average human lot is one of happiness or otherwise. From the point of view we take, no one can pronounce even for himself with any approach to certainty until the final settlement is at hand. But we think there are few who at any period of their existence would exchange the hopes of the future for a repetition of the past. It need not be that the balance, so far, has been against happiness, but that "we spend our days like a tale that is told," and the interest lives in what the future may reveal. Were the past unhappy, experience would make us dread what is coming; but youth from hope, and age for rest, move onwards, and look upwards, ever.

A more hopeful solution, therefore, may be found to the enigmas "That the good are often wretched, and the worthless prosperous and happy; that sunshine and sorrow follow no rate of effort or desert," not in denying the supposition that these anomalies "may be rectified hereafter and elsewhere," but in arguing as a fundamental condition of our humanity that such things are self-compensating here; and further, that they may be to us very much what we ourselves choose to make of them: and hence we concur with the statement in the "Problem" that it is not well for us to sacrifice this life, with its positive fruition and ample capabilities, to the vague expectations of the next. If the exchange were not unwise from a worldly point of view, the motive of greater gain hereafter would be only less low than the old doctrine that "virtue is its own reward" in its immediate consequences. But there is a sense in which virtue may be all in all when practised from the pure aspiration after "goodness." Christ taught nothing new in morals, but he supplied a new influence and the only worthy incentive to holy living—one purged from all spirit of bargaining, and from the dross of gainful hope—*the love of God**—the desire to please Him. It is the want of this link of influence between the known and the unknown that makes us question the doctrine that this world may

* The difficulty in forming some adequate *idea* of God to lay hold of in thought, and for use in ordinary communication (particularly with children), without at the same time adopting a species of Fetishism, might probably be minimized by employing more exclusively the term "Supreme Goodness." God in Anglo-Saxon means good, but the noun is used almost entirely in a *personal* sense. We *know* of God, in nature only, as *inexorable law*; our spiritual consciousness of Him can only be wrought into communicable meaning by realizing the attribute which brings Him more closely into communion with His children, and that which includes all other attributes—goodness. "Supreme Goodness" embraces both the realization of immutable law and of His spiritual relationship with each individual soul of man. The love of goodness is a worthy motive *here*, and the love of Supreme Goodness is a worthy incentive when aspiration connects this life with the *hereafter*. Can God be more to us than Supremely Good; and can we imagine Him as being less?

be rounded off and completed within itself (intellectually) by the elimination of ignorance, and neglect of the laws which God has ordained for the government of the world. Still less can we concur with the depressing wail that pervades the "Enigmas" "that life is full of riddles, and incomprehensible anomalies, and strange perplexities," of which only "some very few we *can* unravel," leaving the average existence apparently without plan, with no beneficial compensation, and bereft of all but the shadowy lifeless hope—

"that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill."

We believe and rejoice in the thought that "come what come may," there is a turning-point in the darkest fate which will leave us gainers in the end. That, amidst every variety of miscalculation, and constant anxiety, and varied suffering, the scheme of life carries with it a healthy, self-adjusting energy, which, suited to each range of appreciation, yields to all a fairly apportioned result at last; and, more than all, that there lies within the reach of every one the realization of an *absolute* amount of happiness arising from *progress*.

Madame de Staël has well defined happiness to consist in a sense of continual progress. One of our noblest aims is truth, and it has aptly been characterized as "*a pursuit, not a possession*;"* and the aphorism has a universal application. The chief object of man's existence, as it appears to us, is not extraneous "enjoyment and toil," as stated in the "Enigmas," but consists in each one developing himself from a sense of duty into the "fulness of the stature of a perfect man." The aim is a worthy one, and consistent, by analogy, with the general working of God's providence in the world. And the reward is commensurate and certain, both in quality and measure—namely, the happiness "which springs from a sense of progress" under the influence of motive lifted out of and above all selfishness. Mr. Greg, in the opening of the essay, "most musical, most melancholy," on the "Significance of Life," has happily described the man of action, the object of whose existence is *work*; approving doubtfully the effect of his limitation of aim, but by inference condemning the limitation itself. He pictures also the smooth, shallow natures which refract bright hues, as light is refracted

* Lessing, repeating to emphasize this Socratic maxim, says:—"Not the possession but the continual and upright pursuit of truth tends to the perfection of human nature. Were God to offer me the alternative of all Truth on the one hand, and the incessant desire for it, with liability to perpetual error on the other, I would take the last and say, 'Father, my choice is here; pure Truth is for Thee alone!'"

multicoloured from the faint indented lines of mother of pearl. "They, too," he says, "are to be envied." The one is happy, because of toil, healthy, but laborious; the other is contented with an idle action, which, like the river, is "diaphanous, because it travels slowly." And then follows the contrast of—

"Other spirits whom God has cast in different mould, or framed of less harmonious substance; men gifted with that contemplative faculty, which is a blessing or a curse according as it is linked with a cheerful or a melancholy temperament, according as it is content to busy itself only with derivative and secondary matters, or dives down to the hidden foundation of things; according as it assumes and accepts much, or is driven by its own necessity to question everything; according as it can wander happily and curiously among the flowers and fruit of the Tree of Life, or as it is dangerously impelled to dig about its roots and analyse the soil in which it grows. To such men existence is one long note of interrogation, and the universe a storehouse of problems all clamorous for solution. The old fable of the Sphinx is true for them; Life is the riddle they have to read, and death, sadness, or the waste of years is the penalty if they fail to read it aright. A few, perhaps, may find the key, and reach 'the peace that passeth understanding.' A large number fancy they have found it, and are serene in their fortunate delusion. Others retire from the effort, conscious that they have been baffled in the search, but, partly in trust, partly in content, acquiescing in their failure. Others, again, and these too often the nobler and the grander souls, reach the verge of their pilgrimage still battling with the dark enigma, and dying less of age or malady than of the profound depression that must be the lot of all who have wasted life in fruitless efforts to discover how it should be spent and how regarded; and which even a sincere belief in the flood of life which lies behind the black curtain of death cannot quite avail to dissipate."

This is beautifully said, but it is morbid and sad; and the whole spirit is in marked contrast to the healthier, but harder tone of the "Problem." The deep nature, thoughtful and ambitious, whose chief aim is to solve the "riddle of life," not in the spirit of the old aphorism, "Laborare est orare," but by brooding helplessly over difficulties, in the face of confessed ignorance, recalls the picture of the misdirected intelligences, who "reasoned high," only to end—

"in wandering mazes lost."

It is the absence of a spirit of active faith and hope that throws a shadow over a work so able, and otherwise so true and good as the "Enigmas of Life." There is something depressing in the whole tone of the work, little redeemed by the eloquent speculations on the intuitive consciousness of a higher existence. It is a beautiful monody, iterating with every varied charm of

language and of illustration the old wail of baffled search and fruitless inquiry, that "all is vanity and vexation of spirit." In a devouter spirit, but with no less melancholy, it repeats the doubting suggestion "*if*" there be—

"A land of souls beyond that sable shore,"

only to leave us as it found us, no wiser, no stronger; but while still under the spell of the author's influence, less trusting than we were before.

We have no maudlin dread of free thought. Where truth would seem to lead, we would unflinchingly follow. We look upon the often-quoted injunction to leave our—

"sister while she prays
Her early Heaven and cheerful views,"

as only another rendering of the axiom that—

"where ignorance is bliss
'Tis folly to be wise;"

and feel that to rest satisfied with anything short of continual progress in knowledge and self-development, and to act to one's neighbour as oneself, and all from the highest motive—love for God—is to thwart the chief purposes of man's existence here. But we seriously question the wisdom of raising doubtful questions in a spirit of doubt, to leave them without controversion or correction, uncertain still. A master mind like Mr. Greg's has earned the right to speak, and claims perforce the hearing due to the position he has secured for himself as a writer and thinker. But the trumpet note from such a source should be sounded in no uncertain tone. To expose error and to confirm truth are noble offices. To alarm and unsettle weak minds, to see them break away from old convictions, and watch them wending their flight in vague terror for new resting-places in a sea of doubt, is a poor triumph for genius to achieve. Such "thinking aloud" as is exhibited in the "*Enigmas of Life*," should have been confined to the study until the vision should have been cleared and the mind assured. Mr. Greg tells us that "at sixty" he "must be satisfied simply to propound problems and enigmas which at thirty" he fancied he might be able to solve. What an admission is this of the value of *patience*. Why "propound" at sixty doubts and mysteries in view of which Longfellow might have written his "*Psalm of Life*," and Wordsworth his noble canto on "*Despondency corrected*;" when in a few years more an intelligence so acute and judicial, and a candour so sensitive, might have been enabled to strengthen and rouse, if not absolutely to build up, the Faith and Hope his work now tends to

undermine? Like that (possibly) of another superior and restless intelligence, *this* "Apologia" has been indited too soon!

"What then is Human Life, its significance, its aim, its mission, its goal?" is the pertinent question asked by Mr. Greg; and he draws a picture of the ingredients of enjoyment lavished by Nature, as the provision made for the happiness of man on earth, which might serve as an improved description of "the Happy Valley" of *Rasselas*, with a somewhat similar moral. "But," it is added—

"as at the Egyptian festivals, so at the great festival of existence, a veiled spectre ever sits to remind us that *all* is not said—that the word of the enigma is not yet deciphered. Even when centuries of progress shall have realized the earth's ideal, Life can never be solely or completely a drama of holy and serene delights, so long as Death stands for ever by to close it with a tragedy."

In this melancholy peroration to an epicurean argument, we have presented to us one side only of the shield in the story. There is another, however, and the moral should be drawn from both.

Is Death really the tragical ending to what otherwise might have been "a drama of hope and serene delights?" Is there no satiety, no longing for quiet—no wish that, as the play in spirit has been played out, the lights should be extinguished and the doors made to? Surely Death to a "thoroughly but harmoniously perfected humanity" would be the gentle closing of the eyes in coveted sleep, after the limbs have grown insensibly weary, and the spirit feels gradually faint. When age has touched the eyeballs, and light grows garish; when

"sensations sweet
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart,"

no longer gush with each pulsation; when thought ceases to flash, and can only listlessly float, and worldly ambition fades in the light of a spiritual longing; Death is then no "spectre," but the usher appointed by Love to lead us to assured repose.

This is the golden side of the shield; and to point the moral we would ask, by whom, or in what sense, can *the right* to any earthly blessing be asserted or maintained? If blessings are *lent* to us, we do not usually repine at the prospect of having to return what we never could claim as our own. If we had any indefeasible title, either to existence or to the blessings which drop to some, or by others are attained by toil, Death might then be a thief to *steal*, instead of being, as it is, simply the message to *restore*. And by the natural death of threescore years and ten, how gently are the blessings reclaimed, when we no longer can use or wish to retain them! Life indeed is no

epicurean feast, and so Mr. Greg himself tells us. Say rather that it may be likened to a concert of musical sounds, each imperfect alone, but blending harmoniously into a closing hymn—

“So sweet, we know not we are listening to it!”

It is thus that the circle of life may be completed here, or thus again it may break into fresh vibrations “elsewhere.” But then the “elsewhere!”—that which Mr. Greg has elaborately shadowed forth, contrary to the spirit of his own wise advice “to guard against every temptation to define or particularize its nature, mode or conditions, to realize its details or processes, to form a distinct or plausible theory regarding it!”

By what diploma, human or divine, have we the *right* to claim a renewal of existence “elsewhere,” or a new birth in a higher state? The very consciousness which makes it to us “a solemn hope”—to most indeed an “absolute conviction”—when suffused by the soft colouring of Love, would realize the translation as one not of loss but of gain; and it is by Trust brightened by the light of this love, and not with the involutions of a subtle intellect, that it will be wise for us to solve the “Enigmas of Life.” And life, we hold, will not have been rightly spent which has not, by knowledge and “climbing intellect,” and supersensuous intuition, and from so-called “evil” itself, so transmuted all into that love which—

“rejoicing secretly

In the sublime attractions of the grave,”

trusts the future implicitly to the Giver of all good.

Both the authors of the works before us take up the idea that the Church, or churches, are more or less responsible in this country for the social condition they deplore; and both accuse the orthodox—the one by direct accusation, the other by the adoption of that accusation—of complicating and perverting the simplicity of Christ’s teaching.

“In our perplexity,” says Mr. Booth (and this extract is quoted by Mr. Greg)—

“we naturally direct our attention first to the Church, which we have been taught to look up to as our guide and instructor in all our most important concerns. What has been its action on the progress of the world and the happiness of mankind? Startling as the avowal must appear, we can hardly help arriving at the conclusion that the Church has been rather a hindrance than a helper in the great business of humanity, and that it is in a great degree responsible for the fact that so small progress has been made.

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“Unhappily, the theory on which the Church proceeds is calculated rather to impede than to promote man’s happiness and well-being in

this world. It assumes that this world is a fallen world, and man's position in it merely a state of preparation for another and better state of existence; that man's happiness here is a matter comparatively of little moment, and that his main business on earth is to qualify himself for happiness in that future state. It further assumes that there is some incompatibility between the pursuit of happiness and well-being in this world and the condition of attaining to happiness in the next. The question is not whether there is a future life or not, which is assumed in nearly all views of religion, but whether, in order to gain that future life, we are to sacrifice all that to an intelligent, high-minded and reasonable man makes this life of any value.

"To employ the faculties which God has given us in endeavouring to discover His laws as displayed in His works, and to do His will by devoting all our energies to improve the condition of mankind and to alleviate the misery so prevalent in the world, and which mainly arises from ignorance or neglect of those laws; to endeavour by honest labour to raise ourselves in the scale of society—this, it is said, although it may be conducive to man's happiness and well-being here, is not the way to prepare for a future life. We are to renounce this world—to lay up no treasures here. Riches are the root of evil; the elements of progress and civilization are matters of secondary moment. Our task here is to endeavour by patience, humility, repentance, faith in the Redeemer, and through the efficacy of the sacraments administered by the Church, to secure eternal happiness in Heaven. That is the assumption of the Church. If it be correct, the more zealous the clergy are, and the more faithful in the discharge of their duties, the more will they endeavour to withdraw attention from what concerns the temporal interests of those committed to their charge, in order to fix it steadily on that which alone, if the Church's theory be true, is of real worth—the securing of their happiness in a future life"

The bill of indictment against the Church, of which this extract indicates the scope, is a severe one. Her sins of malfeasance and omission are brought home to her with a persistent force which makes clear the gap between profession and performance. Nor can much, beyond good intentions, be urged in her defence. Her history has been one of tardy concession. She has only manifested a willingness to yield a little when, in reality, she has been hereft of all. She has ever been behindhand in everything that could help to assimilate an arrogant dogmatism with the enlarged faculty of an inquiring age. When hardly pushed, she has tried by a new gloss put upon error, to stop investigation and to oppose truth; and by her combined obstinacy and shiftiness, has disheartened her friends, without conciliating her enemies; and has ended in setting revelation in direct antagonism to science.

We entirely concur, therefore, with Mr. Booth's estimate of

the Church's shortcomings, when limited to the point of view of her own "realizable ideal;" but agreeing with Sir R. D. Hanson (in the "Jesus of History"), quoted by Mr. Greg, that "The kingdom of Christ was not of this world, and its results were not to be looked for here, unless in so far as they were realized by faith;" and again: "To improve the moral or physical aspect of society was, therefore, no part of the Christian scheme;" we are unable to see why Mr. Booth should expect an organization for the inculcation of religion and the teaching of theology to undertake the intellectual education and moral improvement of the people of this country; nor can we understand the practical bearing of Mr. Greg's speculation on the possible results which might have followed, had the Church been different from what her own theory would suggest, and had laboured otherwise than to attain her own avowed objects.

"Consider again," he says—

"what might fairly be expected to be the present state of the civilized world if the whole influence of the Church had been persistently and sagaciously directed towards the improvement of the moral and material condition of humanity on this earth, instead of towards the promulgation of an astounding scheme for securing it against eternal torments in a future existence; if, in a word (universal not selfish) well-being here, instead of what is called salvation hereafter, had been the aim and study of the great organization called the Church, and of the hundreds of thousands of teachers, both orthodox and unorthodox, who for centuries have ostensibly lived and worked for no other end."

The Church professes to be an organization in aid of Christianity. She, therefore, aims to excite and to sustain the religious sentiment. She also undertakes to teach the great truths of theology, in order to promote her primary function. Within this acknowledged sphere she is open to criticism, both as regards her organization and her working; but not, in justice, as to any subsidiary work, outside the circle of her legitimate endeavour.

We have spoken of her function "to excite and to sustain the religious sentiment" as being in accordance with the true theory of a Church. But the prevalent Church idea, and that which now bars the way to a hearty spread of elementary instruction in this country, is that religion—a sentiment, an aspiration—can be *taught*, in the common acceptation of the term. Even writers like Mr. Booth and Mr. Greg—the one so logical and incisive, the other so subtle and profound, fall into the popular slovenliness of expression, and speak almost indiscriminately of "religion" and "theology," of "religious views," "doctrines of religion," "creeds of religion," and of "religious systems," and of the "sentiment of religion," and "religious feeling." It would be no answer to

the want of perspicacity in the use of these terms as synonymous, to say that such phrases are employed in their ordinary well-known meaning. Leaders of thought should clear the way, as well as point to the goal. Even as regards their own conceptions we would remind them of Hegel's remark, that "we think in words;" and that the habitual use of phrases of non-interchangeable value, in the same argument, and requiring constant mental correction, must, in the end, tend to confusion of thought itself. We question absolutely the possibility of directly teaching religion (such teaching requiring definite thought and precise language conveying a mental conception), to the undeveloped intellect of a child, in elementary schools and ordinary classes, and by an indiscriminate process. We have no right, and we do not question the capacity of teachers in elementary schools to stimulate and develop the love of God, and to link that feeling with the practical discharge of the duties of personal and social morality, and so to realize religious training, according to Dr. Barry's definition; but as we should involuntarily and summarily reject the suggestion to entrust to a lawyer the treatment of bodily disease, so we rebel against the idea of handing over to instructors of rudimentary knowledge the delicate, loving task of fostering the earliest dawning of the religious feeling into what Wordsworth calls "a passionate intuition." Parents may be incapable, and the clergy and ministers of all denominations may be unwilling; but better, we think, that the duties of both were brought home to them, even at the risk of deferred good, than that they should be furnished with any plea for continued neglect. And when we consider that so-called "religious instruction" in elementary schools drops into a mere sing-song catechismal theology, with results which may be learnt from the reports of school inspectors, we cannot but regret that the practical work of elementary instruction should be interfered with, and the leaven of dissension spread amongst the members of the already too much divided Church of Christ, for an object so misconceived and so indifferently carried out.

The first gleam of the religious consciousness in the child as in the savage assumes the shape of *wonder*. The glories of creation; the evidences of might, majesty, and magnificence around; the beauty of form, and colour, and variety in nature; the ineffable effulgence of the starry heavens, all call out the first consciousness of an invisible power; and then, first of all, it was that man—

"Fell humbly down upon his knees,
And of his *Wonder* made *Religion*!"

Again, when human intelligence becomes quickened, and

knowledge has enlarged her sphere, and the action of the imagination has been subordinated to that of the reasoning faculty, the child-like confidence of wonder is tinged with the dread arising from partial knowledge, and man's religion assumes the higher but still imperfect form of *awe and reverence*.

It is only when the Supreme Goodness is fully revealed by reflection and research, and Christ's revelation of the personal relationship of the Almighty Father with each individual soul of his children is felt by the communion of man's spirit with his Maker, through—

“The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,”

that all *fear* is cast out, and religion has attained her highest and worthiest condition of PERFECT LOVE.

With these several phases of the same sentiment (that which ties us back to God, *re-ligo*) the intellect has no direct connexion. Observation may add to our knowledge, and thought may from facts so gathered elaborate science; and both may clear and strengthen religious feeling; but, we repeat, there can be no direct instruction (*in-struo*) as to that which is innate, transcends communicable knowledge, and defies definition.

Mr. Booth quotes approvingly the educational scheme of the late Prince Consort. In it there is no mention of what the Prince knew well was not to be imparted by the comparative rough machinery of school instruction—i.e., religious teaching—

“As regards education generally, the late Prince Consort, in one of the numerous addresses for which this country is for ever indebted to that great man, thus succinctly states its aim:

“It should be to teach—

“1. The physical laws on which health depends.

“2. The moral laws on which happiness depends.

“3. The intellectual laws on which knowledge depends.

“4. The social and political laws on which national prosperity depends.

“5. The economic laws on which wealth depends.”

“A scheme of education grounded on this model would of course be too comprehensive for our primary schools; but even in these, no system of education, as regards the working classes especially, will effectually answer the purpose which does not include, along with the ordinary elements of education, thorough and sound instruction in the circumstances immediately affecting their special condition in life.”

Dogmatic theology may, of course, be taught; and religious systems may be historically examined and compared in their growth and influence; and the doctrines, and discipline, and offices of such systems may be explained and enforced. By such a process a bias, not of conviction but authority, may be engendered,

and sectarian prejudice be strengthened and spread; but the effect of all this "teaching" will be to repress the esoteric spirit of religion, and the time will surely come when it shall be acknowledged that the attempt to raise education by a direct alliance with religion can only end in the degradation of the higher faculty.

The varied outward manifestations of the religious sentiment throughout the world, and called "religious," offer the materials for a most interesting inquiry. We can here, however, only glance at the underlying principle whence they spring. Mr. Booth says, in the "Problem"—

"The sentiment of religion, which is a natural and original sentiment in the human mind, would seem to have its source in the sense of awe by which we are impressed on contemplating the mysterious Power which we feel and see ever acting in us and around us—the great Author of Nature—the all-producing, all-sustaining Power which we call God, and which although He be in much—probably in all that is necessary for our guidance here—susceptible of being understood by us, yet in all beyond is incomprehensible and veiled in mystery. A reverential sense of dependence on and responsibility to this Power, the struggle of the soul for spiritual communion with Him, and a desire to know and to do His will, constitute the elements of what I call natural religion. The various religious systems that have from time to time prevailed on the face of the earth—Brahminical, Buddhist, Christian, Mahometan, and others—are but the various modes in which the religious sentiment common to all men has sought to give expression to itself, in more or less permanent forms, in the different ages and countries of the world."

From Fetichism to the Athanasian Creed, through all mediatorial offices, and every variety of saint worship; from every embodiment of doctrine, and in every theory of God's Providence, there is the common acknowledgment of the same intuitive craving, and evidence of the same physical weakness.

Mr. Greg, in the essay on "The Direction of Human Development," says—

"The paramount cultivation of the spiritual powers, the concentration of the mind on religious contemplation, while we can well believe it may and must strengthen that faculty of insight (if, indeed, the existence of such a faculty be not altogether a delusion) from which all our glimpses of the unseen world, all our loftier and deeper spiritual conceptions are derived—is, as is too sadly known, one of the most frequent and certain causes of insanity. Not only is it not favourable to health and strength of intellect, but it often upsets the intellect altogether. The topics of reflection are so awful and so grand, the tension of mind required to grasp them is so great, the glimpses gained or fancied are so dazzling, the whole atmosphere of thought is so ethereal, that more than ordinary strength of nerve and brain

must be needed to ward off the natural results. Where the ineffable mysteries of the Divine Presence and the Unseen World are truly *realized*—where we try to “live as seeing *Him* who is invisible”—how can that calmness which is essential to wisdom, that sense of proportion on which sanity depends, be maintained? Our most daring spiritual flights, our farthest spiritual glimpses, then, are attained only at an awful risk, and by brains on the verge and in immediate peril of unsoundness.”

Religious systems of all ages and countries, seem to take shape and colouring from the inherent impotency of human nature to grasp the Infinite. They are, in effect, *systems of spiritual Mnemonics*. Each scheme marks in its own way the highest average endeavour to reconcile man's craving for personal relationship with God, with the consciousness of His infinity; and each helps to *recall* the “daring spiritual flight,” to sustain or often to repeat which could only be done at the “awful risk” of insanity. To the ignorant savage there are lucid intervals when with strained thought or suddenly awakened feeling, the consciousness of the existence and the realization of the power of the “Great Spirit” are brought home to his torpid mind. Then it is, when lost in wonder, and his whole nature droops exhausted and weary with the unwonted exercise, that he seeks a memento of his spirit's exhausting flight; and thus it is that, in seeking to realize his highest but imperfect effort, he ends by “conditioning” (in his way) that which is illimitable, and takes an idol for his God. We believe that this same effort to bring the nature of God to the level of an easy realization, underlies all systems of religion, some sensuously, as in Fetishism, some through the imagination, as in saint worship, and some intellectually, as in the daring attempt to analyse the nature of the Almighty in the Athanasian Creed.

Unfortunately in all such efforts to facilitate the attainment of results, the fact that *exercise* and not *ease* is requisite to strengthen the religious spirit, that the development of that spirit is the one thing needful, is too often forgotten. All mnemonical facilities for aiding religious aspiration and communion end, like the Fetish, in substituting the means for the end. The “form” which was intended as a backbone to a limp faith, becomes the most essential element. For a time aspiration is assisted, but the end is death to the spirit; and *worship*, which ought to be that of the spirit only, and offered in very truth, drops into an outward show.*

To what extent the exceptional seventh day godliness has helped to make permanent the too prevalent six days' “living,

* Benjamin Constant remarks that when religious sentiment is attached to positive forms, it assumes a fixed and immutable character, and “*exhibits a repugnance to the progressive intelligence of the age.*”

without God in the world," it would be impossible to say. It would also be impossible to measure the repressive influence upon the development of the religious spirit, of Episcopalian "prayer by the printing press," or the not less repressive influence of the greater anomaly of Nonconformist *prayer by proxy*: and how far all have tended to prevent the fusion of the spirit of religion with our daily life and thought we can only guess; but that all such "facilities" are a species of spiritual Frankenstein, and end by overpowering the spirit which called them into existence, we have no doubt whatever. The "forms, modes, shows" of religion are as easily put on as those denoting grief, and may as conveniently stand for the reality. The doctrine of Christ was that prayer shall be individually offered, and that it should be offered in secret. The Christian practice, at the present day, is that prayer shall be professionally paid for, and be offered in public. The mode itself might be of comparatively little moment, if the perversion of the injunction to solitude and secrecy did not tend to vitiate the very essence of prayer itself.

Public prayer, in all places of worship except those of the "Society of Friends," consists in one man's finding thoughts, feelings, and words for the whole congregation. The *theory* is that all adopt and therefore join in offering up whatever thoughts, feelings, and words the officiating clergyman or minister chooses to employ; but the *practice* presents the anomalous, and we cannot but consider it the lamentable, spectacle of a large number of persons kneeling with blank minds and unstirred hearts to ask the Almighty for *they know not what*!

Whether it be right or not to petition God for material advantages which would necessitate the abrogation of some natural law, and which would suggest the presumption that the petitioner knew better what was good for him than the Giver of all good, we need not now discuss; but if prayer be the spontaneous spiritual communion of man with his Maker, prayer in a stereotyped form of words intended to prompt the thoughts, and stir the feelings, is little better than a deception. The average Liturgical petition is "a vain repetition" of invocation, enumeration of attributes, and descriptions of God's ways and works which it is hard to conceive any one who could adequately realize the presence of Him "who knows our thoughts before we utter them" would venture to address to Him. The average extempore or written prayer of the dissenting places of worship, containing besides this "vain repetition" of invocation and statement, description of feelings, reasoning on ethical and metaphysical subjects, and definitions of thought *nominally addressed to God*, but which are really intended to *impress and*

influence the congregation, is little short of an organized hypocrisy. And such prayers, on the supposition that they are adopted by the hearers, containing as they must do petitions for the supply of wants never experienced, of feelings never felt, and thanks for blessings never received or never appreciated, differ in no sensible respect from an organized mockery. And thus it is that by misdirection the function becomes degraded, and the spirit suffers double wrong. Publicly and on authority it is familiarized with a disregard of Christ's injunction in regard to prayer; and insensibly led to dis sever communion with God from daily life, by special service at fixed times.

Far more appropriate in itself is the function of vocal praise for public worship. Praise as an offering to God is unique. One or a thousand tongues may join to swell the simple theme; and music is the master expression of feeling. The aim of praise is so direct, the rite is so simple, and the means so accordant, that nothing, one would think, but a predetermination to crush the soul out of it could mar its effectiveness. Let any one, however, take up the average hymn book, and divesting his mind of early associations, too often carried unquestioned into maturity, weigh the real meaning of the words to be sung to the "praise and glory of God." The standard hymn may open with a direct appeal to God, followed probably by a confession of petty trouble or a description of spiritual shortcoming or baffled effort; some phrase of self-humiliation, the delineation of a scene of natural beauty, and probably ending with an exhortation to our own souls. Excellent it may be, as an outpouring of praise, if it were confined to praise alone; excellent as an expression of individual feeling, if uttered only to enlist human sympathy, and to promote mutual edification; beautiful as a poetic effusion, or an imaginative picture to excite emotion or charm the fancy; but an irreverent medley when offered up in the acknowledged presence of God!

As an offering of praise only, more excellent still when associated with appropriate music; but as usually allied to tunes selected with small regard to anything but the metre, and sung, as such tunes must usually be, with false emphasis and strained rhythm, and sense halting or hurried, as at the end or middle of a line, it becomes a poor parody on the "heart's melody"—a mere ceremonial husk, out of which the kernel has been lost. We should unhesitatingly condemn the bad taste that would associate the National Anthem, for example, with other than its own words; or the false economy that would assign words of varying meaning to the Irish melodies or Scotch national songs. In these cases the tunes derive their names from the words, and the songs are indissolubly associated with, and so recall the musical

strain. Not so, however, as regards the tunes employed to give musical expression to the heart's highest, noblest, best emotion—praise to God! Their titles have no meaning. As music they express no distinctive feeling. They are associated with no appropriate words; they are musical servants-of-all-work, and at the beck of any one.

The Anthem, sung by selected voices, is quite another matter. It is praise by proxy, and is too often sung with as little real feeling as hired mourners show at a funeral. The congregation may listen with pleasure, but—

“The tickled ears nae heartfelt raptures feel,
Nae unison have they, with their Creator's praise.”

We think, therefore, that the Church is to blame for aiding or permitting the offices of prayer and praise to slip out of the heart's keeping. Such offices, when made easy by professional services, are echoes from empty hearts and hollow feelings; and the regular performance of the outward decencies of devotion—

“In all the pomp of method and of art,
When men display to congregations wide,
Devotion's every grace, except the heart,”

is worse than honest indifference. Better for society to face and deal with the reality of deficient religious feeling than try to cheat itself with specious semblances!

Passing to the instructive portion of Church services, the question, we think, may fairly be raised as to whether this, like the devotional part, might not be so modified as to lay more hold upon the popular heart and mind. There are, of course, sermons and sermons; appeals to the feelings and essays addressed to the understanding. But we take it that the average discourse is especially intended for instruction. It deals with ideas and doctrines which belong to the intellect, and it must raise and discuss questions which directly affect both personal and social life. It must touch upon points of Biblical criticism and of ecclesiastical history; and into all these it may or may not infuse a spirit of love and aspiration, and so convert purely secular instruction into religious training. But although especially designed for instruction there is no regular method pursued. The subject of the ordinary sermon is as capriciously taken as it is cursorily treated. No opportunity for previous thought or preparation is afforded to the congregation by any preliminary announcement. Accident may suggest, or the necessity for variety may recommend, a topic less worn than usual; or an old sermon, if supposed to be forgotten, may be taken to do exceptional duty; but as a rule this portion of public worship, in theory so important, presenting opportunities so significant, and which might

be made, as it occasionally is, a means for awakening thought and stirring the heart, is confessedly lifeless, formal, irksome, and repressive. We have treatises carelessly written and inanimately delivered; and extempore discourses, shallow and pretentious, "full of sound and fury signifying nothing." Appeals which excite wonder if fresh and fall dead if common, expressed in platitudes, tinkling drowsily like the "letting out of waters," until Sunday services, which might do so much to instruct and improve the masses, drop into the category of dead forms.

Mr. Booth enables us to account in some measure for the absence of system and the want of earnestness in pulpit ministrations, to which we have alluded; and for the toleration of such lifelessness on the part of the congregations—

"The great majority of mankind must always take their opinions at secondhand, and they naturally cling to those which are in accordance with their early prepossessions. With regard to religious questions moreover, most people have a vague feeling, more or less strong according to the society in which they have moved, that even to doubt is sinful. With some persons this feeling is very strong. Even so vigorous a mind as that of Dr. Johnson was oppressed by it. Porson informs us (as mentioned in Rogers's 'Recollections') on the authority of an old gentleman who knew Johnson intimately, that the bent of his mind was strongly towards scepticism, but that he was literally afraid to examine his own thoughts on religious matters. If doubts intrude themselves, as must sometimes happen with earnest minds, the natural resort is to the appointed religious instructor, the clergyman of the parish, and he will probably say something to this effect: 'It is true there are apparent difficulties; they are trials of our faith, but I can with confidence assure you there is a satisfactory answer to them. The evidence is such as to have convinced the most vigorous and comprehensive minds: and it is better for you to rest on this assurance than to perplex yourself with inquiries for which you are not qualified. Why embark upon troubled waters which may carry you you know not whither? You are at least on firm ground so long as you hold fast to the faith in which you have been brought up.' And this will generally be deemed a satisfactory answer.

"The love of ease and domestic ^{peace} also stand much in the way of inquiries of this sort. It is inconvenient to hold theological opinions different from those generally prevailing in the society in which you move. What are you to do with your children? At all the public schools opinions in conformity with the established belief will be systematically taught. Accordingly, the great majority of well-to-do people habitually and (in a worldly point of view) wisely shun theological inquiry."

It is not as regards the "well-to-do people," however, that the public conscience needs awakening. It is with "the masses,"—the (dumb), inarticulate multitude, which, knowing no better, desires no

change ; and with the evil, so forcibly shown by Mr. Booth to be, at least, partially preventible by education, that public action is needed. Church congresses and Social Science conferences have revealed the fact of the failure of public worship to lay hold of the hearts and minds of the bulk of the people. It presents no attraction to, and exerts no influence upon, that section of the community which most needs to be purged of ignorance, and to be awakened to the sense of moral responsibility. It was stated generally at the Church Congress in Liverpool, in 1869, "that the great mass of the people, wherever their choice is free, ignore or refuse her (the Church's) ministrations ;" that "the masses do not come to church ;" that it was "a well-ascertained fact that not one in twenty (of the masses) attends Divine service in any place whatever." We might multiply admissions which amount to the authoritative statement that existing religious organizations and offices have failed to reach and to influence those who most need their beneficial action. The fact is, and has been, however, so evident, that we only refer to these special admissions, to express surprise at the strange logic accompanying them, that an increase of the elements of failure is necessary to bring about success !

With all their failings, the working men of this country are not less intelligent or more depraved than their better schooled brethren abroad. They are sharp-sighted as to their own interests, and *know their own minds* ; they have strong opinions, and are consistent in their aims. They have shown great capacity for organization, and evince a strong spirit of class fidelity ; and these qualities, to say the least, entitle them to the respect of the community. They form, moreover, the most numerous of all classes, and, so far as it depends upon numbers, are in possession of the political power of the country. Their verdict, therefore, upon a question of so much importance to themselves as Church influence, ought not to be slighted, nor should the mode in which it has been given be overlooked. *They simply ignore the whole system !* Calmly and quietly, and with no concerted action, the verdict of the bulk of the people of this country has been delivered against her utility. They know her not ; her influence is unfelt, her action is ignored. Like the sad, unspoken, mutually-regretted isolation of man and wife, described by Morris, there has been no disrespect shown, no animosity felt, no quarrel ; "and yet and yet ! How could it be ?"

" We played old parts, we used old names—in vain
We go our ways, and twain once more are twain !"

The blame Mr. Booth lays emphatically on the Church herself, and particularly on the Church of England.

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“Regarding the Church as a branch of the public service for promoting religion and morality, one cannot but regret that it should have fallen so lamentably short of what might have been accomplished by such a body of educated men, so endowed with wealth and enjoying so much authority, had they filled their true position of leaders of the intellect and piety of the nation, giving to the religious spirit a direction in harmony with the progress of knowledge, and at the same time acting as a mighty agency for promoting the education of the people.”

But whatever may have been the shortcomings of the Church in the work of education, religious and secular; or to whatever extent she may have justified the late Dean Alford's statement that her history is “but the history of the world's hatred, more embittered; of the world's selfishness, more intensified; of the world's pride, made prouder still,” we cannot believe that the masses, knowing little of these things, and actuated principally by what touches themselves, *and in the present*, have been alienated by anything else than what they see and hear, *and wanting, are left to want*, when they enter within her walls. The sympathetic influence of numbers in stimulating religious enthusiasm is undoubted. The universal practice of joining together for worship in all religious systems, and in all countries, testifies to its influence, and records its value. But it is not as an outward show, and for shallow sentimentality; it is as a response to the craving of human nature, and for the utterance of deep and earnest feelings, that public worship must be judged. Within her own sphere, and according to her own aims and professions, the Church has been weighed by “the masses,” and found wanting. Their instinctive appreciation of what is genuine, has been, like the touch of Ithuriel's spear, to unmask pretence. They find the devotional portion of “public worship” heartless and hollow, and the instructive part wearisome; and hence arises the “well-ascertained fact, that not one in twenty (of the masses) attends Divine service in any place whatever.”

The old Catholic fane, “whose silent finger points to heaven,” was raised from amidst the busy haunts of toil and trial, *and is always open*. How is it that we build our churches *where we sleep*, and not where, in the proper sense of the word, *we live*? How is it that the idea of retiring from the world's six days' friction and temptation to the seclusion and quiet of God's house *to pray* excites a smile? Is it not proof that we make of religion a thing to be donned with Sunday clothes, and reserved for special occasions? Our modern Church system requires a priesthood without its prestige; and prescribes observances which, while they make no appeal to the imagination, have none of the simplicity that comes from and lays hold of the heart. The

position assumed by the Church is untenable (and this has been well shown by Mr. Booth) because she claims much that she at the same time repudiates, and works in a sphere at once too limited and too ambitious. Her failure proves that there is no logical resting-place between absolute Church authority and the unfettered right of private judgment—true Protestant *individualism*—which breaks away from creeds, and refuses to be tied to set times and seasons, and claims to worship not in form, but exclusively “in spirit and in truth.” The logical choice is between Roman Catholicism and the perfect liberty wherewith Christ has made us free; between “bibliolatry” and “conventionalism” on the one hand, and the assertion of the supremacy of our spiritual consciousness, which makes every man a law to himself.

We cannot over-estimate even the logical value of this consciousness, for it forms the basis of all knowledge. We can no more *prove* the existence of matter than we can *prove* the existence of a future state. It is the CONSCIOUSNESS of *something* outside of ourselves that reveals to us both. That we are “*certain*,” in one case, and doubtful in the other, arises simply from the differing frequency with which our consciousness is called into play. Reverse the conditions of occurrence, and habit would shift the intensity of conviction from the *phenomena* to the *noumena*, with no more difficulty than attends the comparison of small things with great.

If, therefore, as stated by Mr. Greg, “the problem of man’s Wherefore, Whence, and Whither, was meant to be insoluble,” that is, by hard lines of thought and in precise language, so much the more necessary that we should be satisfied with the validity of the only, and if valid, the best evidence we can have, *that of our spiritual consciousness.*

It is in the assertion of Individualism, as distinct from Church systems, creeds, bibliolatry, and conventionalism, and characterized by man’s highest faculty—spiritual consciousness—that we recognise the chief value of the works before us. In the one case the advocacy is limited, no doubt, by ignoring the highest motive, and weakened in the other by a prevailing morbidity, but in both there is the earnestness of thorough conviction. We need outspokenness in these days, and we need it to be potentially uttered. We need the “petty cobwebs of conventionality” to be swept away, and we need the trembling consciousness that “we are greater than we know” to be fanned into an abiding belief, and become a spring of daily action; and these works, whatever faults we may think they may have, help to do this.

In the great work of Life—the building up each one of himself, but every one sympathizing with, and assisting others, into

an approach to the fulness of the stature of perfect humanity ; in the use or the abuse of all God's gifts ; in striking the balance of a chequered existence here, and in estimating the possibilities of a life "elsewhere ;" in all these phases of "reasoning high" and feeling deep, when Love fails and Hope flags, and "overtasked at length," both are giving way—

"Then with a statue's smile, a statue's strength,
Stands the mute sister Patience, nothing loth ;
And both supporting, does the work of both."

In the absence of this essential union of Patience with drooping Love and Hope flickering in the great duty of the thorough but harmonious development of Humanity, we trace the leaven of what weakness there is in these otherwise excellent works ; and it is because of this deficiency, and notwithstanding our large sympathy with their spirit and admiration of their style, that we are tempted to ask why the one stopped short where it does ?—and as to the other, why, in its present form, it was published at all ?

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, and Mr. NUTT, 270, Strand.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE first part of the second volume is at length issued of "The Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland," edited after Spelman and Wilkins;¹ the first volume of which appeared in 1869, and the third in 1871. The second volume was delayed by the illness and subsequent death of the editor, Mr. Haddan. The present instalment he had prepared before his decease. It comprises documents connected with the Church of Cumbria or Strathclyde, the British Churches in Armorica and Galicia, and the early Church of Scotland. For the remainder, containing the Irish records, it appears we shall yet have to wait some time. It is impossible to estimate too highly the usefulness of these volumes, in thus furnishing students, in an accessible form, with materials not only directly bearing on the ecclesiastical and doctrinal history of early times in Britain, but also calculated to throw light on many obscure points of the secular history of the period. It is gratifying to see our old universities bringing forth such good work. Of the scholarly manner in which it is presented to us, the editorship of the Professor of Modern History, Mr. W. Stubbs, is a sufficient guarantee. Though more immediately addressed to the antiquarian and the student, there are many details in these volumes interesting to the general reader. It is curious, for instance, to find a Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow in 1147, adopting the constitutions and customs of Sarum, which Pope Alexander confirms in a bull of 1173. There are many interesting facts, too, connected with the British immigration to Brittany, consequent upon the invasion of England by the Saxons—or English, as Mr. Freeman bids us call them—and many documents bearing on the primacy of the See of York over Scotland. The first bishop of the Orkneys seems to have been consecrated at York. A singular old Keledean Litany, in the last appendix, in the prayer against evil beasts, mentions wolves specifically. The present form of this document, however, seems of a late date.

The introductory volume of Dr. Keim's "History of Jesus of Nazara,"² is the first instalment of the works to be published in con-

¹ "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland." Edited after Spelman and Wilkins, by A. W. Haddan, B.D., Hon. Canon of Worcester, and William Stubbs, M.A., Reg. Professor of Modern History. Vol. II. Part I. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. London: Macmillan and Co.

² "The History of Jesus of Nazara." By Dr. Theodore Keim. Translated from the German, Vol. I. London: Williams and Norgate.

nexion with the "Theological Translation Fund." The object of this fund is to publish in English the leading works of those great foreign critics who have approached the study of theology in a more independent and impartial spirit than those apologetic retrogressive writers in the interest of orthodoxy, whose productions have been almost the only ones popularized in this country. Of Ewald, F. C. Baur, and other eminent writers, the majority of English readers have hitherto had no further knowledge than was to be derived from an occasional reference to their names, not seldom accompanied by disparaging remarks in controversial divinity. They will now be able to read them in their entirety, and judge for themselves. The intelligent part of the public is not a little to be congratulated upon the stores of learning and acute criticism thus laid open to them; while great praise is due to the enterprising publishers, and the scholars who lend them their support, in thus determining that the means shall be afforded us of considering all sides of those theological questions which are exciting so much interest at the present day. And we have little doubt but that if a larger number of the clergy will take advantage of this opportunity, they may be the means of introducing into our public teaching a richer, fuller, more acute, and more suggestive treatment of religious subjects than we usually meet with in those soul-wearying concoctions of platitude which have made the very name of pulpit a byword. We do not understand why the editors should have selected Dr. Keim's work to inaugurate their series. He cannot be considered the leader among the liberal theologians of the Continent. It would have been preferable, we think, to have followed pretty nearly a chronological order of selection, more especially as Keim frequently refers to Baur and other great critics who preceded him. We do not wish by these remarks to depreciate Dr. Keim's production, since it is a work of a very high order of merit, displaying an amount of learning and penetration of which we are unable to give an adequate idea in the limited space at our command. The present volume is taken up with a review of the sources and the political and religious groundwork of the life of Jesus; it is, in fact, a kind of laying out and valuation of all the materials which any writer on this subject can legitimately depend on. In this part the author's dissertation on the Gospel of St. John may be confidently recommended as a specimen of close and acute reasoning, which would be profitable to read if only as a mental exercise. He places, indeed, the date of the Gospel rather earlier than we can allow; the balance of evidence seems to us to incline towards the opinion of the Tübingen school, though perhaps pushed by some of them, on the other hand, a little too low. The similarity of thought between the Epistle of Barnabas and the Gospel is not so close as our author supposes, and may be accounted for without the hypothesis that the latter was known to the author of the epistle. The expressions of Justin Martyr, which have been made so much of, we think are quite capable of being explained upon the supposition that Justin had come within the influence of the same ideas which gave birth to the gospel. He belonged in some degree to the same school of thought; and a *school of thought*, a

tendency, will be found eventually, we believe, the true solution of this critical problem. There is, perhaps, more to be said than yet has been said, for the Valentinian theory, of which Hilgenfeld is the exponent. Had we but one little page of Valentinus himself what a flood of light might it not throw on the subject! The translation appears to us to be satisfactory, though there is occasionally some stiffness arising from adhering too closely to the German idiom. There are also one or two erroneous dates, probably due to misprints, which will perhaps be corrected in the *Errata* to Vol. II.

The Commentary of Dr. Heinrich Meyer on the Epistle to the Galatians³ takes a very different standpoint from the work of Keim. It appears to form part of the well-known Foreign Theological Library of the Messrs. Clark, who have published so many useful series of works connected with theology. Meyer's Commentary is written from a Protestant orthodox point of view; it is purely exegetical, and full of that kind of learning which distinguishes all possible varieties of meaning in every word; there is also a most painstaking accumulation of the views, correct and incorrect, of a multitude of other commentators, such as Calvin, Wieseler, Tholuck, Olshausen, &c. &c. It would be a useful book for disputants. It may possibly be serviceable to the committee of divines who are preparing for us a new translation of the Bible; at any rate, it is a work well calculated to teach modesty to the "unlearned and unstable," to convince them how difficult it is to get at the truth of the Scriptures, how easy to wrest them, what infinite diversities of opinion may be started on the smallest particle, what fatal sources of mistake may lurk in seemingly plain propositions.

"One Religion, Many Creeds,"⁴ appears to have reached its third edition in the United States. The one religion to which the author refers is natural religion, conceived very much after the fashion of Tindal, of which he gives a forcible exposition in the first chapter, which is the best part of the book. The second part, styled an "Introduction to Bible Criticism," aims at showing the defectiveness of Christianity both in respect of its prophetic, miraculous, and historical evidence, and also as a philosophy of life. But it is done in a very rambling, incomplete manner; the matter of it might have been condensed into half its space, since the author continually repeats himself. In an appendix, which forms about a third of the volume, there is an account given of other ancient creeds, such as Zoroasterism, Buddhism, &c., with extracts from their religious books, and also from some of the sayings of ancient philosophers. This is followed by passages from various writers, such as Milman, Prescott, and others, relating to the persecutions and other crimes of Christian Churches. On the whole, there is a great deal of information of a useful kind collected in this volume, but loosely and incompletely worked together. In a very modest preface, indeed, the author excuses his want

³ "Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Galatians." By H. A. W. Meyer, Th D. Translated by G. H. Venables. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

⁴ "One Religion, Many Creeds." By Ross Winans. Baltimore: John P. Des Forges.

of method from the fact of his work being in great part made up from passages and telling phrases extracted from a variety of authors, and woven in with his own. Among these the reader will not fail to recognise some very forcible sentences of Archbishop Whately, with respect to truth, in the introduction. With all its literary defects, this work bears such a stamp of straightforward honesty, and an earnest desire to serve the cause of truth, that it cannot fail to benefit readers who have but little studied these subjects.

Mr. Dunn has laid his finger on a weak point of the theory of Mr. Matthew Arnold, set forth in his "*Literature and Dogma*,"⁵ which must have struck many of his thoughtful readers. "We ought not to speak of God as a Person, One who thinks and loves," says Mr. Arnold, for this tends to make us think of God "as if He were a magnified and non-natural man in the next street." Mr. Dunn turns the tables on him by taking exception to his own favourite phrase. "How," he asks, "except it be under human conditions, can I know what is meant by the 'Eternal, not ourselves, making for righteousness?'" "I am told I must not talk of God as one who loves, because the relation of God to man, so understood, is not *verifiable*. . . . Quite as verifiable, I think, as are the statements that 'the enduring power around us makes for righteousness,' that 'Jesus is the off-spring of this power,' that 'to attempt to reach righteousness by any way except that of Jesus, is a mistake.' If these things can be 'verified by experience,' . . . so can many other things relating to God." Certainly it cannot be denied, that as experience, in the only sense it can have in relation to such matters, is a species of personal intuition or feeling, that as far as absolute verification goes one man's experience is about as good as another's and no better. It does not seem to make much difference either, whether God is conceived of as a "power" or "force," or in the old-fashioned way as a Spirit. Both are metaphors, conditioned by the human mind itself—a vain straining after *The Unknowable*! In other parts of his work Mr. Dunn shows considerable acuteness; we do not think therefore that his remarks, under "K," upon the legendary element in the Gospels, show him to be "destitute," as he modestly suggests, "of the critical faculty," but not sufficiently on a level with the present state of critical information. He speaks as if the Gospels were indubitably written by the persons whose names they bear, or at any rate by actual eye-witnesses; he also quotes the Second Epistle of Peter as a genuine work. We think that if he will thoroughly examine the evidence on the subject, he will see reason to alter his opinion. The genuineness of ancient writings is *not* a matter of feeling, but of evidence.

The present lectures of Bishop Colenso⁶ are intended to bring before general readers in a compact and untechnical form the results of his laborious criticisms of the Pentateuch during the last ten years, given

⁵ "Brief Notes on Mr. Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*." By Henry Dunn. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co.

⁶ "Lectures on the Pentateuch and the Moabite Stone." By the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. London: Longmans.

in Parts I.—VII. of his great work. Such a treatise, the Bishop thinks, seems now especially called for, since the Church authorities have opened “up the whole question of modern Biblical criticism before the eyes of the laity in every congregation,” by appointing a new *Lectio*, and undertaking a new *Commentary*, and a new translation of the Scriptures. The mere alteration of the first lesson for Septuagesima Sunday, the Bishop thinks, was calculated to arouse inquiry, part of the second chapter of Genesis having now been appointed to be read in connexion with the first, thus calling the attention of thoughtful persons to the difference between the Elohistic and Jehovistic stories of the Creation. With the general features of Bishop Colenso’s works the readers of this Review are doubtless familiar; it will therefore suffice to say of these lectures that they are written with the Bishop’s usual straightforwardness, learning, and ability, and are well calculated to serve their intended purpose of rendering “accessible to men of ordinary culture,” to teachers, and parents, a “knowledge of those ancient books which have filled all along and still fill so prominent a part in the religious education of the race.” Among the orthodox a few years ago great fun was made of “the intelligent Zulu” who had converted a bishop of the English Church: it appears now that he has converted the orthodox authorities themselves, so far at least as convincing them of the necessity of recognising the main results of that very criticism for which they vilified and for which their obscurer partisans still vilify the Bishop; though the halting, uncandid, faulty, and feeble way in which they apply their principles by no means even now meets Dr. Colenso’s approbation, nor is likely to receive the countenance of any sound critic or honest-minded man. It could be hardly expected, however, that the leek should be swallowed without a qualm. The Bishop thinks it will be necessary that more sound information on these matters should henceforward be supplied in Sunday-schools than has hitherto been usual; and certainly if the traditional teaching is retained only for children and paupers, while exploded in the company of their betters, we shall be brought to a rare state of confusion. The most direct and honest course will assuredly be the safest for *all* parties. The final lecture gives a very interesting account of the discovery and of the inscriptions of the Moabite Stone, showing their divergency in many respects from the Biblical history, and how in various ways they indirectly confirm the views set forth in the lectures. The First and Second Appendices contain respectively the Elohistic narrative at full length, and the original story of the Exodus, stripped of later additions; and in Appendix III. we have some information respecting the pre-Christian cross, its universality and meaning, taken from the *Edinburgh Review*. The Bishop, however, does not tell us that the worship of this emblem was originally connected with *Phallic* rites. See Dupuis, “*Origine de tous les Cultes*,” tom. i. p. 382 et seq., and tom. v. p. 178 et seq.

Another systematic treatise on the ‘Thirty-nine Articles’ is what we

⁷ “The ‘Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, Explained in a Series of Lectures.’ By the Rev. R. W. Jelf, D.D. Edited by the Rev. J. R. King, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

should have hardly looked for at this time of day. The fact is explained, however, by the work being posthumous, and consisting of the lectures which Dr. Jelf delivered, as Principal of King's College, from 1847 until his retirement. Their teaching is rather that of what used to be called "*the high and dry*" school of theology, but on the whole is sensible and moderate from the point of view of a sound old English Churchman. Dr. Jelf's pupils, we believe, were always up to if not rather above the average of theological candidates, whether in university or episcopal examinations; and we can well understand how those who carefully attended to this course of lectures would be likely to have their knowledge well arranged and readily available in face of an examiner, for the Doctor is a great lover of system and logical form. There are traces here and there of the discussions which agitated theological circles during the author's career, as for instance in the jealous vindication of the dignity of Convocation and the Episcopal College in the regulation of Church matters, and the indignant repudiation of the reproach brought against the Establishment of being "*An-Act-of-Parliament Church*." There is, moreover, an allusion of some asperity to a "*newly invented heresy*" set forth in "*Essays and Reviews*." He is strong for retaining the Athanasian Creed; indeed on this subject he falls considerably too much into the tone of Parson Thwackum—almost, in fact, unconsciously adopting his very words: "When I mention religion, I mean the Christian religion; and not only the Christian religion, but the Protestant religion; and not only the Protestant religion, but the Church of England." A full treatment of the Seventeenth Article is omitted, on the ground of its being hardly adapted for students. Articles XXXIII., XXXVI., XXXVIII., and XXXIX., having been omitted by Dr. Jelf, are briefly explained by the editor in a similar manner.

Another posthumous publication of an old antagonist of Dr. Jelf is also brought under our notice, consisting of a volume of sermons preached by the late Mr. Maurice in country churches.⁸ Many of them appear to us to contain some excellent practical teaching, and are full of the tenderness for which the author was distinguished; while they are at the same time free from that obscurity and inconclusiveness which is sometimes observable in his more elaborate productions. We have only detected one very remote allusion to the doctrine which led to Mr. Maurice's controversy with Dr. Jelf and resignation of his professorship at King's College.

The Bampton Lectures of the Rev. J. R. T. Eaton have for subject "*The Permanence of Christianity*," or, as the author states it more fully in the first lecture, "*the steadfastness of Christianity, an argument for the truth and ultimate permanence of its doctrines*." Considering it to be granted that permanence is a test of religious systems,

⁸ "*Sermons Preached in Country Churches*." By the Rev. F. D. Maurice. London: Macmillan and Co.

⁹ "*The Permanence of Christianity*," considered in eight lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1872. By the Rev. J. R. T. Eaton, M.A. London. Rivingtons.

he then proceeds at length to meet objections which may be or have been made against the permanence of Christianity. He accordingly endeavours to show that such objections depend for the most part on three assumptions—viz., that the religion of Christ has exhibited “a fixed tendency to decline, . . . has already passed its meridian, and yielded only disappointing results;” or, that it displays “a present feebleness and prostration, so utter and unquestionable, so chronic and inherent, as to defy dispute;” or lastly, “that the tenets of Christianity are incompatible with truths now very generally acknowledged, and with that marked progress in intellectual effort which is a main ingredient in the present condition of affairs.” He lays himself out to refute this last assumption, in the first place, “before entering on the direct historical proofs which guarantee the prospects of our common faith,” because, in his view, such a charge covers a class of objections “which are fatal, not only to the continuance of Christianity, but to all systems of religion acknowledging or implying theism.” These objections the author again distributes under three heads, involving “the relations either (I.) of causation to free agency; or (II.) of universal law to providential agency; or (III.) of intellectual to moral and religious action. He develops this part of his argument with some ingenuity and abundant reference and illustration, allotting considerable space to the well-known positions of Mr. Buckle, which he declares are derived from Bayle. We have not space here to follow him through the variety of topics he introduces; the experienced reader will easily detect for himself one or two of the well-worn fallacies of apologists, as for instance when it is asserted that the assumption that mankind on subjects of the highest moment lie still in darkness, involves the admission that the Author of the world is either indifferent or malicious or willing to deceive, where Pascal’s words are quoted with approbation: “Dieu doit aux hommes de ne pas les induire en erreur.” It is evident that this is an argument equally available for a Mahometan or a Brahmin. We do not think, moreover, that the author does justice in his concluding lecture to the missionary efforts of other religionists, when he compares them to those of the Christians; the Buddhists indoctrinated with their faith a larger number of persons than the Christian Church has ever embraced, and in Africa and Asia at this present time Mahometanism is making the most extensive progress. It is true, when these lectures were delivered the author had not before him the details of the Indian census recently issued, showing a somewhat alarming advance of the creed of the Moslem. We think, too, that it would have contributed to the lucidity of the argument set forth in this treatise, if the author had stated plainly, in so many words, *at the commencement*, what are those special doctrines of Christianity for which permanence is alleged, what is that pure quintessence which is supposed to remain, when the creeds are reduced to their very least (not their greatest) common measure, or “developed” according to the exigences of the times. It is true we can form a pretty clear idea of the writer’s own present notions from incidental remarks in various parts of his lectures, though how far to be considered as held in the developed and transcendental

form alluded to in pp. 31, 41, and elsewhere, we are not aware. But this want of explicitness, so common on the part of religious writers, as to *what* is to be considered the central shrine of the faith, seems to us to be dealing somewhat unfairly with the unsophisticated laity, whether those who are unfriendly or those who are earnest partisans of Christianity; with the former, because when thinking themselves bound to oppose what they conceive to be doctrines of the religion, they find them either denied to be essential, or denied altogether, or explained away, so that they may justly complain that the Church's creed is a very Proteus which no man can grasp, and thus find a stumbling-block in its very unsubstantiality; and towards the latter this vagueness is no less unfair by causing great waste of energy, and leaving even the best disposed in doubt where to direct their efforts. For while some of our spiritual guides exhort us to make a stand for the least outwork, and even seem to find in every kind of superstition, new or old, an available means of support such as should be by no means neglected, others rebuke us for wasting labour on indefensible positions, or for bringing scandal on the cause by risking defeats on untenable ground.

That the missionary energy of the Eastern races¹⁰ towards the more educated classes of the community also is not altogether exhausted, the Bampton Lecturer may satisfy himself by looking into the Annual of the Brahmo Somaj. It is true; that the results yet attained are small in view of the vast population of India, but they cannot be considered insignificant when the society comprises as many as twelve associations, and publishes nine newspapers in different parts of the Empire. It is worthy of remark, that the converts are mainly derived from the most candid and best educated classes of the community, and those who have been brought most in contact with Europeans, and understand their language. So much so that the Annual, which was previously printed in Hindustani and English, is now printed wholly in the latter tongue. In departing from the corruptions of his native faith, therefore, the pious Hindoo does not seem altogether to have moved in the direction which would have been desired at home.

Dr. Lewins's tractate on "Life and Mind,"¹¹ is an attempt "to formulate a consistent and rational theory of existence" from a materialistic point of view. He puts his case with clearness and ability; but the disciples of Comte would demur, we think, to their master being classed in the same category with Plato as "a metaphysical" speculator. The author allows himself too brief space to fully develop his arguments. We should be glad to see him make this the basis of a more extended treatise, more fully illustrated with physiological examples, in which he might introduce some of those instances which he regrets are now only to be found in a series of articles by Dr. Maudsley in a medical journal. The ordinary defect of the argument of materialists is, that they are apt to assume that nothing exists where

¹⁰ "The Theistic Annual." Published in Calcutta on the forty-third Anniversary of the Brahmo Somaj. 1873.

¹¹ "Life and Mind; their Unity and Materiality." By Robert Lewins, M.D. Lewes: George P. Bacon.

nothing can be perceived; thus making their own senses the measure of the Infinite. This author, however, does not "venture to impugn the evidence of cosmical design, or the existence of an unknown, inconceivable First Cause, of whose Eternal Mind the eternal universe may be a hypostasis." We think, however, he make the *summum bonum* of mankind to depend too much on a mere healthy state of the bodily functions. "Earth is Paradise," he says, "if the healthy operation of every anatomical structure could be preserved." . . . "All that is fabled by poets, saints, martyrs, founders of sects and systems, under the term Saturnian or Golden Age, Kingdom of Heaven, Paradise, &c., is comprehended in that supreme *bien aise* which results from the equilibrium of the bodily functions." Doubtless a good digestion and a vigorous condition of the peristaltic movements are excellent things, but we cannot help perceiving that there are grave sources of unhappiness in human life besides such as arise from dyspepsia, or susceptible nerves. We cannot be brought altogether to subscribe to the philosophy of Hans Breitman—

"Who thought to solve the Infinite,
Ash one Eternal Spree."

In one of his concluding statements as to education, we heartily agree with our author:—"The further development of our race in intellect and moral feeling depends chiefly on education—the disuse of *à priori* intuitive methods, and the systematic practice of *rational habits of thought based on experience*."

Mr. Scott during the past quarter has not fallen off in his issue of monthly pamphlets, some of them very ably written. The writer of "Our First Century,"¹² endeavours to show that we have no materials for an "intelligible, consistent, and complete history" of the Christianity of that period, and that the life of Jesus remains in a state of "incurable uncertainty." It might as well be attempted, he says, "to write a *history* of the famous war, supposed to have been waged on the plain between the rivers Simois and Scamander—

"Where many shields and helmets fell in the dust,
And the race of demigod men."

He makes out a strong case.

Excellent both in tone and matter are the "Five Letters on a Conversion to Roman Catholicism."¹³ Mr. Suffield is in a position to speak on this subject with some authority, having been for twenty years Apostolic Missionary in England, Ireland, Scotland, and France, and published a largely circulated work commended by all the Archbishops and the Pope. "He never," he says, "incurred even in the smallest matter the censure of any ecclesiastical superior, nor ever had a quarrel with any Roman Catholic, lay or ecclesiastic." He can therefore write without any "of the bitterness which is sometimes found as the result of conflict." His testimony, consequently, is extremely valuable, and

¹² "Our First Century." Upper Norwood, London: Thomas Scott.

¹³ "Five Letters on a Conversion to Roman Catholicism." By Robert Rodolph Suffield. Upper Norwood, London: Thomas Scott.

altogether unexceptionable as to the moral and mental evils which follow upon those practices of the Romanists, which modern High Churchmen are anxious to introduce into the Anglican system. We should be glad if some of our dreamy young ladies and shallow curates could be brought to ponder the kindly and fatherly advice of these sensible letters. They deserve to be widely circulated.

"The Arguments of the Emperor Julian against the Christians,"¹⁴ edited by Mr. Nevins, appears to be a reprint of a translation circulated privately in 1809 by Mr. W. Meredith. The present editor, who is a zealous Roman Catholic, thinks it necessary to apologize for publishing a work opposed to his faith, declaring that he does so "in the interest and on behalf of Christianity." In the course of a somewhat lengthy preface he states, that his reasons for reprinting the book are to show the weakness of Julian's arguments against Christianity, and that the "flippant infidelity of the present day is drawn from the same source." This last assertion shows an ignorance of the history of modern scientific thought; and a less prejudiced person would have perceived that Julian's arguments, even as given to us, are not altogether deficient in force in relation to the mental growth of those whom he addressed, and the circumstances by which they were surrounded. A candid writer, however, would not have failed to impress upon his readers the source from whence these writings of Julian are derived. We have them only in the shape of extracts from a controversial work of Cyril's, the most violent of the fathers, and an utterly unscrupulous and bigoted polemic. Cyril, moreover, only refers to three out of the seven books, of which Julian's work consisted; and even from these, in a sudden fit of candour, he confesses that he feared to extract the most powerful arguments. The present editor concludes his preface with the old trumped-up story of Julian on his deathbed being forced to cry out, "The Nazarene hath conquered;" an anecdote probably hatched in the heated brain of some saint, and about as veracious as the lying accounts of "the terrible deathbed of Voltaire and other infidels," which certain tract societies have not been ashamed to circulate. These bugbear anecdotes have been the stock-in-trade of hierophants from the earliest centuries. It is not surprising that such a man as Julian should have excited the imagination and aroused the animosity of Christian controversialists. That a man of severe, virtuous, and self-denying life, and of eminent learning and ability, who had been educated in Christianity, and had the best opportunities of observing its working, but who in the maturity of his powers, after calmly weighing the antagonistic claims of philosophy, had rejected the Christian creed as a delusion, was an alarming portent; but it is to be lamented he did not remain satisfied with personally embracing philosophy, and refrain from attempting to balance one superstition by another. The endeavour of Julian to revitalize and give a philosophic aspect to the expiring

¹⁴ "The Arguments of the Emperor Julian against the Christians." Translated from the Greek fragments preserved by Cyril Bishop of Alexandria. Reprinted and Edited by Willis Nevins. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

Paganism, probably hastened the triumph of the religion he detested. But it would be of advantage, however, to some of our modern zealots to recollect how greatly the revulsion from Christianity in Julian's mind was stimulated by the controversial bitterness, the pettiness, the shameless cruelty and intrigue, the religious arrogance and intolerance with which the whole atmosphere of the Church was filled even in those early days. Well may a magnanimous and philosophic mind have fled for refuge to the academy or the porch. At the end of the present work is translated Julian's well-known edict, forbidding the Christians to teach the heathen literature; the concluding passage of which may appear not altogether inapplicable to our circumstances at the present day:—

“But let no youths be prevented from resorting to whatever schools they please. It would be as unreasonable to exclude children, who know not yet what road to take, from the right path, as it would be to lead them by fear and reluctance to the religious rites of their country. And though it would be just to cure such reluctance, like madness, even by force, yet let all be indulged with that disease. For I think it requisite to instruct, and not to punish the ignorant.”

We imagine that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's answers to the question, “Why am I a Christian?”¹⁵ will be more satisfactory to himself than to his readers, even among those who agree with him in his conclusion. It is the baldest summary of what the author calls the “leading evidences” of Christianity, in the manner in which they were put before schoolboys or popular congregations thirty years ago. The author does not distinctly meet a single one of the difficulties that have been started in the way of belief during the last generation, and he adduces many of the old stock texts under the head of “the prophetic announcements relating to Christ,” in the words of the authorized version of the Scriptures, seemingly altogether unconscious that they have been shown to be either mistranslations or to have a totally different application, if properly considered with their context. He indeed modestly excuses the inadequacy of his performance, on the ground that having at some period been himself worried by doubts, and having found a “full remedy for want of faith” in “those evidences to which the Christian may confidently appeal,” he wished “to afford his fellow-sufferers occasion to profit by his experience.” It might have occurred to a former diplomatist that a counsel who weakly states his case may rather damage than support the cause he would maintain. Indulgent friends, as the prefatory letter seems to intimate, may have insinuated that the mere suffrage of a man of consular dignity was itself a valuable evidence of Christianity. It is true, a good many people will think so, and “pity 'tis, 'tis true!”

The third volume of the Rev. John Hunt's “Religious Thought in England”¹⁶ is mostly taken up with the controversies which arose

¹⁵ “Why am I a Christian?” By Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, P.C., K.G. London: Henry S. King and Co.

¹⁶ “Religious Thought in England, from the Reformation to the End of the Last Century.” By the Rev. John Hunt, M.A., Author of “An Essay on Pantheism.” Vol. III. London: Strahan and Co.

on the relations between Church and State, the Arian, and the Deistical opinions, with full illustrations and analyses of the works of the leading authors who took part in them. Some portions of the volume have already appeared in the *Contemporary Review*. Many of the analyses are very skilfully done, and the tone of the whole work is very fair and temperate. In the preface* the author states the spirit in which he had wished to write, and we think he has carried out his intention. As the passage also gives a very good idea of the author's style, we subjoin it :—

“The spirit in which this work is written is, I trust, altogether different from the ordinary spirit in which histories of the Church or of Theology are generally written. I have not abused those from whom I differ, and I have not exalted those with whom I agree. I have had beside me for general reference Dean Hook's ‘Ecclesiastical Biography,’ and have tried to fight against the spirit which pervades it. When the Dean comes to a Nonjuror or a Scotch Episcopalian he is sure to find a saint or a martyr, to whom many pages of eulogy are to be devoted. When he comes to a Nonconformist, even if it be a Calamy, a Howe, or a Watts, they are served with a few dates and, perhaps, a list of their publications. A liberal Churchman is generally described as ‘this unprincipled man’ or ‘this Arian heretic,’ while for the leaders of Presbyterianism in Scotland the Dean opens the floodgates of his wrath, and pours forth an overwhelming torrent of hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. My wish has been to write a history of theology on the rigid principles of natural science; to feel as if I were of no party, no country, and no creed; to appeal to no man's partialities or prejudices, but to state the naked truth, however cold the form in which it might appear.”

In an appendix there are notices of some authors omitted in the body of the work, and lists of the bishops occupying the different English sees, with dates. There is also a complete index to the three volumes. On the whole we think it a work likely to be useful to the younger clergy, both for general reading and a book of reference, and one, moreover, well calculated to teach humility and guard them from that narrow and intolerant spirit against which the author protests in his preface; for who in view of the long strivings of the human spirit, the infinite varieties of opinion, the errors into which the most clear-sighted have fallen, the infirmities and partiality of the noblest intellects, can possibly presume that he does right, in speaking as if he were infallible, as if he alone at last had found a nostrum to solve all human difficulties?

“The New Aspect of Christian Theology”¹⁷ is a thoughtful sermon by the Rev. Stopford Brooke, in which he endeavours to show that “theology is not a fixed science;” that the revelation of Christ contained certain germs which were afterwards to be developed in a manner analogous with that continual *evolution* which we observe in the progress of the race, and “which science teaches us about the progress of life;” that there is a universal element in Christianity which is gradually becoming better understood, and that “that popular

¹⁷ “The New Aspect of Christian Theology.” A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford. By the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co.

opinion which is the result of the work of God's spirit in man" is against those narrow views which oppose it, "and their days are numbered." . . . "Theological ideas will slowly but surely harmonize themselves with the universal ideas in the social and political kingdoms, and we shall have a religion fitted for the further growth of man." It appears, then, that like Mr. M. Arnold, Mr. S. Brooke looks for inspiration to the *Zeitgeist*. There is no doubt that this affords the best chance for the permanence of theology. Mr. Brooke's tone is hopeful, and timid divines may read his sermon with profit.

The Master of Haileybury has issued a volume of very good common-sense sermons,¹⁸ free from all extreme views, yet liberal and manly in spirit, and well suited for the purpose for which they were intended. We would especially call attention to the latter part of the second sermon on idolatry, and those entitled "Going Home" and "God's Laws." Some of them, perhaps, are a little long for a youthful audience.

The lectures of Dean Howson "on the Character of St. Paul"¹⁹ seem chiefly to have been written for purposes of edification, and but for the title page we should hardly have conceived, on reading them, that they were the "Hulsean Lectures" for 1862, preached before the University of Cambridge. They are more after the manner of the week-day evening lectures occasionally delivered at popular chapels; they have, however, reached a third edition, which, perhaps, would not have been the case if they had been adapted for a more discriminating class of readers. We cannot say, nevertheless, that they make no pretence to scientific treatment, but it is that sort of fanciful science common in certain schools of theology, which seems chiefly to depend on subjective sensibility, which detects imperceptible shades of deepest meaning in a casual expression, and which is equally useful in developing a "verity of the faith," or salving over a difficulty. The first principles of historical criticism are noticed only to be pooh-pooled. The orations attributed to St. Paul in the Acts of the Apostles are accepted as his exact and actual utterances, and arguments are raised on every turn of expression. As well might we accept as their literal words the speeches of Lucius Papirius, and other heroes in Livy. Notwithstanding, however, our objections to Dr. Howson's loose critical notions, we willingly confess that his lectures abound in interesting illustrations, are pleasantly written, with frequent happy strokes of tenderness and feeling well calculated to make them attractive. We can conscientiously recommend them for Sunday reading in religious families.

The "Letters to and from Rome"²⁰ also bear upon the character of St. Paul. But he is depicted more according to the appearance which Professor Jowett says he must have presented to the outside world,

¹⁸ "Sermons Preached at Haileybury." By E. H. Bradby, M.A., Master. London: Macmillan and Co.

¹⁹ "The Character of St. Paul," being the Cambridge Hulsean Lectures for 1862. By John S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. London: Strahan and Co.

²⁰ "Letters to and from Rome in the years A.D. 61-63." Selected and translated by C. V. S. London: Williams and Norgate.

"a visionary pierced by the thorn in the flesh." This idea is, to a certain extent, worked out in these letters, which are imaginary epistles to and from an official who had encountered Paul at Rome, to an officer of the legion quartered at Jerusalem, making inquiries respecting the origin of Christianity. They thus afford an opportunity of representing the conceptions of that religion which would probably have been entertained by the heathen who came in contact with it about the year 62 A.D. The picture is drawn with some ability and verisimilitude.

"Church and No Church"²¹ is a collection of short essays written in support of what the author calls the Catholic Revival in the Church, decrying Protestantism and vindicating Ritualism. As compositions, they are somewhat superficial and discursive. Their spirit and taste may be judged of by his calling the statements of his opponents "wilful misrepresentation of fact," and the riots of St. George's-in-the-East, we are informed, "were organized in a West-End drawing-room." He recommends that the friends of the Church should stand out for Disestablishment, should such measures as the "Expungement of the Athanasian Creed," or the "Dissenters' Burial Bill" be passed. How writers of Archdeacon Denison's school can think that diatribes of this sort can possibly recommend their cause to sober persons, or benefit it in the long run, it is difficult to conceive. Probably, like the Pope, they find a kind of solace in crying Woe! in the face of contemporary progress, and must perforce give vent to the doleful humours which else would burst them. Their motto must be that of the old satirist:—

"Proetulerim scriptor delirus incersque videri,
Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant,
Quam sapere, et *ringi*."

A collection of hymns and sonnets,²² some of them translated from the French of A. Vinet and A. Monod, and previously published in *Good Words* and other periodicals, show considerable poetic feeling and facility of expression. They are evangelical in sentiment.

In the limited space remaining at our disposal we are unable to do justice to the important works which have been recently issued by the Society of Hebrew Literature.²³ They deserve especial notice on another occasion. The main object of this society appears to be to render the literary treasures of the Jews accessible to the public. These treasures are not confined to the Hebrew language; there are many valuable works in other languages, the production of Hebrew authors, which it is intended to include. The first volume of the *Miscellany* before us contains nine papers, all of great interest. Five are

²¹ "Church and No Church." By the Rev. A. H. Hore, M.A. London: J. T. Hayes.

²² "Hymns and Verses." By Henry Downton, M.A. London: H. S. King and Co.

²³ "Miscellany of Hebrew Literature." Vol. I. "The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah," translated, with introductions, &c. By M. Friedländer, Ph.D. Vol. I. "The Anglican Version of Isaiah, amended according to the Commentary of Ibn Ezra." Vol. II. London: Trübner and Co.

translated under the direction of the Rev. Dr. S. Davidson. The first is a sketch of the life of a Vizier of the King of Granada, born towards the close of the tenth century; another is an epistle of the Rabbi Chisdai to the King of the Cusars, an independent Jewish kingdom reported to have existed in the neighbourhood of the Crineea. The authenticity of this letter was disputed by Buxtorf, but without good reason. His doubts appear to have arisen from his having confounded the author of the letter to the King of the Cusars with the author of the book "Cusari," a specimen of the Arab text of which is also given and translated in this volume by M. Adolf Neubauer. An interesting life of Chisdai is appended by Dr. David Cassel. Chisdai was physician to Abderahman III., at Cordova, in the tenth century, and also filled several political and diplomatic offices, which appear even to have brought him into contact with Otto I., Emperor of Germany. A paper full of information is contributed by the Rev. A. Löwey, on the sufferings of the Jews in the Middle Ages, taken from Dr. Zunz's great work, "*Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*." A specimen of the famous Biur (Commentary) with an introduction, is given by Dr. A. Benisch, and the Rev. Dr. Adler translates for us from the Hebrew a letter of the renowned Maimonides, of great "interest," on account of the autobiographical notices and criticisms of Jewish and Arabic philosophers which it contains." Dr. Friedlander gives us in another volume a translation of Ibn Ezra's celebrated Commentary on Isaiah. There were very great difficulties to be encountered in this task, as those who know the style of Hebrew Commentaries will not need to be told. They appear on the whole to have been surmounted with great ability. A full translation of Isaiah, according to Ibn Ezra, is given in a separate volume. Altogether we have here works both of the highest value to Hebrew students and affording a great treat to all scholars and thoughtful persons, as well as in many points of view interesting to the intelligent public at large, showing that modern civilization is indebted to the Jew for much more than the invention of banking and bills of exchange, commonly supposed now-a-days to be their most considerable contribution. The text of Ibn Ezra's Commentary, collated from several manuscripts, is to appear shortly; and other valuable works are in preparation. The Hebrew Literature Society have occupied a too much neglected, but a most important field of research. It is earnestly to be desired that their operations may not be suffered to languish for want of funds.

"In the Morningland"²⁴ is an imperfect instalment of a project sufficiently ambitious—an attempt, namely, to solve the problem of the origin of Christianity. Ten years ago, while Mr. Stuart-Glennie was travelling in Palestine with the late Mr. Buckle, a discussion arose

²⁴ "In the Morningland; or, The Law of the Origin and Transformation of Christianity." By John Stuart Stuart-Glennie, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. I.: The New Philosophy of History and the Origin of the Doctrines of Christianity. London: Longmans 1878.

between them as to the latter's theory of the non-effect of moral forces as historical causes; and it was then suggested by Mr. Buckle that the point in dispute could only be decided by an inquiry into some definite historical problem, such as that of the origin of Christianity. "In the Morningland" (which it appears from a prospectus at the end of the volume is but a section of a more extensive scheme of philosophy) is the issue of the discussion which then took place. *Les dieux s'en vont*—Christianity is dead, and Mr. Stuart-Glennie would trace its pedigree and write its epitaph; it has perished, he says, because, regarded as a philosophy of history, it postulated a theory of Causation which men have ceased to regard as true: a slow but resistless change has wrought in the latter centuries an intellectual revolution by which Christianity has been overthrown. For Christianity, with its miracles, its anthropomorphism, its personal God dealing humanly with men, is but one form of that Animism (or, as Mr. Stuart-Glennie, who has a decided *penchant* for uncouth phraseology, prefers to call it, Spiritism) which Mr. Tylor and others have shown to be universally characteristic of the primitive stages of man's culture. But Animism involves a theory of causation which science has long since discarded, and not science only, but that intellectual revolution which may be best described as "a change in men's notions of the causes of change" (p. 60) has rendered any philosophy of history which takes Animism for its basis obsolete and untenable. Such a philosophy of history is Christianity, which is thus shown to be obsolete; hence the need of a new philosophy of history. Comte, descended from Hume, offers such a philosophy, but it is too exclusively Materialistic; Hegel, descended from Kant, offers such a philosophy, but it is too exclusively Idealistic. What is wanted is a new synthesis of Materialism and Idealism, a reconciliation of Hume and Kant, a new theory of Causation, neither Animistic like Christianity, nor Materialistic like Positivism, and a Philosophy of History with the new Law of Causation for its basis. With such an Organon in our hands we can then proceed to the study of the phenomena of human nature, and to the specific problem of the origin of Christianity, and so inversely verify the ultimate law of history which had previously been speculatively determined. New problems require new methods, and Mr. Stuart-Glennie professes to have discovered, or at least detected, a logical process which has escaped the notice of previous logicians. Induction is based on the axiom "Knowledge is to be sought in the induction of hypotheses of thought from the simpler relations of things" (p. 90); Deduction, on the axiom "Knowledge is to be verified in the deduction of the relation of things from the developed hypotheses of thought" (p. 96); but intermediate between these two is a method and a process to be called "Correlation," or speculative development, for which the axiom is proposed, "Hypotheses of thought are to be developed in progressive differentiations and integrations of thought" (p. 94):—

"Among the great historic illustrations of this process of thought, not from things to general formulæ or conceptions, nor from general formulæ or conceptions to things, but from conceptions to differentiative and integrative

conceptions, I would point, first, to all theological and—so far as deductive verification does not form an essential part of its method—to all metaphysical speculation; secondly, and more particularly, to the Dialectic of Plato, the Logic of Hegel, and the Subjective Method of the *Politique Positive* of Comte; and, thirdly, in illustration of this process of thought, I would point to the relations which connect the artistic creations of all the greater poets, and those especially of Shakspeare.”—p. 92.

This is not an entirely encouraging description of a new logical method which is to do so much for thought: the process bears a suspicious likeness to the “*intellectus sibi permissus*” of Bacon, about which several very hard things are said in the *Novum Organon*; nor can it, we think, be regarded as a process independent of or even co-ordinate with the other two. As an intermediate step between hypothesis and verification such a process is no doubt of great value, but as such it is no new discovery, as the history of science abundantly shows; as a method independent of verification it is only another form of that “*anticipatio mentis*,” which is the bane of science. Surely it is better to regard verification as the seal and sanction of discovery, while induction and hypothesis are the indispensable but imperfect preliminaries. We may here note that throughout the volume Mr. Stuart-Glennie seems to use the word “verification” in a loose, if not a misleading sense. A hypothesis is not verified by being shown to accord with observed phenomena, though this seems to be the only verification offered of the ultimate law of history; it is only truly verified when it is shown that no other hypothesis will account for the facts, which is a very different matter. Armed with his reconstructed Organon, Mr. Stuart-Glennie proceeds with a dazzling not to say bewildering display of metaphysical fireworks to a new Classification of the Sciences, new conceptions of Matter, Motion, Force, Thought, and Existence, and finally to a new conception of Causation, which is to form the basis of the Ultimate Law of History. This conception is that of Mutual Determination (p. 164), and the Law is finally formulated thus:—

“Thought, in its Differentiating and Integrating Activity, advances, under terrestrial conditions, from the conception of One-sided Determination, through the Differentiation of Subjective and Objective, to the conception of Mutual Determination.”—p. 191.

Here is the desired reconciliation of Materialism and Idealism, the integration of the laws of Comte and Hegel, the new Philosophy of History which is to replace exploded Christianity, and may be compared “in ultimacy and incommensurable results with the Newtonian law of Gravitation” (p. 205). The second part of the volume proposes to itself the “verification” of the Law (as the author inaccurately, we think, calls it; we should prefer “illustration” though the change would be fatal to the completeness of the theory); this begins at a very early period of history, about the dates and facts of which Mr. Stuart-Glennie seems to be more certain than his readers are likely to feel; but coming down to a period which may be more strictly called historical, the author shows that the gradual advance of men’s conceptions of causation would involve in the course of time a speculative revolution and a moral transforma-

tion ; and of the rise of these he finds evidence in the sixth century B.C. To this moral transformation Christianity at a latter period responded with success, while Neoplatonism opposed itself to it and failed ; the success of the former was due partly to its moral fervour (which however was not without parallel in contemporary ethical systems), but more especially to its assimilation of the Egyptian myths of the cult of Osiris, themselves the product of the aspects and forces of nature in the valley of the Nile. The failure of Neoplatonism, on the other hand, was due to its imperfect recognition of the moral transformation which was taking place around it, and to its futile effort, like that of modern Broad-Churchism, to give a meaning partly rational, partly mystic, to a mythology which the advance of mankind had outgrown ; it attempted the impossible and died in the effort with "*vicisti Galilæe*" on its lips. It is easy to construct a new philosophy by striking out a recognised portion of an existing system and restoring it in an unfamiliar dress. Notwithstanding the formidable metaphysical analysis with which it is introduced we are unable, after careful consideration, to discover in the theory of Mutual Determination anything beyond what has, since the time of Hume, been almost universally recognised as characteristic of causation. We say that poison causes a man's death, but of course his death results from the mutual co-operation of the poison and the definite organs and functions of the bodily system ; were the latter other than they are, a different result might ensue, and so far and no farther can the process be described as one of mutual determination ; this, however, is no new discovery, and we fail entirely to see how it can be made the basis of a new philosophy with such momentous issues. As for the so-called historical "verification" of the theory, the most that can be said of it is that it is ingenious, but we venture to think that the best criticism of it is to be found in Mr. Stuart-Glennie's own words—"History presents phenomena so various, that, for almost any theory of it, a certain number of apparently verifying facts may be found. But general historical theories thus loosely verified only bring discredit on the philosophy of history. A law so general as that which we have ventured to state as the ultimate law of history will require a very special verification" (p. 230). No candid reader will allow that this very special verification has so far been furnished ; and though the volume before us is avowedly only an imperfect instalment of a larger work, yet the author will have considerably to change his method before he can hope to establish his conclusion. We could wish that Mr. Stuart-Glennie, who has evidently learned much from Mr. Buckle, had been content to imitate his style, for his own style is conspicuously wanting in elegance, modesty, and restraint. Many sentences, full of unnecessary and jarring inversions, seem to be modelled on the stiffest of German prose ; and it is but a clumsy artifice to interpolate scenes of Mediterranean and Eastern travel in the prologues and epilogues to the several chapters. The descriptions are not uninteresting in themselves, and the localities may well be associated in the author's mind with the speculations he intends them to suggest ; but to the serious reader they are mere interruptions, and they give an air

of rhetorical unreality to a book which, though in our judgment a failure as a "New Philosophy of History," is not without considerable insight and suggestiveness.

M. Vera, the Hegelian Professor of Philosophy in the University of Naples, is very angry with Dr. Strauss, whom he regards as a Hegelian renegade, for his late work "*Der Alte und der Neue Glaube*;" and he has devoted a volume²⁵ to its examination from the point of view of orthodox Hegelianism. We say "orthodox" with some hesitation, for like the Scotchman who was "nae that sure" of the orthodoxy of the only man with whom he even professed to agree, every Hegelian seems to think it his duty to deny the claim of any other to expound the "secret" of the modern Heraclitus. And this is not unnatural, for "as Hegel lay on his deathbed" Heine tells us, "he exclaimed, 'Only one man has understood me;' but anon he fretfully added, 'and even he has not understood me.' " We have no means of determining whether M. Vera is the one man or the successor of the one man who all but understood the master, but we may note that Mr. Stirling, the barely intelligible Scottish expositor of the "Secret of Hegel," is "nae that sure of Vera;" however this may be, it is quite certain that M. Vera, whether he understands Hegel or not, has signally failed to understand his opponent. Though on isolated points his criticism is effective and vigorous, yet his general attack is a complete failure; if absolute Idealism can show no more formidable front than this, the *Aufklärung* will win the day almost without the trouble of fighting. As is well known, Dr. Strauss's "Confession" is thrown into the form of answers to four questions, of which the first is, "Are we still Christians?" To this after a brief account of the results of modern criticism, he replies as follows: "If our yea is to be yea, and our nay, nay, and we are to speak as honourable and upright men, then we must confess we are no longer Christians." To this M. Vera replies that Christianity is the absolute in religion and as such is the eternal and necessary religion of mankind. But what Christianity? Is it the Christianity of the Synoptics or of the fourth Gospel, of St. Paul or of Pius the Ninth, of Luther or of Calvin? It is none of these—it is Christianity according to Hegel; it is the idea developing itself as religion, and manifesting itself in forms which, with a little make-believe, are not unlike those of ordinary Christianity. Miracles M. Vera yields without a struggle, indeed he holds that a miracle is a self-destructive conception, a contradiction in terms; yet his picture of Christ is drawn from narratives that contain little that is tangible if the miraculous element be withdrawn. So, too, he seems to accept the first chapters of Genesis as authentic (p. 300), though he sweeps away the serpent as a clumsy fiction. Criticism and the *Aufklärung* may do their worst, he seems to say: it matters not when the Gospels or the Pentateuch were written; we accept their narratives only so far forth as they are inspired, and inspired not in the ordinary sense, but by the Idea in its religious development; so far they are true, and their truth

²⁵ "Strauss, L'Ancienne et la Nouvelle Foi." Par A. Vera, Professeur de Philosophie à l'Université de Naples. Naples: Detken et Rocholl. 1873.

is eternal and irrefragable. Thus we have a Trinity, a Son of God, a Holy Spirit, an Incarnation, an Inspiration, a Christianity not such as the sacred records give them, but such as the development of the Idea determines; and, so far as we can see, the Idea could develop them if the records had entirely perished—perhaps the more completely that it would not be embarrassed by legends that it must either justify or eliminate. Is not all this, however, what Dr. Strauss calls “*Ausflüchte suchen, drehen und deuteln wollen?*” If this is what the Hegelians mean by Christianity surely it were better to follow Strauss and say, “Let our yea be yea, and our nay, nay; let us be honourable and upright men, and say, we are no longer Christians—we are Hegelians.” M. Vera is perhaps more successful in his criticism of the second branch of Dr. Strauss’s “Confession,” the answer, namely, to the question, “Have we still a religion?” Strauss’s own treatment of the subject is less definite and complete, and the “All” is a conception which it is easier to make dialectical fun of than to make an object of veneration and worship. But it is when we come to the third question, “How do we conceive the world?” that M. Vera’s failure is most conspicuous; surely never did unfortunate metaphysician fall into such a bottomless quicksand of paradox and ignorance. As is well known, Dr. Strauss’s answer to the question above stated is that the true conception of the universe is that which commonly goes by the name of Evolution, and is based on the cosmological theories of Kant and Laplace, and on the biological speculations of Darwin and others. These theories may or may not be true, but they at least deserve attention, and it is incumbent on those who would criticise them to try and understand them. M. Vera does not seem even to have begun to understand them, and in some cases he has gone far out of his way in order to misunderstand them. For instance, Strauss quotes Kant as arguing that the “*endliche Mattigkeit der Umlaufsbewegungen*,” that is, the final exhaustion of the motion of rotation, would bring planets and comets into collision with the sun. M. Vera translates the phrase “*la lassitude dont seront prises les planètes et les comètes dans leur mouvement de révolution*,” and then asks why the planets should get tired; and this is the only argument which he brings against this part of the theory. It may be that Kant used too strong a metaphor, but it is undisputable that his conception is one of mechanical exhaustion, not of human fatigue; if the word “*Mattigkeit*” be translated as it should be *épuisement*, M. Vera’s childish argument falls to the ground. Again, in criticising the nebular hypothesis of Laplace, which as is well known assumes the gradual cooling of the nebular mass, M. Vera argues in the following astounding manner: “Dans ce refroidissement successif de la nébuleuse on a oublié un point essentiel savoir, que le froid n’est jamais seul, qu’il est toujours suivi de son compagnon, ou de son adversaire, ou comme on voudra l’appeler, c’est-à-dire de la chaleur” (p. 182); and that there is a necessary and constant equilibrium between these two forces which would permanently maintain the nebular mass in its primitive condition: this may be good metaphysics for all we know, but it is very obsolete physics: we can only recommend M. Vera to study the conception of heat to be

found in any modern elementary treatise; he may find it unsatisfactory, for we doubt if it is engendered by the "*idée systématique de la nature*," whatever that may be, but it will, at any rate, save him from misconceptions which would disgrace a schoolboy. Darwinism fares no better at M. Vera's hands; it is not more fairly represented nor more intelligently criticised: it is "*la vulgarité dans la science*" (p. 199); it is the reverse of elevating to a man to tell him that he is descended from a monkey, a mollusc, or an ascidian. But how if it be true? This is the point and the only point to which a philosophical critic should address himself; the human race cannot be degraded by a true theory of its origin nor elevated by a false one. M. Vera's reasoning on the subject moreover is no more satisfactory than his rhetoric; not content with declaring that natural selection fails to account for the phenomena, he denies that there is such a thing as natural selection at all; it is but a word and explains nothing; we might say, he affirms, that a point generates a line by natural selection with as much reason as we say that an ape generates a man by the same process. Here again the misconception is profound, the misrepresentation grotesque: M. Vera's attack recoils on his own head; in endeavouring to prove the absurdity of Darwinism he has only succeeded in showing his utter incapacity for dealing with the subject. On the whole, the book does very little credit to Hegelianism and very little harm to its opponents: successful dialectical attack at least demands an adequate acquaintance with the adversaries' system, but we should imagine that M. Vera had produced his *Evolution* and his *Darwinism* much as Hegel is supposed to have produced his universe, by the spontaneous development of the Idea: the result is eminently unsatisfactory in the former case, whatever it may have been in the latter. For the rest, M. Vera, as is well known, writes French with vigour and elegance, but we could wish that when he employs Italian compositors he would pay a little more attention to his corrections for the press; there is scarcely a page in the book which is not disfigured by clerical errors and their constant recurrence is very irritating to the reader.

Professor Murphy recommends his work on "*The Human Mind*"²⁶ for the reason amongst others that it is "among the briefest of those that have gone over the whole field of mind;" he should have added perhaps that though among the briefest it contains more disputable matter than many treatises twice its size. It professes to be "a somewhat nearer approach to the real character of the mind than that of Reid, the founder, or even Hamilton, the lucid and eloquent expositor and defender of the true system of mental philosophy." It should be the aim of a work on mental philosophy for the general reader, and "specially designed for the young of both sexes, who are entering upon the study of their own minds," in the first place, "*nullius in verba magistri*," and secondly, only to present such parts of mental philosophy as, furnishing the common data to all schools alike, may be regarded as practically placed beyond the reach of controversy. It

²⁶ "*The Human Mind: a System of Mental Philosophy for the General Reader.*" By James G. Murphy, LL.D. Belfast: William Mullan. 1873.

is obvious that the present work does not profess to aim at this: it hoists the colours of Reid and Hamilton at the outset, and in consequence it contains statements in every page which philosophers of the opposite school would refuse to admit. This it seems to us is exactly the way in which mental philosophy should not be taught to the young, nor is it the method which Sir W. Hamilton himself would have sanctioned: for, though he was dogmatic enough in his conclusions, his lectures are a complete repertory of the theories which have been held on the subjects he discussed. It may be urged that it is undesirable to place controversial topics before the young: this is no doubt true, but it is certainly less desirable to teach them disputable matter and give them no notice of the existence of the dispute. Philosophy can only be taught to people who are able and ready to judge for themselves: to dogmatize it is to destroy it. Brief as Professor Murphy's work is, it might yet be briefer if it were confined to purely philosophical discussion; there runs through it a vein of washy rhetoric which would not be attractive in a sermon, and is repulsive in a work on philosophy.

"*Illusion and Delusion*,"²⁷ by Mr. Charles Bray, author of "*The Philosophy of Necessity*," is another of Mr. Thomas Scott's numerous pamphlets. It is an exposition, popular and explanatory rather than controversial, of that conception of the universe and of the human mind which is based on the principles of Evolution, the Conservation of Energy, and the Relativity of Knowledge. The structure which Mr. Bray would build on these foundations is, perhaps, less solid than the foundations themselves. "Physical force," he says, "is automatic mind," but he offers but a very inadequate proof of the proposition, which is certainly not self-evident, even if it be intelligible. Pantheism to be stable must rest on something more substantial than an unsupported metaphor. "In Psychology," says Mr. Bray, "every one at present appears to use words in a different sense, and we talk of body and soul, matter and mind, spirit and spirits, knowledge and ideas, matter and motion and force, without any common ground of assent, or even knowing whether such things, in the sense in which we use the terms, have any real existence or not." This is very true; but things are not mended by taking each of these terms and giving them your own meaning: what is wanted is a searching dialectical criticism of such terms and ideas, such as Aristotle applied to the physical terms and ideas of his day. Such a criticism is the great present want of science and philosophy; meanwhile dogmatic statement of opinions which are open to easy dialectical assault can be of little service to either.

"*The Idea of a University*,"²⁸ is a republication in the uniform edition of Dr. Newman's works of two sets of discourses to Catholics on academical subjects originally published separately several years ago.

²⁷ "*Illusion and Delusion; or, Modern Pantheism versus Modern Spiritualism.*" By Charles Bray. Published by Thomas Scott, Upper Norwood, London.

²⁸ "*The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated:—I. In Nine Discourses addressed to the Catholics of Dublin. II. In Occasional Lectures and Essays addressed to the Members of the Catholic University.*" By John Henry Newman, D.D., of the Oratory. London: Pickering. 1873.

The grace and purity of Dr. Newman's style are well known, and his thorough command of the great questions connected with university education has long been recognised. There is much in the present volume with which all must agree, and it is set forth in a form which cannot fail to attract; but few non-Catholics will concur in the author's view of the relation of theology to knowledge. No doubt on their own ground and with their own premisses the Catholics are unassailable in their view of the position of theology, and it was a sound instinct that lately led them to reject the "*Danaos et dona ferentes*" of an endowment for mixed education in Ireland. The one argument for the exclusion of theology from education is that men are not sufficiently agreed as to the truth of its teaching: but as the Catholics are agreed, and as theology if it teaches the truth is of unspeakable importance, it would be suicidal in Catholics to consent to its suppression. Dr. Newman's defence of a liberal training against professional studies is sound and scholarly, and in the present state of the controversy, when Mr. Lowe and the Utilitarians are carrying all before them, his aid is especially valuable. Theological questions apart, the book, is full of instruction to the friends of a sound and liberal academical training.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

HERR EDUARD ZELLER'S¹ discourses on Church and State are interesting as affording in a short space and in the most lucid form, an exhibition of some of the prevalent thought among the most cultivated Germans on a subject which in England it seems almost impossible to get discussed in a scientific spirit. The subject has long been a favourite one with the greatest philosophers of Germany, and the actual relation and comparative forces of the Catholic and Reformed Churches render the question in that country more capable of being reduced to a sound theoretical form than here. The work of Herr Zeller is, within its own limits, complete and exhaustive. It treats the subject from the earliest stage at which it historically presents itself in a theocracy, and proceeds to discuss the different circumstances in which corporations may be founded or recognised by the State, whether as independent and self-subsistent bodies, as privileged societies, or as public bodies; the problem thus arising as to which character properly belongs to an Established Church. The spirit of the author in relation to the great practical controversy of the day may be gathered from the passage on "Theological Faculties," in which he points out the impolicy of allowing ministers of religion to draw all their influence from State support, and then to abuse it in the name of a foreign allegiance to anti-national purposes.

¹ "Staat und Kirche." Vorlesungen an der Universität. Zu Berlin gehalten von Eduard Zeller. Leipzig: 1873.

The writings of Professor Cairnes² exhibit more true political sagacity, coupled with argumentative skill and extreme lucidity of style than is, perhaps, since the death of Mr. Mill, to be found in those of any other political author of the day. We have recently had occasion to notice Professor Cairnes' republished essays on strictly economical subjects. A fresh volume on more general political topics is equally acceptable, and will equally well repay careful perusal. The subjects of the American civil war and of Ireland are known to have engaged the author's especial attention, and English opinion on each subject has been, in fact, from time to time largely moulded by his opportune utterances. The present volume contains an interesting lecture delivered before the Dublin Young Men's Christian Association in 1862 on "The Revolution in America." The doctrine there taught is the same as that contained in the author's "Slave-Power." In this lecture, delivered at a critical time in the conduct of the war, Professor Cairnes said:—

"As to the experience of the present year, I see no prospect of the fulfilment of that indispensable condition to the success of an anti-slavery policy—the military defeat of the South—except through an appeal on the Northern side to principles more powerful than any which have yet been invoked. It has been well said that while the South has enjoyed the full advantage of the evil principle of slavery, the North has only availed itself partially, and with hesitating nerve, of the good principle of freedom. The cause of slavery, decidedly asserted, and logically carried out, has rallied the whole Southern population to the standard of secession almost as a single man; while the North, substantially fighting in the cause of freedom, but fettered by the constitution, has hitherto shrunk from a bold appeal to those sentiments which freedom inspires."

At the close of the lecture Professor Cairnes makes an almost pathetic appeal to the as yet imperfectly roused conscience of his countrymen, saying that he cannot believe that "this unnatural infatuation for a slave-power is destined to be a permanent attachment." Those who want thorough information on all aspects of the Irish University question, cannot do better than read the two essays entitled "Thoughts on University Reform," and "The Irish University Question." The former was first published in 1866, and contains an historical review of all the elements of the problem. The latter is now published for the first time, and has direct reference to the existing crisis of the controversy in Parliament. Professor Cairnes is strongly opposed to the policy of "concurrent endowment," and the reasons for his opinion are alleged with characteristic perspicacity. "The plea for concurrent endowment involves," says Professor Cairnes, a demand that "the State should reverse a policy on which it has deliberately entered—a policy conceived in the interests of the entire community, adopted upon national grounds, and supported by the great majority of its citizens." He says nothing is more certain than that the people of Ireland, as a whole, have not rejected the Imperial policy of open colleges and united education.

² "Political Essays." By J. E. Cairnes, M.A. London: Macmillan, 1873.

Professor Cairnes's proposals are that the Queen's University and Colleges should be put upon a footing less widely removed from equality with the University of Dublin and Trinity College than that on which they now stand. The abolition of tests in Trinity College and the intended reform of that institution, and of the University of Dublin, will second the work, the general result of which will be that Catholics will then, in University education, at least so far as the law is concerned, be placed upon a footing of "absolute equality with all the subjects of the Queen." The clear statement of the difficulties and enunciation of the political principles applicable to this solution render these two essays of the highest value at the present time.

It is remarkable that of all the varied political projects to which Mr. Mill at one time or another directed his attention, that which, together with the removal of the disabilities of women, seems to have absorbed the main attention of the last months, or even years of his life, was the reconstruction of the English Land Laws. A paper which first appeared in the *Examiner* of the 19th of July of the present year, now republished,³ and a speech delivered at the last meeting of the Land Tenure Reform Association,⁴ exhibit at once Mr. Mill's unflagging earnestness in pursuit of the reforms he thought needed, and his desire to demonstrate to all the world that those reforms were based on the simplest considerations of expediency and justice. The arguments of opponents, here as everywhere, he shows himself to have strongly mastered, and expresses them with a fulness and exactness those opponents could hardly hope to rival. The moderation of his views in insisting on the claim of the State to intercept the unearned increment of rent is also conspicuous.

"It should be understood also (he says) that no intention is entertained of paring down the increment of rent to the utmost farthing. We assert in principle the right of taking it all; in practice we have no desire to insist upon the extreme right, at any risk of going beyond it. No doubt the option allowed to the landlords of giving up the land at its existing value would secure him against pecuniary wrong; but we should be sorry to trade upon his reluctance to give up an ancestral possession, or one endeared to him by association. We would leave, therefore, an ample margin by way of insurance against mistakes in the valuation. We would not insist upon taking the last penny of the unearned increase."

Dr. Sandwith⁵ contributes rather a trenchant pamphlet, helping on the same general movement, but especially directed to exposing the possible and actual abuse following in the wake of the English theory of landlordism. The language is vigorous, and seldom weakened by refined limitation: but the reasoning is sound enough, and it is to be hoped the work will have an extensive circulation. Mr. Wilkinson's lectures

³ "The Right of Property in Land." A Tract written for the Land Tenure Reform Association. By John Stuart Mill. London: Dallow. 1873.

⁴ "Report of the Public Meeting of the Land Tenure Reform Association, held in Exeter Hall on Tuesday, March 18th, 1873, the late Mr. John Stuart Mill in the chair." London. 1873.

⁵ "The Land and Landlordism." By Humphrey Sandwith, C.B. London: Kerby and Endean. 1873.

on the Land Laws⁶ are a simplified recital of the early chapters of Blackstone's Commentaries, according to the modern editions. It is not necessary here to dwell on the importance of instructing the working classes in historical, legal, and political science of the best kind.

The conditions of health in schools is a subject on which there is so great an ignorance among us that it is a matter of great interest that an English translation is promised of Dr. Otto Wilhelm's⁷ exhaustive treatise on the topic. He complains of a similar ignorance and of a prevalent indifference among doctors, teachers, and parents alike in Germany, and notes with indignation popular opinion and even authoritative admissions to the effect that "the scholar must be pale." Such pallor, and the effects on health usually ascribed to over-study, he believes to be far more commonly justly ascribable to want of cleanliness, dryness, ventilation, and light in school and class-rooms. Under the head of "ventilation" all that is usually spoken of under that head is included, besides the discussion of the advantages of various modes of heating, of damp or too porous walls, of the smell of dirty or wet clothes, of overcrowding, and of the dangers of dust in the rooms. Under "light" are considered the locality of schools, the positions and dimensions of windows, various artificial lights, and colours of glass for windows. A vehement paragraph speaks of the injury done to eyesight in schools, and of the varying hours which should be used for teaching as the seasons vary. The seats and the manner of sitting in them, tables, and their distance from scholars, the grouping of scholars, and the length of time during which they must sit still, are considered under a third head. Under a fourth the reasons for gymnastic instruction in schools, and for encouraging swimming and skating; and the size and nature of playgrounds are considered; warning is given against allowing too rough play in time allotted to recreation, and the necessity of regulated movements during lesson-time is urged; while the questions of how children should carry their books to and from school, and what arrangements should be made for them when waiting for the school-doors to open, are not thought too petty to be seriously discussed. Then follows the enumeration of the different points vital to a healthful regulation of the duration, alternation, and suitability to each child of the mental efforts required, the arrangement and length of play hours and holidays, the limits of work at home and in school, and the age at which schooling should begin; and the best light that experience can throw upon each point is brought to bear. Punishments, drinking water, conveniences, school-apparatus, the requirement made in Germany, but not among us, that school children should go at certain times to church, and should appear on certain public occasions,—all are carefully gone into, and the

⁶ "Short Lectures Explanatory of our Land Laws," delivered at the Working Men's College. By Thomas Lean Williamson. London: Henry S. King. 1873

⁷ "Schulgesundheitspflege." Von Dr. Otto Wilhelm Thomé. Cohn und Leipzig. 1871.

work winds up its most useful pages with a few devoted to the subject of infection and contagion in schools as well as "moral disease," and the ways in which these dangers may and ought to be faced and finally done away with by a hearty co-operation of teachers, parents, and any others who may be concerned.

The "Scholar's Arithmetic"⁸ may be treated either as a supplement to "Figures made Easy," by the same author, or the latter and smaller work may be treated as a mere introduction to the larger work now published. These works differ from current works on arithmetic usually employed in education, in the endeavour manifest on the face of them to follow the natural order of thought in developing the successive rules instead of scattering the rules broadcast without any concern for their mutual interdependence. Thus the whole philosophy of numeration and of calculation by decimals is put at a very early stage of the larger treatise, while calculation by fractions comes later on. No opportunity is lost of explaining the metric system, and of facilitating its use whether in education or for practical needs. The chapters on Proportion and its various applications in daily life, such as to Interest, Discount, Stocks, will be found especially valuable. The style is throughout clear, concise, and logical; while the numerous examples worked out and the examination papers must largely increase the value of the whole. The work is a good specimen of the sort of school-books that may be looked for when the highest class of minds are devoted to their preparation.

"The Money Market,"⁹ or a treatise, by a City man, introductory to financial science, represents one of the best styles of educational works. It is brief, lucid, readable, and crammed with information on matters generally regarded as of considerable complexity. Thus, starting with a description of money, coinage, credit, and banking, the author proceeds to give an excellent history of the Bank of England, and discusses in a most instructive and impartial manner the policy of the Bank Charter Act of 1844. The subjects of the public Funds, Exchequer Bills, and the Stock Exchange are handled in a masterly style, and a full account is given of joint-stock, discount, and finance companies, while their relative advantages and capacities are carefully pointed out. The work, small and unpretending as it is, may be cordially recommended to many besides the young.

Professor Sheldon Amos's "Primer of the English Constitution and Government"¹⁰ owes its origin to information he was called upon to furnish to the Commissioners of a foreign Government on the political institutions of this country. This accounts for a precision and accuracy in the style and materials such as would seem otherwise a

⁸ "The Scholar's Arithmetic." By Lewis Hengly, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1873.

⁹ "The Money Market: What it is, what it Does, and how it is Managed. An Introduction to Financial Science." Third Edition. By a City Man. London: Frederick Warne and Co. 1873.

¹⁰ "A Primer of the English Constitution and Government." By Sheldon Amos, M.A. London: Longmans. 1873.

good deal in excess of what is needed for a purely educational treatise. A list is given of the main works of reference, Parliamentary papers, and Acts of Parliament, to which recourse has been had in preparing the work, and the use of which is recommended to students. The special interest of young students has also been consulted in a series of explanations of common political terms often used at random, either with a loose and uncertain meaning, or with no meaning at all. Such terms are—*State, Government, Law, Legislative, Executive, Democracy, Republic, Constitution, Right*, and the like. Beyond the more obvious topics to be expected in a book of this class, a large space is devoted to matter which is either as completely inaccessible to the schoolmaster as to his pupils, or which is buried amidst such a mass of detail, and (for educational purposes) irrelevant information, that it is very difficult to get firm hold of it. Such matters are the internal procedure of the House of Commons, the mode of election by ballot, the mode in which political parties arise and a Government is formed, a description of all the Government offices, the conduct of a criminal trial, the procedure at petty sessions, local government and taxation, the police, taxation and the revenue, the method of collecting Government statistics, and the National Church. One peculiar feature of the work as an educational treatise is the distinct political sympathy with the cause of progress which Professor Amos succeeds in impressing upon it. Thus, in describing the proceedings under the Ballot Act, he adverts to the prevalent corruption which called for that Act. In treating of the House of Lords, he points out its weak sides, and enumerates the most notable schemes for its reform. He gives briefly the chief arguments in favour of women's suffrage, and the best devised schemes of minority representation. He describes exactly what the establishment of the Church of England means, and what changes in the law would have to be made in order to disestablish it. He has a severe passage on the danger to be apprehended from an extension of government by police, and in the introduction says "The very ear of Parliament is getting dull of hearing, inasmuch as the best established moral and political principles, whether affecting public liberty or public morals, or the province of government, are hardly listened to with patience, while the most superficial generalization that comes in the guise of figures is eagerly devoured."

We have recently had occasion to notice a French translation of the works of the great Louisianian jurist, Mr. Edward Livingston.¹¹ The National Prison Association of the United States has been well advised in republishing the same work, of which the English editions had long been exhausted. As is stated in the introduction to the new edition, by Chief Justice Chase, the Penal Code prepared for the State of Louisiana by Mr. Livingston, and which at its first appearance received such world-wide approbation, never became law. "Objections of detail

¹¹ "The Complete Works of Edward Livingston on Criminal Jurisprudence." In Two Volumes. Published by the National Prison Association of the United States of America. New York. 1873.

and fears of possible consequences combined with sluggish indifference, and the inert force always so difficult to overcome in deliberative assemblies, to prevent the adoption of the comprehensive system, planned with a genius only equalled by the indefatigable labour with which the outlines were filled and completed. 'The Legislature proved unequal to the adoption of the Code of Livingston.' A similar fate attended for a great number of years the Indian Penal Code, and a carefully drawn English Code, the work of an eminently learned and competent English Criminal Law Commission, has never yet passed beyond the pages of a Parliamentary Blue Book. These warnings are extremely instructive, as they seem to indicate that just in proportion as a Code is comprehensive, exhaustive, and therefore adequate to the wants of the day, is the opposition to be encountered in an attempt to secure its enactment. The Introductory Report written by Mr. Livingston deals with all the arguments customarily handled against codification, whether based on the work being superfluous, or the imperfection of the best conceived language, or on the failure of certain celebrated Codes. The answer to these arguments is now pretty familiar to all, and attention will chiefly be directed to Mr. Livingston's explanation and defence of his general scheme, and more especially of his Code of Reform and Prison Discipline. The humane and wise principles here enunciated, combining as they do punishment with reformation, and never losing sight of the one in pursuit of the other, may be advantageously contrasted with such wild or almost flippant suggestions as those of Mr. Rusden,¹² of Melbourne, who would have all criminals of whatever degree incarcerated for life with the view of making them subjects of physiological, medical, and surgical experiments. Mr. Rusden seems to forget that even were such a punishment otherwise expedient and just, the procedure of the best constructed criminal law is the coarsest possible method for ascertaining the true persons to be punished.

Seven thousand children are annually brought up before London magistrates for punishment as criminals. A large number of these are accused of first offences, and in all cases the culprits are not more than fifteen or sixteen years old—sometimes not more than six. The author of "*The Gaol Cradle: Who Rocks It?*"¹³ has been at considerable pains to investigate the nature of the offences for which they appear, and has in some cases, taken at random, traced the effect of early convictions and commitments for childish faults as it is shown in the extreme difficulty which such children find in obtaining or in keeping work, and in their consequent reappearance in court and in gaol until they are fitly enrolled among the "habitual criminals." He illustrates by these cases the sort of "cases of folly, of naughtiness, of stupidity, of want, of heroism," which are punished in these children as crimes, and appeals to the parents who see similar faults committed in their own nurseries and

¹² "*The Treatment of Criminals in Relation to Science.*" An Essay by H. K. Rusden. Melbourne. 1872.

¹³ "*The Gaol Cradle: Who Rocks it?*" Strahan and Co. London. 1873.

parlours, whether they will not show themselves ready to devise some less terrible name than crime and some less reckless punishment than imprisonment for these less fortunate juveniles, whose parlour and nursery are the street, and whose nurse is the policeman. Public playgrounds, such as here and there are to be found in the neighbourhood of kindly and thoughtful men, would abolish some of the difficulties that beset the question of how to touch the evil; but the author of this well-meant and earnest, but scarcely thoroughly digested work, believes the principal relief would lie in providing first a separate tribunal for children, with different and special rules, and secondly, in supplying the unemployed and energetic children who swarm the streets with schools in which they would learn useful trades, and so not find themselves utterly incapable of the necessary diligence and care when an opportunity offers of making their way in the world. He does not say what he would do to give the class above them an equal chance. He suggests that the changed conditions of education afford an opportunity to the Ragged School Union and similar associations to turn into such "Labour School Unions," and so still to benefit the class for which they have hitherto worked, pointing out that Reformatories ought to be reserved only for "real criminals," not for young children, and that Industrial Schools are reserved also for "scamps of children," or for children of scamps. At the same time he very justly points out that the Industrial Schools Act, which so far disregards the right to personal liberty as to seize and educate the boy companion of thieves, before conviction of any actual offence, does not care to show the same thought for the girl companion of prostitutes, the proportion of "orphan and homeless" girls sent by the State to Industrial Schools being about in the proportion of two girls to thirteen boys.

A series of essays on the facts and causes of the phenomena of modern French life, published by "an English looker-on,"¹⁴ who has lived for a quarter of a century in France, amidst ties and affections which have made that country his second home," possesses a never-failing interest, which is heightened by the fact that the causes of the defeat and of the financial recovery of France are among the hidden things most eagerly searched out in our day. The papers deal with social life under the heads of Servants, Children, Furniture, Food, Manners, Language, Dress, and Marriage. The servants are said to be—out of Paris—more members of the family, more trustworthy, acute, kindly, obliging, and more free in manner, at the same time that they are less rigid in their adherence to "their own work," and less greedy in every sense than those bad English servants who are frequently, but unjustly, spoken of as typical of their class among us. The conclusion naturally drawn by the reader is that the writer's wife is a kindly woman and a good housekeeper. The sum of the paper on Children is that the "average result" of home education and of school life in France is to make "somewhat ignorant, very prejudiced, charming young women susceptible of strong emotion and strong love," "eager to please, and to win admiration and affection, but controlled, in nine

¹⁴ "French Home Life." Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1873.

cases out of ten, by deeply-rooted religious faith, and a profound conviction of duty." French boys, however, are, in the mass, to be justly described as "sneaks." This term is used with reluctance by the writer, who explains that, though "they may become learned, and they do become affectionate," they do not fight or play rough games. The want of religion in many Frenchmen is ascribed rather to a defect in early "manly" education than to the prevalent infidelity into which the boys grow up by reaction against Roman Catholicism. And the whole failure to produce fine "manly" men is ascribed to the boys being too much under the influence and discretion of their mothers—a strange doctrine to teach in combination with another one which says that the faults of Frenchmen are "a want of stubborn pluck" and "the facility with which the higher moral teachings disappear when manhood comes." Furniture has an unusually high place assigned to it among the joys of home; "a well-imagined, well-executed *ameublement* ought to occupy a front rank." The French act on this principle, but are apt to err through resting their reasoning on this point "on vanity instead of the heart." Of French food and cookery the praise is as warm as is usual. Nobody ever lifts up his heel against it. "Manners" are treated as meaning the habitual attitude of French people towards each other in the current relationships of life, and the product of that attitude on the nation as a whole. First, and most at length, the manners and "charm" of the women are discussed and minutely described. They are said to "gild," and to "soften," and to "charm;" to be "ignorant of politics and of all dry subjects," and greatly to gain in "influence" in consequence. "In women we are tempted to excuse frivolity, and surface pleasantness, and the shallowness of ceremony. In them those insufficiencies are, perhaps, inherent to the part they play; and, furthermore, they atone largely for them by fascination." But in men the writer owns himself grieved to see the same sort of spirit prevailing, and, while he devotes a couple of pages to eulogistic description of the delicacies of a Frenchman's bow, he thinks "the manners of the men of France may possibly deserve to be classed amongst their national defects." In the chapter on Language some very interesting paragraphs occur on the reflex influence of formed and settled languages on the national character of the peoples using them; on the amount of that influence upon the nation, according to its greater or less loquacity; and specifically on the effect produced on the French nation by the strength, precision, and flexibility of their mother tongue. It may be questioned whether the word "dame" is a "sweet little exclamation" in women's mouths. In fact, the writer's indiscriminate enthusiasm about some peculiarities of language and of the manners and dress of women perpetually recall his prefatory phrase about the "ties and affections which have made France his second country;" and this, together with a very marked conservatism in all matters, especially in regard to the work and position of women, deprive his pages of the merit of impartiality. The last paper, on "Marriage," is admirable, setting forth high theories of marriage, with its progressive and laboriously-earned degrees of happiness; but it is doubtful, in the

bsence of everything but assertion, whether these theories might be carried into effect by marriages entered into on the French system, and whether French morality, or the decrease in French population, show that practically they are more frequently carried out than with us.

It is a great and rare art among travellers so to tell the world what they did during their wanderings as to interest their readers in their own individual and special mishaps or pieces of good fortune, at the same time that they give, without prolixity, just such information as is permanently useful for the mass of those who may follow in their track. Mr. Shepard¹⁵ has acquired this art, and has made a tour in Norway look both more inviting and much more easy. Beginning with the routes to Norway, the coinage, the guide-books and maps to be preferred, a little warning is given as to the sort of inconveniences which a tourist must prepare himself for in the rustic quarters which he must be glad to look upon in the light of inns in the major part of Norway. Then Mr. Shepard abandons himself to the delights of that Norway "which seems to have a hold on the love and sympathies of Englishmen, which the sunny south, with all its radiant beauty, cannot rival," and which sometimes becomes so strong as "almost amounts to a migratory instinct." It is a not uncommon thing to attempt to see Norway by a coasting steamer, which stops at certain points to facilitate rambles into the nearer interior; but Mr. Shepard warns all tourists that "a steamer is the last place from which to see a fiord to advantage," and persistently upholds the supremacy of walking—with occasional carriages and "stol Kjærres," or rough carts—over all other modes of traversing Norway.

Herr Weigelt has contributed his part to the identification of Schleswig-Holstein with Germany by spreading over the islands, lying off the west coast of Schleswig the skirts of German minute, painstaking, scientific, and historical scrutiny.¹⁶ These islands are of considerable summer resort, and the compact volume before us, while quite adapted to serve as a guide-book for tourists—for which, indeed, its admirable maps would recommend it—refuses to take so light an office upon itself, and concerns itself rather with the history and future fate of the fertile lands "where now cows graze and chimneys smoke, but at some time fishes must sport and waves foam—only nobody knows when," and with the well-to-do, strong, and domestic population, whose ancestors strove vainly with the overpowering elements, and who bear in their faces some lines of fortitude, in witness of those struggles well-nigh forgotten, and yet destined to be renewed as vainly. The style is much more lively than in many kindred publications, and the whole account has a special interest for English people, if we would avail ourselves of experience and art in consolidating—not only for ourselves but for the world—our little property of Heligoland, which lies adjacent to these islands, and is subject to

¹⁵ "Over the Dovrefjelds." By J. S. Shepard. Henry S. King and Co. : London. 1873.

¹⁶ "Die Nordfriesischen Inseln, vormalis und jetzt." Von G. Weigelt. Hamburg. 1873.

the same west winds, which threaten gradually but surely to blow the west coasts first inland and then into the eastern sea.

The pleasant ease of Miss Edwards's style is too well-known to need fresh recognition in the notice of her volume¹⁷ of description of experiences in the Dolomite mountains of South Tyrol. It makes her invitation to visit the lovely valleys and the yet unexplored peaks—one of which, however, she has already robbed of its virgin freshness—still more urgent, and throws a veil over the roughness of travel, which might, to any who had not her vivacity and her linguistic powers, prove almost too real to be amusing. She seems almost to fear lest her account of the delights of the Dolomites may be more attractive than is desirable to a class of tourists who would be unable to appreciate the distinctions between the avaricious and wholesale-dealing Swiss hotel-keepers, and the refined and kindly representatives of ancient Tyrolese families, who act as innkeepers rather from such motives as used to inspire their ancestors with the spirit of unlimited hospitality than from any need or wish to make money out of their guests. It must be borne in mind, too, that in such unfrequented paths the manners of the traveller determine the manners of the inhabitants, and not all English folk would make such friends as Miss Edwards did. An admirable map and many interesting sketches greatly add to the charm of the book.

To persons imbued with Persian views of the scenery and civilization of Persia, Mr. Brittlebank's¹⁸ narrative may be useful as a very plain and amusingly unsophisticated account of the miseries and hazards possible to be found in the arid wastes of that kingdom. To the adventurously inclined who might turn to its pages for information it will not be found profitable, for Mr. Brittlebank's Eton education was either insufficient or too recent to endow him with any noticeable power of observation, and he failed to visit some of the most interesting points near to which he passed. Possibly his artless description of the horrors of starvation which met his view in the most frequented roads, and in Teheran itself, will impress his readers all the more because it is so very evident that he has no idea whatever of dressing up his acts in any way. One passage suffices for an example. They had just halted at a caravansary :—

“A faint gust of wind as we entered brought with it the smell of a charnel-house. On looking round I noticed a woman lying on her face. She was dead and perfectly naked, the few garments which she was accustomed to wear having been taken by some other poor creature starving in the chilly nights. Out of the sockets of her eyes and mouth a black and noisome fluid was oozing, and the side of her face and breast was gnawed away. Two famished-looking men and a woman were seated a few yards off, glaring at the body with wolfish eyes. A horrible suspicion seized me. Could famine have driven them to this horrible repast? I would not believe and yet I could not doubt it.”

¹⁷ “Untrodden Peaks and Unfrequented Valleys.” By Amelia B. Edwards. London: Longmans. 1873.

¹⁸ “Persia during the Famine.” By William Brittlebank. London: Basil Montague Pickering. 1873.

It is the inert or indifferent sovereign of this famine-struck land, with his jewels, that England has just been delighting to honour.

There are not many wars that have given rise to such a flood of contemporary literature as the late war between France and Germany. The latest specimen of this literature is curious from it being composed by an English Member of Parliament, Sir J. S. T. Sinclair,¹⁹ M.P. for Caithness, published in German at Berlin, and bearing the sympathetic *imprimatur* of Count Moltke and Prince Bismarck. A large part of the work is taken up by German translations of articles in the English newspapers, especially *The Times*. The work contains an elaborate investigation of the circumstances which led up to the war, of the comparative national qualities of Prussia and France especially as looked at in the light of English characteristics, and of the general and particular consequences of the war.

A purely military treatise, of a very high character, is contributed by Colonel Anderson,²⁰ having for its purpose to expose the real conditions of a military and—so to speak—of a moral sort upon which successive war depends. The work is of a very practical kind, and is one among many proofs of the large scientific spirit that is being introduced into the discussion of military matters. The author aptly quotes from Sir H. Lawrence, "The man who never reflected in his life cannot be expected to reflect on an emergency."

The author of "The Education of Man,"²¹ has a certain amount of orthodox belief, but has adopted new and ingenious ways of getting out of common intellectual difficulties in connexion with that belief. His theory is that, there being a race of fallen spirits, God wished to recover them, and selected men's bodies as homes in which they might have an opportunity of reformation. There were already anthropoid animals on the earth, higher than apes, and Adam and Eve were selected from these as the most highly developed and the most fitted to receive these souls. The descendants of the soulless anthropoids still exist in the savage races, to whom, therefore, it is useless to send missionaries, though the author would not have felt it right to start this theory if slavery had not already been abolished. Among the descendants of Adam and Eve only a few are concerned necessarily with Christianity, for "although He may have kept men from the means of knowledge of Himself and His service, he has not given to the souls so kept in ignorance any interest in the future state, either for weal or for woe, dependent upon that knowledge." In the future state the souls of men will receive further education in other worlds if they have embraced Christianity; if not, their bodies will perish and they will return to the torments from which they came. He does not believe that the serpent spoke to Eve, nor the ass to Balaam, as in each case the hearer would have been too frightened to listen and would have run away.

¹⁹ "Der Deutsch-Französische Krieg. Von J. S. T. Sinclair. Berlin and London: Trubner.

²⁰ "Victories and Defcats. An Attempt to Explain the Causes which have Led to Them." By Colonel R. P. Anderson. London: Henry S. King. 1873.

²¹ "The Education of Man." By a Member of the New Zealand Bar. London: Charles Griffin and Co. 1873.

In selecting a few women as pegs on which to hang a vehement attack upon the advocates of women's suffrage, Mr. Menzies²² has been careful to put prominently forward such women as, trained in a vicious and vain society, were apt to use their personal appearance and their capacities for "gallantry" for political ends, while he forgets to compare them with the men politicians of their day, with whom they had to cope, and who were open to exactly the same charges. It is true that the hope that women will introduce a greater purity of political morality seems to be damped by such instances; but Mr. Menzies might also have contrasted the self-forgetfulness, as to effort after power for selfish ends, which he strangely treats as a grave blemish, with the selfishness of many of the contemporaneous male politicians. Madame Roland, Madame Necker, and Madame de Suard, are names against which Mr. Menzies can find nothing to say; so he passes them by with—"But women who love freedom abstractedly for its own sake, and are ready to suffer and die for a political principle, like Madame Roland, are very rarely met with." And are such men common? A curious feature in this work is that a full page is given verbatim, and without acknowledgment, from the anonymous papers on "French Home Life," which appear reprinted from *Blackwood's Magazine*. Even if Mr. Menzies be the anonymous author of them, it would have been well to avoid the appearance of evil, especially as this might somewhat discredit the value of his political as well as literary truthfulness.

"Erewhon" was a brilliant book, and "The Coming Race" a successful one; and the danger seems to be lest every dreamer who thinks he could have managed things better, should be seized by an epidemic desire to put his crude fancies into print. "Another World"²³ appears to be the result of a slight speculative knowledge of electricity, of a general opinion that education would be more satisfactory if people understood the characters of children better, of a great desire to see men dressed in bright colours and in trousers made of a "large mass of drapery of a very fine light material, finer than cambric, wound round the leg—one red, and the other blue"—and of a belief that society would be happier if a wise despot ruled it, and if women were more beautiful, more docile and obedient, better dressed, and made proposals of marriage. It is a mere waste of time for printers to set up such lucubrations in type, even when their authors believe them to contain important practical hints, and intimate that their ideas are revelations to them by a spirit, and promise in some sequel to be good enough to demonstrate the immortality and immateriality of the soul.

It must be a beatific state of mind in which any one can frequently sit down, thinking of a "real person" each time and address to him *ex cathedra* remarks on the advantages, the possibilities, the dangers, the incidents, and the necessary physical concomitants of an intellec-

²² "Political Women." By Sutherland Menzies. Henry S. King and Co. London. 1873.

²³ "Another World." By Hermes. Samuel Tinsley London. 1873.

tual mode of life. Mr. Hamerton²⁴ may or may not be familiar with the lucubrations of his predecessor, "A. K. H. B.," but at all events he has carried out that writer's idea into a fresh field. To speak thus of his papers is not to say that they are either without value or without interest, but it is to suggest that their value and interest come but very little from the form they take nor from the chemist who is the agent of their crystallization. "The Physical Basis" is probably the most useful portion of the volume, as it holds the balance very fairly between too little and too much exercise and self-indulgence. "The Moral Basis" sententiously impresses upon the mind the necessity of industry in order to success. "Of Education" is noticeable chiefly as being very discouraging to students of languages, but highly encouraging to persons of an artistic turn of mind. It is well not to be hurried; not to be anxious about money; to conform reasonably to fashion and custom; to marry either a woman who will not interfere with you, or one who will sympathize and share your pursuits, and so on. Many anecdotes and observations about distinguished persons are interesting, but they are apt to do duty several times over in the course of the volume.

Herr A. Schrool's "Knowledge and Life"²⁵ presents an interesting series of speculations on the mode of development of the leading facts of social life. Starting with the bare antithesis of man and the world and the physical conditions essential to support human life, the gradual education of the race by nature, by conscious education, by politics and by religion, is tracked out. The style of the work is attractive, and the character of it is about half-way between that of a strictly scientific inquiry and of a somewhat idealistic romance. The discussion of the functions to be discharged by the several planets in furnishing habitations for men after death, and the remarks on the inexpediency of looking constantly for "State-help," may be taken as specimens of the somewhat ambiguous character of the work.

A segment of Dr. Burekhardt's²⁶ well-known handbook of "Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting in Italy," has been re-edited in Germany, and translated by Mrs. Clough, under a superintendence which gives the English publication all the advantages of a third edition, but which has evidently cramped the translator's use of our language. The book is small and well printed, and well adapted to fulfil its purpose as a practical guide both to travellers and to English dwellers in Italy. It includes a history of the rise and course of the schools, not only of Italian painting, but of all that are represented in Italy up to the beginning of last century, and is arranged according to these schools, the traveller being helped to explore each town by an index of places which gives a list of what works are there to be found. In the case of each school, and of each painter of the school, the reader is left at no loss to learn

²⁴ "The Intellectual Life." By Philip Gilbert Hamerton. London: Macmillan and Co. 1873.

²⁵ "Wissenschaft und Leben." Von A. Schrool. Hamburg. 1873.

²⁶ "The Cicerone in Italy. Painting." By D. Jacob Burekhardt. Translated by Mrs. A. H. Clough. London: John Murray. 1873.

what are the points which distinguish them either for good or evil; and this is no small boon to that large class of English people who go to foreign picture galleries, ignorant of painting, knowing when, but not why, a picture attracts or repels them, perfectly conscious of their ignorance, and hoping by a course of picture-gazing to develop a reasonable and refined taste.

SCIENCE.

SINCE his return from America, Professor Tyndall has presented scientific literature with his lectures,¹ delivered in America, and also with a pamphlet² of a polemical character. The lectures have by additions and emendations of various kinds, as the author says, been rendered more useful to his readers on both sides of the Atlantic. We cannot see how any emendation can render a book more useful than the lectures themselves must have been, surrounded, as the explanations of facts in the latter case were, by brilliant experiments, which Professor Tyndall knows better how to arrange and to construct than any living physicist. When we heard of the Professor's visit to America, our first thought was that his lectures there would possibly range over the whole extent of physics—singling out definite and highly important principles, and selecting especially those which have recently received great development. We expected, indeed, that these lectures would afterwards prove quite an original addition to scientific literature, if not in the promulgation of novel facts, yet in the striking mode of treating old facts, in the manner of illustrating them by experiments, striking or instructive, or both, as each case would require; and, above all, we looked forward to the glowing introductions to each subject, the magnificent thoughts on the road, by which the Professor concatenates apparently widely distant facts, and fills the minds of his hearers with elevated thoughts often of the highest poetry; and finally, we counted on the magnificent perorations, for which qualities, as well as for the other characteristics we have mentioned, Professor Tyndall's lectures have become justly famous. But these lectures have not fulfilled our expectations; they are neither more nor less than a short "popular" treatise on light, and as an incredible number of facts are unfortunately strung together, they must crowd upon the reader, and render the whole somewhat wanting in that clearness and perspicuity which characterize all other writings of the Professor. Even in this book, clearly aiming solely at simply instructing a class of readers, Professor Tyndall introduces chapters on the so-called "History of Science." It is certainly instructive and legitimate that in Lecture II. the attacks should be alluded to which Lord Brougham made upon the

¹ "Six Lectures on Light." By John Tyndall, LL.D., F.R.S. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1873.

² "Principal Forbes and his Biographers." By John Tyndall. London: Longmans. 1873.

scientific labours of Dr. Young, although we doubt the advisability of entering upon such matters, even cursorily, in a scientific treatise which is addressed to very beginners, and in which it should be the principal aim of the teacher to place nothing else but broad facts, established beyond any doubt, before his audience. But why this attack should be treated in detail through more than thirty pages, we are at an absolute loss to understand.

There seems still to exist, as shown by the Professor's pamphlet, entitled "Principal Forbes and his Biographers," a kind of warlike propensity among men engaged in physical research, which by no means does battle for the truth of things or facts, but solely fights about the question whether it was A or B who first made this or that great discovery, or first established this or that great principle. Professor Tyndall has often, for reasons which are to us quite unintelligible, made his writings or lectures the opportunities of lifting up to the skies a particular inquirer, who generally was comparatively unknown until then, and hence the treatment which he has accorded to other men of great merit has, by contrast, assumed the appearance of want of recognition of their services to science. Again, in other cases he has, also without intelligible reason or purpose, appeared to detract from the acknowledged fame of a great man by referring to previous observations, often made quite accidentally and never originally estimated in their future bearings by their authors. Thus Professor Tyndall, being about to instruct young students by a book on Glaciers, &c., gives unnecessary offence to a number of men who consider, certainly with great justice, the late Professor Forbes to have done more for the true explanation of glacier phenomena than the French Bishop Rendu. Will it be believed that a great lecturer like Professor Tyndall introduces to a juvenile audience a short discussion on the relative merits of Forbes and Rendu, and that he thinks it worth his while to "thank his friends at the British Museum for the great trouble they have taken to find for him" a little book, published in 1773, entitled "Picturesque Journey to the Glaciers of Savoy," and in which the author, a certain Bordier, of Geneva, says—"At the first aspect of the ice-mountains an observation presents itself, which appears sufficient to explain all. It is that the entire mass of ice is connected together, and presses from above downwards, after the manner of fluids. Let us, then, regard the ice, not as a mass entirely rigid and immobile, but as a heap of coagulated matter, or as softened wax, flexible and ductile to a certain point." Professor Tyndall thinks this is the viscous theory foreshadowed, and he thanks Professor Studer for directing his attention to Bordier. Why should he thank him publicly? Why should he make so much of Bordier, of Rendu, and only passingly at the end, although in apparently highly appreciative strain, speak of Forbes, with reference to this plasticity of glacier-ice? Why should Professor Tyndall consider it his business to discuss the chronology of the observations of Agassiz and Forbes, on the motion of glaciers, in a manner which is certainly calculated to offend the champions of the latter? We cannot find any answer to questions of this kind; we can only regret that men like Tait

and Tyndall, each great in his own way, should think it worth their while to waste a single moment about quarrels such as those of which this pamphlet, we fear, is only one of further encounters still to come.

Mr. Proctor is not only a hundred-eyed Argus, gazing into the very depths of stars, but he must be a Briareus, having a hundred arms and fifty heads. We have before us two books from his ever productive pen. One is a thoroughly scientific treatise, although of an elementary character, on our present knowledge of the moon.³ It is written in a manner so admirably clear, even in those points which give usually great difficulties to readers without a regular mathematical training, that every student earnestly bent upon making himself master of this treatise will with comparative ease have gained an insight into a really extensive portion of astronomical knowledge. The chapter on the moon's motions is truly excellent, and so well illustrated by the author's well-known diagrammatic powers, that the attentive reader will understand every sentence without effort. This portion is presented not merely in a popular but also in an exact manner. The reader sees not merely how the law of gravity accounts for the more obvious features of the moon's motion, but also how her peculiarities of motion, her perturbations, are explained by the law of attraction. On the one hand the Scylla of too great simplicity is avoided, lest the reader should be left with the impression that the evidence for the law of gravity is not so complete as it actually is; on the other the Charybdis of complexity is escaped from lest the general reader should be deterred altogether from the investigation of a subject which is not only extremely important but in reality full of interest. The portion which treats of the surface phenomena is very attractively described, and the whole is exteriorly presented in Messrs. Longmans' best style. The book is a worthy companion to the already classical work by the author on the sun.

We cannot speak unfavourably of Mr. Proctor's second work⁴ before us, although we should like to do so, for there arise in us always unpleasant and uncomfortable sensations whenever we hear of "light science," or science in connexion with "leisure hours." Here we have both together, and yet we found, after overcoming our first feelings and diving into the book itself, that it is very pleasant reading on a great many interesting subjects. Even the professional man of science will find that Mr. Proctor has here really catered for his own class of readers attractive matter, which lies beyond one's immediate sphere of cognizance, and upon which every one nevertheless desires to have some general and yet sound knowledge. Thus the "light" articles on the Gulf Stream, or oceanic circulation, and especially the comprehensive little essay on the climate of Great Britain, will prove by no means unworthy of very serious attention.

Mr. Baker's "Long-Span Railway Bridges"⁵ has appeared in a

³ "The Moon." By Richard A. Proctor, B.A. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1873.

⁴ "Light Science for Leisure Hours." Second Series. By Richard A. Proctor, B.A. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1873.

⁵ "Long-Span Railway Bridges." By B. Baker, Assoc. Inst. C.E. London: E. and F. N. Spon. 1873.

revised edition, but has now added to it a portion on "Short-Span Railway Bridges." The author appears to have arrived at a conclusion of wider interest than a mere professional one. His experience for some years past as to the effects of heavy rolling loads upon the most severely worked line in the world, where the bridge girders are bent by passing wheels as many times in a few hours as upon an ordinary line they would be in a year, has enforced upon him the conclusion that the destructive action of a frequently recurring load is habitually underrated, and that, as a consequence, in many instances heavy works for maintenance will have to be undertaken in the future. The author thinks that the ordinary practice of lumping together dead and rolling loads, and adopting a uniform working strain of five tons per square inch, whatever the respective proportions of the said loads may be, is totally indefensible, and implies an unconscious exhibition, on the part of the designer, of timidity in some instances, of temerity in others.

To any student, who wishes to make himself in a comparatively short time well acquainted with the principles and the application of the spectroscope, we cannot recommend a better little treatise than Mr. Lockyer's,⁶ who is recognised as one of the men entitled to speak with authority on this particular subject. Students are already well acquainted with the author's happy mode of rendering difficult points clear, and they will recognise the same lucidity in those portions in which the results of recent spectroscopic researches are briefly but comprehensively laid before the reader. We find even in this little treatise, unfortunately, traces of that questionable feature in modern elementary science instruction to which we have already alluded. Mr. Lockyer is not contented with simply mentioning any name as that of the recognised discoverer of a fact, but he presents always at the same time a couple or more of other names (which are quite meaningless for most readers) as those of men who have seen this or that previously, although they have not so clearly enunciated the fact, or who have "independently," as the phrase goes in such cases, arrived at the same conclusion. This empty cataloguing of names of physicists, who accidentally directed during any period simultaneously their attention to the same subject, is to be deprecated in text-books, especially when written by so distinguished a man as Mr. Lockyer.

Mr. Latham has done well to project, and now in part to issue, a work on the whole question of sanitary engineering.⁷ The literature of sanitary works and improvements is, or was until this book appeared, scattered through a vast number of "Transactions," Blue books, and the like, so that the study became beset with great difficulties. Mr. Latham is well fitted to undertake the codification of these important but fragmentary records, for he is not only an engineer of large personal experience, but he has learnt the value of time, and

⁶ "Nature Series. The Spectroscope and its Applications." By J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S. London: Macmillan and Co. 1873.

⁷ "Sanitary Engineering (Sewerage)." By Baldwin Latham, C.E. London: 1873.

puts what he has to say in a terse and pointed form. Moreover, he is straightforward enough to allow his own opinions to be seen; and we always welcome this feature in books, which essentially can be but compilations. After a few words of introduction, in which the author naturally urges the importance of that which he has to say, he proceeds to discuss at length the requirements of town sewerage, and the means which are in use to meet such requirements. Mr. Latham, like almost all engineers, is an advocate of water carriage; and in this we think the engineers have the best of the chemists. Water carriage once granted, there is little to discuss in the mode of securing this; the main principles of sewer construction are now well known and agreed upon. We have only to add, that Mr. Latham sets these principles adequately forth, and illustrates their application by numerous and good woodcuts. He enters also into all the complications made necessary by interference of tides, by varieties of outfall and of gradients, and so on. The whole question, too, of materials and processes of construction are fully detailed, and appear to us to be handled in an accurate and well-informed spirit. Flushing arrangements and ventilation of sewers are not forgotten; and here we are pleasantly reminded that difficulties in sanitation do, sometimes at least, pass through the stage of discussion into that of settlement. As far as we are aware, all unprejudiced persons are now agreed that sewers ought to be ventilated, and that such ventilation should be obtained, not by the artificial creation of draughts or currents, but by short shafts in the crowns of the sewers in number and size proportionate to the area of the sewers, and protected by trays of charcoal. In his remarks upon house-drains Mr. Latham of course insists upon the use of upcast shafts, and forcibly impresses upon all builders the duty of preserving open communications between the house and its drains. Every outfall-pipe should discharge itself through the open air into its drain by way of a trapped gulley; this seems the A B C of safe drainage, but how rarely do we see this in modern houses! The old closed connexion between sinks and drains is still almost universal, in spite of the terrible warnings of that unsleeping enemy, typhoid fever.

In the *Westminster Review* for January, 1873, we drew attention to the first part of a series of popular lectures on public health, delivered by Dr. Max Pettenkofer,⁸ and we expressed our pleasure on seeing the needful work of popularizing taken in hand by so eminent and so competent a savant. The first lectures dealt with the conditions of clothing, dwellings, and soil; and in the present, or second part, we find two more lectures which were delivered at Munich in March of this year. Dr. Pettenkofer makes the well-known reckoning of the loss by sickness and death to a community, and impresses the truth upon his hearers that public health is to be sought not only because humanity claims such care from us, but also because the neglect of it is frightfully expensive. The author contrasts the modern communities with the same in previous centuries

⁸ "Ueber den Werth der Gesundheit für eine Stadt." Von Dr. Max Pettenkofer. Braunschweig. 1873.

and with ancient nations now passed away, and he draws the conclusion that the people of the nineteenth century are more healthy and longer lived than their ancestors. This he would attribute in part to increased medical skill and care, but only so in part. He is struck with the remarkably low death-rate of English towns, such as London in particular, when compared with Continental towns, and with Munich, the death-rate of which city is 33 per 1000. Yet so far as medicine is concerned, while England is the prey of all sorts of quackery, Germany is comparatively free from it. So we must look beyond the effect of medicines if we are to find the secret of longevity. The elixir vitæ probably is not doctors' stuff. Efficient drainage, again, is in all probability an active cause for good, but it cannot explain all the advantage which is apparent, say in London, for the lowered death-rate has scarcely coincided with the completion of drainage schemes. Among other efficient agencies to which Dr. Pettenkofer attributes the health of London and of other well-managed English cities, the ventilation of dwelling-rooms occupies a chief place. He is struck with the difference between the open window and chimney of English sitting-rooms and the close and heated rooms of Continental dwellings. Fortunately for themselves, says the author, the English care less about draughts than do the Germans. It is a comfort to hear a little praise of our open grates, which it is now the fashion to abuse. Let us hope that dear coal may not make us dread draughts, and so send our deaths up to the Munich rate. Some interesting remarks upon essence of meat and its preparation are appended to the volume, the author having a firm faith in Liebig's essence of beef, regarded as a stimulant rather than as food proper.

This report⁹ does not yield in interest to its predecessors; it is full of valuable statistics, and it contains moreover scientific chapters of the first degree of importance. To convince the reader of this we have only to say that Dr. Parkes, in his report on Hygiene, gives a careful summary of the views of Pettenkofer and of Sander respectively on the spread of cholera, and in doing so allows his own valuable criticisms upon each of them to appear. Mr. O'Nial records some experiments with antiseptics, which should be repeated, as they tend to disprove some common opinions on this vital subject. Mr. O'Nial concludes that chloralum, chloride of zinc, and permanganates are not to be recommended, and gives himself the highest place to carbolic acid and bichromate of potassium. The other essays on hill climates, on pyæmia and on the pathological records, if less immediately interesting, are none the less valuable, and show a degree of careful and continuous work and observation which is most creditable to the department.

We have had occasion before to notice the appearance of these reports¹⁰ in terms of high praise, both as regards the merits of the individual essays and the organizing power of the distinguished editor,

⁹ "Army Medical Report." Vol. xiii. 1873.

¹⁰ "West Riding Lunatic Asylum Medical Reports." Edited by Dr. Crichton Browne. Vol. iii. 1873.

who is not only an able observer and clinician himself, but who is the cause of like qualities in others. Professor Ferrier's researches into the functions of the cerebral hemispheres, which first appeared in the present volume, and were for the most part carried out at Wakefield, have since gained extensive currency, and seem likely to revolutionize our views of these parts; the editor has judiciously included in the reports a paper by Dr. Hughlings Jackson, which deals with the same subject from the clinical side. Indeed, one of the first things to be noticed is, that the editor is not so in name only, but he has given some unity to the volume—a unity which, as a rule, is absent from like publications. Professor Turner's paper falls in well with those already mentioned, and Dr. Fothergill and Dr. Burman publish papers on the relation of heart disease to insanity, which are very different and well complement each other. We trust that Dr. Browne may be encouraged to continue the series.

We are glad to welcome the second part of the first division of Dr. Hirt's treatise on the diseases of artisans,¹¹ for although many physicians have studied these diseases in detail, and have studied them successfully, yet since the time of Ramazzini, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, no one has hitherto attempted to produce a complete treatise on the whole matter. We are at least as much pleased with Dr. Hirt's second instalment as with the first; both are really well done. The first part of the work dealt with the diseases due to the inhalation of dust, inorganic and organic, in the various trades. The present, or second part, describes those affections which result from the inhalation of gaseous products. Exposure to such products gives rise to catarrh of the bronchial apparatus, to acute inflammation of the structure of the lungs, and to phthisis. Certain special consequences again will follow the exposure to carbonic acid gas, carbonic oxide, and the hydride and oxides of sulphur. There is a great deal in these chapters which are written with the pregnant brevity and fulness of reference which betoken a thoroughly scientific spirit. Apart from the more special relations of the subject matter, they afford much instruction and food for thought to the physiologist and pathologist. The author has a good subject, and he is no bookmaker in the bad sense of the word. In the chapters which follow, Dr. Hirt pursues his inquiries into the workshops themselves. He studies there the artisans who are exposed to the influence of indifferent gases, such as hydrogen or nitrogen; of irrespirable gases, such as the products of sulphur, ammonia, chlorine, &c.; of poisonous gases, such as carbonic acid, the coal gases, arsenic, phosphorus, and of mixed gases. The last chapters deal with the less familiar vapours, such as those of iodine, bromine, or zinc, in the inorganic world; of turpentine, benzene, petroleum, in the vegetable world; and of bone-boiling, &c. in the animal world. In a further section he discusses the precautions and rules which are to be observed for the protection of workmen exposed to these various noxious influences, and the means by which the various

¹¹ "Die Krankheiten der Arbeiter." Von Dr. Ludwig Hirt. Abth. I. Theil 2. 1873.

difficulties of prophylaxis are to be met. All this is really well and ingeniously done, and reflects great credit on the industrious author, who has spared no pains in his researches, and who has therefore marked his work with the seal of originality. Dr. Hirt's book is one not only for the general practitioner, nor indeed for the sanitarian only, but for the employer of labour and for the artisan himself. We have not lately met with a work which has given us so much pleasure and instruction, and we would strongly recommend it for translation into the English language.

Nothing is more annoying to one who, like a reviewer, tries but in vain to be a philosopher, than twaddling little books on great subjects.¹² Men, perhaps not unamiable in themselves nor indeed positively foolish in the matter of intelligence, give way to an unaccountable desire of setting forth their own very flimsy thoughts on a printed page. The only explanation we can give of this curious tendency is, that perhaps a large number of men who find themselves in the midst of great and unsettled controversies are scarcely aware that every intelligent man can and does turn them over in a more or less imperfect way, but that he holds his peace until he really has something adequate to say. Until Dr. Lane has something more to say about old and new medicine than his present well-worn platitudes, we trust that he will remain in a becoming obscurity.

Dr. Drysdale's opinions concerning syphilis,¹³ and more especially concerning the treatment of that disease, are tolerably well known, and are held by the author with no little tenacity. The present volume, however, cannot be said to show any unfair bias in the comparison of testimony; on the contrary, whatever opinion we may form of the author's views we shall in any case be bound to admit that his dealings with the views of others are as fair as the size of his book has permitted. In short but well condensed chapters Dr. Drysdale discusses the origin of both gonorrhœa and syphilis, their diagnosis and causation and their treatment. All the best authorities are cited by name, and their services to the profession candidly declared, so that these chapters are very useful to a reader who wishes to learn the chief features of the history of syphilis and of its modern doctrine without much trouble or research. The author points his paragraphs with a few words of reference to his own large experience and matured opinions, which are well placed and brief. In the matter of treatment Dr. Drysdale is a strong anti-mercurialist. Although in this we differ from much that he advances, we nevertheless grant freely that discussions raised with the ability shown in these pages can only be a great benefit to the subject with which they are concerned.

In the midst of the heap of volumes, indifferent or bad, which pour from the press, it is really quite a fresh pleasure to read so admirable, and withal so unpretending a volume as this treatise of Dr. Blackley.¹⁴

¹² "Old Medicine and New." By E. Lane, M.D. London: 1873.

¹³ "Syphilis: Nature and Treatment." By Dr. C. R. Drysdale. London: 1873. Second Edition.

¹⁴ "Experimental Researches on Hay Fever." By C. H. Blackley. London: 1873.

Like Sydenham and many later writers, Dr. Blackley writes most successfully of the disease to which he himself is a martyr; and his investigations have received the constant stimulus of his own sufferings. But it is not in the way of clinical description alone that the author is distinguished; he is even more successful in his experimental inquiry into the causes of hay-fever, an inquiry which henceforth settles a very doubtful question. Dr. Blackley has the credit of proving circumstantially what many others have guessed—namely, that the pollen of plants is the exciting cause of this disease; and he shows further, by a series of thoughtful and most careful experiments, how and in what degree this influence is exercised. At the beginning of the volume is a full review of the opinions held on the causes of hay-fever—opinions which were not incorrect in the main, but which were deficient in scientific accuracy, and unsupported by any adequate array of evidence. The following chapters give an account of the author's experiments with the presumed causes of hay-fever, such as dust, ozone, coumarin, benzoic acid, light and heat, and many varieties of pollen. He concludes that pollen of all kinds will give rise to some of the symptoms of hay-fever, and that all the other so-called causes have little or nothing to do with generating the disease. The pollen rises to high altitudes, and is carried far by atmospheric currents; and the author makes the curious discovery that pollen is chiefly found in a zone of atmosphere above the belt immediately around the earth, whence it probably descends under circumstances as yet unknown. Dr. Blackley is disposed to think that the well-known cat-asthma is really caused by the carriage of pollen in the fur of the animal. It is perhaps scarcely fair to complain that the able experimenter has not reduced this suspicion also to a certainty. The chapter on the symptoms and nature of the disorder scarcely admits of much novelty, but it is written intelligently and concisely; while we regret that the crowning of the whole inquiry is not yet to be attained in the discovery of a cure, yet we are pleased to see that Mr. Blackley does not forget—as scientific pathologists forget too often—that in therapeutics alone the true end of such studies must ever be found. He says (p. 199) that the way to discover the cure, lay first in a diligent search into the causes and nature of the disorder. "I am," he adds, "at present engaged in experiments on the action of various agents, and hope to be successful in my search for an effectual remedy." Meanwhile, those sufferers who can afford the time and the money may learn from Mr. Blackley's pages how to avoid, at any rate, the causes of their distressing malady. We are sorry to learn that, in his opinion, none of the drugs generally recommended are of any value.

If any considerable number of the Cambridge medical graduates write graduation theses of the value of this by Dr. Galabin,¹⁵ we have much reason to congratulate that University. In the choice of his subject Dr. Galabin has been very happy, for he has endeavoured to throw light on one of the most difficult problems of modern pathology

¹⁵ "The Connexion of Bright's Disease with Changes in the Vascular System." By A. L. Galabin, M.D. Cantab. (Graduation Thesis.)

—namely, whether the arterial changes seen in that disease are with it the common consequences of a general deterioration not very dissimilar to senile deterioration, or whether they are secondary results due directly to the state of the kidneys themselves. To enter into Dr. Galabin's argument would be to open the whole discussion, which we have not the space now to do. Suffice it to say, that Dr. Galabin has made some original researches which must command attention, and that his reasoning shows both adequate knowledge and a mature intelligence.

Dr. Crombie's ingenious little instrument¹⁶ for the production of sleep and insensibility to pains, such as neuralgia, and the like, by the inhalation of anæsthetics, is now well known. The great value which he claims for it is, that by its means the use of the anæsthetic may safely be left in the hands of the sufferers themselves. Now there have been two objections to this course hitherto. First, the fear of an overdose, and secondly, the injury done by the habitual use of such a relief. Dr. Crombie's instrument seems likely to meet the first difficulty, but we are still in the face of the second. The author himself makes light of this, and says that the remedy is soon pretermitted or omitted as the pain subsides. This we doubt: we have seen much harm done by the private habit of chloroform inhalation, which in time becomes a temptation to the melancholy or the weary, as does the use of morphia; moreover, the periodic use of medicinal antidotes seems to us, as we have often pointed out in the case of morphia injections, to bring about a periodicity in the pain, which returns as the antidote is excreted. We confess that our conviction remains as strong as ever, that potent and pleasurable drugs should always be kept under the control of some will outside the patient, whose own volition, by the way, is often weakened by his sufferings. Dr. Crombie's pamphlet contains some general remarks on anæsthetics, which are good in themselves and which are expressed in accurate and elegant English. This surprised us, for at first we were unpleasantly met by the horrible name given to the instrument itself—the Self-Anæsthetic Administrator! and secondly, by a garnish of German quotations, disgracefully misspelt.

We have never had much liking for scrappy collections from the writings of eminent persons;¹⁷ we think it far better that those who have not time to study the whole of an author should take some part of his works and make that at least their own. A reader who has mastered *Hamlet* is far better off than one who has the "Beauties of Shakespeare" by heart. So with Bacon: a busy, professional man may study the *Novum Organon*, or at any rate the essays, without any heavy call upon his time, and having done so, he has a far more useful knowledge of Bacon than Dr. Dowson would give him. So, again, with the biographical sketch prefixed to the present little book, we think that one who would understand the life of Bacon had better give a few hours to a more adequate memoir.

¹⁶ "The Induction of Sleep and Insensibility to Pain." By J. M. Crombie, M.D. London: 1873.

¹⁷ "Thoughts, Selected from the Works of Francis Bacon." By Dr. Dowson Lewis, M.D.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE biography of Erasmus has been frequently written. It has been written in English by Butler and Jortin, and there is a German biography by Adolf Müller. Both Butler's work and that of Müller owe much to an earlier work by Burigni. Mr. Drummond writes his history from a new point of view.¹ He justly says that to understand the character of the man there is no better way than to read his works, and especially the two volumes of his epistles. The manner in which Mr. Drummond weaves in these epistles with the course of his story, is one admirable characteristic of these volumes, and enables the reader both to realize vividly the personality of the man and to join almost with the interest of a contemporary in the events of the period as they develop themselves. Desiderius Erasmus was the illegitimate son of a Dutchman, and was born at Rotterdam in 1467. He was sent first to a school at Deventer, where at a very early age his talent was so conspicuous that his masters augured that he would one day be the most learned man of his age. From the school he passed into the Monastery at Steyn, which place he left under the patronage of the Bishop of Cambray. In 1492 he visited Paris, where he received pupils, among them some English noblemen, Lord Mountjoy and the son of the Marquis of Dorset. Five years later he visited England and gained the attention of the King. Shortly afterwards, however, he travelled to Italy in order to complete his studies. After visiting Bologna, Venice, Padua, and Rome he returned to England, where he formed part of the family circle of Sir Thomas More. It was here that he wrote his "*Encomium moriæ*" or praise of folly, one of the most famous satires of the world. Mr. Drummond's chapter upon this satire (vol. i. ch. vii.) is excellent. In England he was offered several posts, which he declined, preferring the free and unfettered life of a cosmopolitan to that of even learned dependence. He subsequently travelled through the Netherlands and Germany, and finally settled at Basle, where he died in the year 1536. Such is an outline of the biography which Mr. Drummond supplies. But he gives us much more than a mere outline. His translations from the Epistles and Colloquies are vigorous and natural, and his estimates just. It must not be supposed that these volumes are dull. They abound with anecdotes of the most pleasing kind, and the author's style never becomes heavy and flagging. Yet, after all, the most interesting portions are those that come from the pen of Erasmus himself. What can be more diverting than the sketch which he gives in his nineteenth epistle (spiritedly translated, vol. i. p. 57)? or more admirable than his portrait of Sir Thomas More? It is no reproach to a biographer to assert that he allows his subject to occupy the chief portion of our attention, and in the posing of his hero, and in the

¹ "Erasmus: his Life and Character, as shown in his Correspondence and Works." By R. B. Drummond, B.A. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

grouping of subordinate figures, Mr. Drummond has arranged his work with true artist feeling. The following remarks appear to us both correct and to the purpose:—

“The breadth of Erasmus was his weakness, just as the narrowness of Luther was his strength. No man ever made himself a martyr for a doubt, and whatever doubts Erasmus might entertain, he knew well how to convey them without committing himself to any positive statement. It was surely no heresy to say that Christ was distinctly called God only once or twice in the New Testament, nor that St. Hilary nowhere teaches the separate personality of the Holy Spirit, especially if he was willing to retract even these statements so soon as the Church should pronounce them erroneous. If he declared himself ready to become an Arian the moment the Church should decide in favour of Arianism, his submissiveness might be thought excessive; or if he asserted that the arguments of those who maintain that there is nothing but bread and wine in the Eucharist were so strong that they might deceive the very elect, the concession might be deemed unwise, but in neither case could he be charged with making an affirmation contrary to the Catholic faith, for, in fact, so far as points of faith were concerned, he affirmed nothing whatever. It was thus that Erasmus started doubts and difficulties at every turn, and by so doing prepared the way for the entire abandonment of the scholastic theology, and a return to simpler and more scriptural faith. Of the Roman Church he continued a member simply because she was to him the representative of Christian peace, and he hoped that the corruptions which had crept into her bosom in the course of centuries might not prove ineradicable. Intellectually he belonged neither to the Papal Church nor to Evangelical Protestantism, but was equally in advance of both. Far before his own age, he embodied in himself what we now call the modern spirit—the spirit of doubt, of inquiry and investigation, which it is certain is the only path to whatever truth may be attainable by man.”

If the interest in Erasmus which will certainly be awakened in every reader of Mr. Drummond's volumes leads to a wider and more frequent perusal of the works of the great Dutch scholar, this result will not be the least of the benefits which Mr. Drummond has conferred upon us.

The daughter of S. T. Coleridge was a remarkable woman. She inherited in no small degree the mental disposition of her father and to some degree also his intellectual power. Much of the tendency of her nature was no doubt owing to the atmosphere in which she was brought up—an atmosphere eminently literary and religious, but no one who peruses her letters can fail to be struck by her individuality and the originality of her mind. Her letters have been collected and edited by her daughter, and there is prefixed to them a short memoir of the writer, which is partly autobiographical.² Sara Coleridge was the fourth child of the poet, and was born in 1802. As a child she was studious, busying herself with branches of literature that do not usually occupy ladies. Sir Henry Taylor says of her at the age of twenty:—“She was occupied in translating some mediæval book from the Latin, and she was seen only at meals, or for a very short time in the evening.” She was also very beautiful. The same autho-

² “Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge.” Edited by her Daughter. Two vols. Henry S. King and Co.

rity says :—"It was a beauty which could not but remain in one's memory for life, and which is now distinctly before me as I write. Her eyes were large, and they had the sort of serene lustre which I remember in her father's." In 1829 Sara Coleridge married her cousin Henry Nelson Coleridge. After the death of her father, the poet, she admirably edited his works. She died herself in the year 1852. Her letters now collected are interesting as the expression of the feelings of a clever woman who lived in the really best society of her time. It is true, however, that she has something of intellectual provincialism about her. One has got now to know the Coleridge school, and it is little blame to her if its characteristics strongly mark her writings. She has firm faith ; all the members of that school have it. She can reason quite dispassionately about the "judgment" on the young people who mocked Elisha (vol. ii. p. 182), and yet not wholly accept the Athanasian Creed. Athanasius would have been quite sorry, she thinks, to hear it called by his name (vol. ii. p. 105). She has wide culture and discusses with equal familiarity *Æschylus*, Pindar, Dante, Chaucer, Goethe, and Lord Byron. And most of her remarks have that note of thought and sparkle of epigram about them which inevitably detains and gives a minute glow of pleasure to the reader. What can be truer than her opinion of reviewers :—

"A common fault of reviewers, and one which makes them desert good sense, is that they are so desirous to take a spick-and-span new view of any debated point. They smell down two roads, and if both have been trodden before, they rush at once down the third, though it may lead to nothing, like a blind alley."

And the following remark has point :—

"I wish very much that some day or other you may have time to learn Greek, because that language is an *idea*. Even a little of it is like manure to the soil of the soul, and makes it bear finer flowers."—Vol. i. p. 169.

Perhaps, however, her derivation of butterfly will not be accepted without question :—

"Butterflies are *better* flies, larger flies, the largest sort of flies that you meet with."—Vol. i. p. 102.

Sara Coleridge had by no means a masculine mind. It was feminine even for the peculiar school of thought to which she belonged. When she writes of Greek, of metaphysics, or theology, her pen cannot be mistaken for that of a man ; it is unmistakeably driven by a woman. She is at her best when she writes of her children. There is sound truth in the following :—

"Don't fancy that children will listen to lectures either in learning or morality. Punish a child for hurting his sister and he will draw the inference that it is wrong, without a sermon on brotherly affection."—Vol. i. p. 66.

Again she says of her boy :—

"He retains what he learns pretty well, and is mighty fond of sporting it afterwards, which he does with great vehemence and animation ; for instance, he informs every one he meets that Chimborasco is not so high as Dhawala-giri, the highest of the Himalayas ; and that he is certain that the wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Day (domestics at his Uncle Patteson's, in Bedford Square) was

not nearly so grand as that of Peleus and Thetis on Mount Pelion. He is at this moment bent upon making bilberry preserve at Keswick, and rose fruit jam from hips that must be gathered on Mount Caucasus."

All this is delightful, and we can read a great deal of it without growing weary, but we confess we do grow weary somewhat, both of Mrs. Coleridge's metaphysics and her criticisms of Greek poets. She has one admirable criticism, however, on Keats, which none but a woman could have written:—

"I've no patience with that Adonis lying asleep on a couch, with his 'white arm' and 'faint damask mouth,' like a 'dewlipped rose,' with lilies about him, and cupids all round him. If Venus was in love with such a girl-man as that she was a greater fool than the world has ever known yet, and did not know what a handsome man is, or what sort of a gentleman is 'worthy a lady's eye,' even as far as the outward man is concerned. I do think it rather effeminate in a young man to have even dreamed such a dream or presented his own sex to himself in such a *pretty girl* form."—Vol. i. 340.

It will be seen from our quotations that there is much pleasant reading in these volumes. They are indeed readable from beginning to end. The fault of the book, as a whole, does not lie in the letters individually but in the whole collection. The family feeling is too predominant for the general reader. He seems to be overhearing the conversation of a very amiable, clever, and affectionate family to whom he has not been personally introduced, and who yet seem conscious of his presence. Much that they say is interesting, and even instructive; some little appears commonplace. The Editress herself seems to feel this, and undertook her work with "feelings of hesitation and reluctance." She, however, looks for readers amongst the "number of enlightened and sympathetic persons." These she will probably find, for, happily, that spirit of faith, combined with liberal culture and liberal modes of thought, which the poet Coleridge recognised, is gaining a wider power over earnest minds than was at all common in his day.

Another biography,* written by a relative of the subject of the biography, lies before us. Mr. Kenyon is a descendant of the Lord Chief Justice whose history he writes. This, perhaps, is the reason why we have a long account of the family of Kenyon, dating back from the reign of Henry III., their marriages with the Hollands, Asshetons, Rigbys, and Lloyds. It is, however, no reason why we should read the account, which we candidly confess we have not done. Lloyd Kenyon, the future Lord Chief Justice, was sent to school at Rhuthin, where he learnt a little Latin Grammar and no Greek. Some verses of his upon Sir Watkin Wynn are quoted by his biographer and descendant. We will give two lines:—

"The reverend oaks their shady foliage spread,
And formed a close umbrella o'er my head."

Mr. Kenyon says that the poem "does not show any remarkable talent." We have quoted the best couplet. Instead of going to

* "The Life of Lloyd, first Lord Kenyon, Lord Chief Justice of England." By the Hon. George T. Kenyon, M.A. Christ Church, Oxford. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Oxford, Lloyd Kenyon was articled to an attorney at Nantwich. His cousin, who was at the University, urged him to join him there. With great candour he informs him that it is by no means so difficult to associate with the learned as he had supposed. "You can't imagine," he says, "what a notion I had got of our disputations before I came. I thought it must be devilish hard to talk Latin and Logic for half an hour together. But '*parturiunt montes*,' &c., I believe they scarce spoke a hundred words apiece." Lloyd, however, continued the study of the law, and was called to the Bar in 1756. His reputation grew steadily and rapidly. He successfully defended Lord George Gordon in 1780, and entered Parliament in the same year. Two years later he became Attorney-General, and in 1784 he left the Bar. In 1788 he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of England. We do not intend to deal with the particular details of his life, nor to criticise his character. Mr. Kenyon writes this biography, he tells us, owing to the incorrectness of Lord Campbell's "*Lives of the Chief Justices*," which made it impossible for him to allow a biassed character of a great and good man (*videlicet*, his ancestor) "to remain unchallenged." We should be acting most unjustly if we were to suggest that Mr. Kenyon gives an exaggerated picture of the excellences of the Lord Chief Justice. We are not sure that Lloyd Kenyon would accept his descendant's portrait as at all flattering. Mr. Kenyon says (ch. xiv.) :—"A great statesman he certainly was not. Inflexibly honest, he was biassed by no party considerations, but acted on all occasions as he believed to be, most for the interest of his Sovereign and his country. If on one or two occasions he preferred the interest of the former to that of the latter, it must be attributed to——" but that does not matter. Again (p. 389) :—"There have certainly been men who, to perhaps equal honesty and firmness of purpose have added greater dignity of manner, men gifted with more perspicuity of language, more general affability of demeanour, but," &c. Again :—"He has left few of those masterly expositions of the general principles of the Law, which may be found in the judgments of his predecessors."—p. 391. Speaking of the faults which have been attributed to Lord Kenyon, his descendant selects, as worthy of notice, "the imperfection of temper to which he was subject. That this did exist there can be no doubt." "It sometimes rendered him capricious, and too little disposed to listen to the opinions of his brother Judges when they disagreed with him." (pp. 391-2). Mr. Kenyon says :—"It has been affirmed that he was avaricious." (p. 393.) He adds, however, that there is "a degree of frugality which is not parsimony." With regard to Lord Kenyon's scholarship Mr. Kenyon does not allow family feeling to blind him to truth. "He was not acquainted with Greek," he says; and, of his Latin, he adds :—"It must be confessed he did not show a very recondite knowledge of it, in the quotations he used in his judgments." Mr. Kenyon does not spare his personal appearance. He describes the portrait by Romney, in which the Lord Chief Justice is portrayed with a "very uncommon droop of the upper eyelid," and quotes some verses about the "pert no-meaning puckering of the eye." The volume closes with an anecdote or

two to show that his dress amounted to "absolute shabbiness." We trust we have cleared Mr. (†. T. Kenyon of all suspicion of that partiality which is likely to attach to one who is writing about a member of his own family. The difficulty that occurs to us is this: We are not familiar with the "Life" as written by Lord Campbell, but it is apparently "a biassed estimate." Mr. Kenyon has in so laudable a manner striven to be just that he has leaned a little over to the side to which he certainly did not intend to lean. We confess that the character of Lord Kenyon, who comes home from an interview with George III. "with tears of gratitude in his eyes" for the King's confidence and condescension (p. 283), has no very great interest for us; but we cannot see that, even from a family point of view, Mr. Kenyon has painted a flattering portrait, and we are inclined to think that upon the whole the "irritable" and "hot-tempered" (p. 14) Chief Justice would have preferred that "one of his descendants" had let this work alone.

It is scarcely possible to read any book by Mr. J. H. Newman without very strong and conflicting feelings. He is one whom modern thought might have hailed as a leader, and he has forsaken all those who march in the van of the times. They look forward and walk by a path that grows brighter in the expanding light of science; they breathe a keen air of liberty. He turns a retroverted eye upon things of the past, and dead systems that can never be galvanized into life again. The shocks of his eloquence cannot stir them; the light of his imagination, as it plays round them, shows only how utterly dead they are. But for all this there is a magic and a power in the name of John Henry Newman that draws the reader to him, and kindles an affection which is strange to him who feels it most. He is of the Past; the Present and Future are for others.

"We shall march prospering—not through his presence;
Songs may inspire us—not from his lyre:
Deeds will be done,—while he boasts his quiescence,
Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire."

The present volume,⁴ by Mr. Newman, consists of Essays that appeared in the first half of this century. They are professedly polemical in character and are directed against certain Protestant ideas and opinions. They are preceded by a preface, or as it is here called an "Advertisement." This "Advertisement" is written in that regal English which, at the present day, Mr. Newman alone commands; and through the whole book there is a presence which makes itself felt, and against which it seems presumptuous to direct the light lance of the anonymous critic. These sketches consist of the histories of various Saints, and depict their trials, their humiliations, and triumphs. It is strange what a power over the imagination of devout and sensitive minds the asceticism of the past still retains. The maladies of Basil are here detailed at great length, the purity of his

⁴ "Historical Sketches." By John Henry Newman, of the Oratory. London: B. M. Pickering.

spirit is thrown into relief by the uncleanliness of his person. We are told that he had but one inner and one outer garment, little sleep, no bath (p. 12). Who can tell the incalculable harm to the health and morality of early times that was done by these examples of asceticism? Mr. Newman, in dealing with the history of St. Anthony, passes over very lightly (and judiciously) the better known temptations that assailed him, in order to dwell upon his mortifications and his exercises in the Tombs, where, it appears, he laid in provisions for six months—a period spent in active combat with devils. Those outside his dwelling often heard the noise of these combats, blows and pitiable cries. With regard to these matters, Mr. Newman's arguments tend to a belief in their literal truth. He "sees, anyhow, the root of a great truth here," and speaks with some contempt of the "scoffing temper" which rejects these teachings of the Church. By St. Anthony's testament, his property, which consisted of two sheep-skins and a hair shirt, were bequeathed to Athanasius and Serapion. The sheep-skins and the hair-shirt have doubtless ere this perished, but the creed which bears the name of St. Athanasius still sits more uneasily upon many consciences than ever did the hair-shirt upon its original wearer. Yet Mr. Newman delights in recalling those times when the practice of austere uncleanliness was "fashionable,"—the word is his own (p. 125); and he scorns a "comfortable" creed. But the stately language of Mr. Newman cannot render him altogether invulnerable. "Why is it," he asks, "that we feel an interest in Cicero, which we cannot feel in Demosthenes and Plato?" (p. 221.) Cannot Mr. Newman feel an interest in Demosthenes? Heeren says of him: "Of all political characters, Demosthenes is the most sublime and purely tragic with which history is acquainted. When still stirred by the vehement force of his language—when reading his life in Plutarch—when transferring ourselves into his times and situation, we are carried away by a deeper interest than is excited by any hero in epic or tragic poem. How natural was it that the lines of melancholy and indignation, such as we behold in his bust, should have been imprinted on his severe countenance!" Mr. Newman prefers the emaciated saintliness of the ascetics. And cannot Mr. Newman feel an interest in Plato? Does he really place the domestic details, the colouring of personality, which we find in the letters of Cicero before the dialogues of Plato? Is the myth of Er nothing to him? and is he less moved by the myth in the Phædrus than he is by the grovelling anecdote which he relates of St. Philip Neri. How that this Saint (who seems to have been a martyr to corpulence), being interrogated upon one occasion as to his tears, which were caused by religious emotion, hid his devotion with the jest: "Mayn't a poor orphan weep, who has neither father nor mother?" (p. 225.) If this be so, then we have done with Mr. Newman:

"Let him never come back to us!
There would be doubt, hesitation, and pain;
Forced praise on our part—the glimmer of twilight,
Never glad confident morning again!"

For those who like the details of cloistered asceticism there are abundant particulars in our next volume—"Angélique Arnauld."⁵ The book is written to show that "sublime virtues are associated with her (Angélique's) errors, that there is something admirable in everything that she does, and that the study of her history leads to a continual enlargement of our own range of thought and sympathy." Angélique Arnauld, sister of Anton Arnauld, was the foundress of the Abbey Port-Royal de Paris, so-called to distinguish it from Port-Royal des Champs. She was brought into close connexion with the Paris theologians at the time of the Jansenist controversy. The nuns of this institution adopted the Jansenist views, and a school was founded which, by its strict discipline and earnest industry, set the example of a thorough training and a complete reform in the method of education. The reforms which were effected were in a great measure brought about by the energy and determination of Angélique, and the story of these reforms, their success and their failure, is the subject of this book. Incidentally we hear much of the "mortifications" which were deemed necessary at Port-Royal. One of Angélique's reforms was a literal interpretation of the vow of poverty, and her earliest triumph was the success with which she persuaded her nuns to give up their "pretty beads and little ornaments." She herself was the most austere of the inmates; "she took the worst of everything, the shabbiest gown, the poorest food, the meanest accommodation." When compelled by her doctor to eat an egg in his presence, she discovered with regret that she could not help enjoying it. However, upon the whole, she made life tolerably unpleasant for herself and those with whom she came in contact. She succeeded in bringing her three sisters into Port-Royal and made them undergo the severest discipline. When we have quoted the following story, glibly told by the authoress, we shall have sufficiently indicated the style and contents of the book:—

"One day when Agnes was carrying a can of oil to clean the choir lamps she spilt it over her dress and on the steps of the church. Any other novice would have been greatly troubled at such an accident, but to the lips of Agnes arose the words, 'Thy name is as oil poured forth,' for visible things were only an image of the spiritual truths on which she was always meditating. However, she did what she could to remedy the disaster by wiping up the oil, and then she went to the abbess sister, and very gravely confessed a fault which did not particularly affect her. Angélique, who also looked beyond the immediate present, thought this an excellent opportunity 'to make the virgin's lamp burn the brighter for the loss of the oil,' so she said that the greasy dress must be worn until the due time for changing it came. . . . For six weeks Agnes wore the dress by day and slept in it at night."—P. 74.

It seems that "Angélique Arnauld" is one of the series known as the "Sunday Library." We cannot think that the perusal of page after page of such morbid history as that of which the above is a specimen will tend to further the original design of the series which Messrs. Macmillan and Co. tell us was to "exercise a living power, by bring-

⁵ "Angélique Arnauld, Abbess of Port-Royal." By Frances Martin. London: Macmillan and Co.

ing us into direct contact with all that is true and noble in human nature and human life."

The earliest Register⁶ belonging to the Episcopal Palatinate of Durham has appeared in the series published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. It contains the proceedings of the prelacy both lay and ecclesiastical, during the period Richard Kellawe presided over the see of Durham. A preface of 106 pages by the editor gives some account of the history of the bishopric and Palatinate of Durham. The book is a bulky volume of more than 800 pages, and is written chiefly in what the editor calls the "Latin of the Palatinate," and which, he says, is different from that of London. It is certainly different from that of Rome, at least in Cicero's days, as the following passage taken at random will show:— ". . . . unum toftum et croftum in villa de Framelington, quæ capellanus ibidem celebraturus inhabitabat," p. 337.

Another work under the direction of the same authority⁷ illustrates the general history of the North of England. It has a good general index and a brief preface.

The materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII.⁸ already form one volume. One or two more are to follow. The present volume contains an index. A detailed introduction is at present postponed. The materials are from original documents preserved in the Public Record Office.

Mr. Rawdon Browne's new volume of the Venetian State papers⁹ differs *toto cælo* from the other books with which we place it. They have importance doubtless; they are valuable to the student and antiquarian: this book is interesting in itself. Moreover the preface by the Editor is extremely good, and lights up the dusty MSS. with which he deals, with that true light which does not come from every lamp. Mr. Browne says: "As compiler of a calendar, I have merely to register documents, without commending or vituperating the individuals to whom they relate." But somehow or other, Mr. Browne succeeds in making these records extremely interesting. It is a pleasure merely to read his excellent index.

The "Speculum Ecclesiæ" of Giraldus is well edited by Mr. Brewer,¹⁰ and his preface details in full the peculiarities of the historian. These characteristics are not less apparent in this work

⁶ "Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense." Edited by Sir T. D. Hardy, D.C.L. Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longman and Co.; Trübner and Co.

⁷ "Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers." Edited by James Raine, M.A. Published under the direction, &c. London: Longman and Co.; Trübner and Co.

⁸ "Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII." Edited by Rev. W. Campbell, M.A. Vol. I. Published under the direction, &c. Longman and Co.; Trübner and Co.

⁹ "Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice." Edited by Rawdon Browne. Vol. V. Published under the direction, &c. Longman and Co.; Trübner and Co.

¹⁰ "Giraldi Cambrensis Opera-scilicet Speculum Ecclesiæ." Edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A. Longman and Co.; Trübner and Co.

than in the others by the same writer. He is fond of anecdotes; there are many here; he was absurdly vain; the readers of this book will perceive it; he is not without humour, it lightens his crabbed Latin; and upon the whole he is one of the most agreeable prose writers of his time.

We will pass now into a different and perhaps more pleasing atmosphere. Mr. Symonds's book¹¹ shall stand first amongst those of which we have to speak, for Mr. Symonds is no stranger to the readers of this *Review*. Some of the essays which compose this book have already appeared in our pages, and few of those who have read them will have forgotten the essays upon the Lyric poets, Pindar and Aristophanes. But the appearance of this book gives a unity and motive to the whole which was not so visible in the graceful fragments. Excellent in themselves, they "win a glory" from their position in the volume to which they now belong. Mr. Symonds is one of that band who belong to both Worlds, the Old and the New. His admirable work on Dante showed that he could assimilate the beauty of Christian thought; his present book exhibits the versatility of his mind, for it shows that he has been initiated into the very mysteries of classic thought. And yet we think that Mr. Symonds has failed in achieving the object which he sets before himself. He says, "To bring Greek literature home to the general reader, and to apply to the Greek poets the same sort of criticism as that which modern classics receive, has been my principal object." Alas! who is the general reader? Is it the Pass or Poll man of the University? Mr. Symonds may write his eloquent sentences in vain for such an one. Is it the newspaper reader of the present time? This reader will scarcely leave the loosely written leader to follow the thoughtful guidance of Mr. Symonds amongst the paths of a literature which is closed to him. Mr. Symonds will certainly never win the "general reader." An exquisitely written essay by Mr. Cornish in a late number of the *Fortnightly Review* (September, 1873) shows how in some respects this is impossible. But does it matter? If we are not mistaken, it will be more to Mr. Symonds that he gives that one touch of final delight to an attuned mind which is an artist's highest achievement, than that he wins a vulgar applause. Probably those who can really appreciate his essay on the "Genius of Greek Art" are few, but their approval will be worth something. These will be sent to the book itself—if they do not already know it—by the following extract:—"It would be easy enough to fill a volume with such descriptions—to unlock the cabinets of gems and coins, or to linger over vases painted with the single figure of a winged boy in tender red upon their blackness, and showing the word ΚΑΛΟΣ negligently written at the side."

The slight books which Dr. Trench gives us from time to time are so exceedingly good that we receive them with the double feeling of gratitude for what we learn, and regret that he does not make them more complete than they are. The admirable little volume on

¹¹ "Studies of the Greek Poets." By John Addington Symonds, Author of "An Introduction to the Study of Dante" London: Smith, Elder and Co.

Plutarch¹² which has just reached us is, as the archbishop admits, a mere *πύργον*. It grew from a single lecture upon Plutarch delivered last year to a small literary society in Dublin. If the author had designed to make it a complete work, how great had been the benefit not only to ourselves but to many for years to come. Plutarch must remain to all students of antiquity a deeply interesting character. He was a Greek. He was familiar in a manner that can never be revived, with the traditions and the feelings of the better Greek eras. Greek splendour left a sunset of beauty which he saw, and which cannot be seen again. He was, moreover, a Roman citizen, and he lived in a period of deepest interest to the student of early Christianity. He lived at the time which we know best from the pages of Tacitus and Juvenal: he was a profound philosopher and a virtuous citizen in times which we are accustomed to think of as a dark period of classic degradation. His greatest work is undoubtedly the "Parallel Lives," and it is this which most persons associate with his name. Henri IV. of France said of this book: "It has been my conscience, and has whispered in my ear many good suggestions and maxims for my conduct and government of my affairs." Shakspeare has followed North's Plutarch in his "Antony and Cleopatra," even to the minutest circumstances, with scrupulous fidelity. He has used the same book in his "Coriolanus" and "Julius Cæsar." Of this latter play Dr. Trench writes: "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the whole play is to be found in Plutarch." Dr. Trench tracks other poets as students of Plutarch, and it is remarkable to observe how far the ancient writer has influenced modern literature by his "Parallel Lives." But it is not only with this work that Dr. Trench deals. The other works of Plutarch claim a full half of his interesting volume, and are treated in a manner which is no less fascinating and instructive. These works were translated early in the seventeenth century, by Philemon Holland, of Coventry. Some remarks upon the English of this translation (p. 76) recall the author's early works, and are valuable. The appreciative estimate which is here given of these writings will be read with pleasure; but perhaps none with more satisfaction than the just view of the state of society in Plutarch's time. We are indeed mentally accustomed to associate it with the utmost depravity and corruption. Juvenal has given a colouring to our idea of the time, which clings and darkens our view. The Archbishop of Dublin rightly says:—

"It may, I think, very fairly be a question whether we do not sometimes accept as the rule deeds and practices which were only the exceptions, and which, indeed, attest themselves as such by the indignation which in their own day they aroused by the vehemence with which they were denounced."

And again:—

"It may, I think, very fairly be a question whether we do not exaggerate the moral corruption of the age to which he belongs as compared with that of other ages in the world's history."

¹² "Plutarch: his Life, his Lives and his Morals." Four Lectures. By R. C. Trench, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Macmillan and Co.

And once more :—

“Certainly the sum total which Plutarch’s own moral writings leave upon the mind is not that of a society so poisoned and infected through and through with an evil leaven that there was no hope of mingling a nobler leaven in the lump. He does not speak as one crying in the wilderness, but as confident that he will find many hearts, a circle of sympathetic hearers to answer to his appeals.”

Miss Swanwick’s translation of *Æschylus*¹³ was originally suggested to the talented translator by the late Baron Bunsen, who was much struck by the skill and faithfulness which she had displayed in her English rendering of the poem of *Faust*. Every line of the translation by Miss Swanwick shows the conscientious labour which she has bestowed upon her subject. In her preface she avows the principle—“that any wilful or unacknowledged deviation from the original is tantamount to a breach of trust,” and in the spirit of this principle her translation has been made throughout. Miss Swanwick has prefixed to her work a learned essay upon the Greek religion. It is worthy of the translations which follow it, and contains an estimate of the moral uses of poetry and art as national educators, which will well repay perusal. The first volume of this work has long been known to the public; the second volume is of more recent date. It contains a short introduction to each play translated, and a brief preface wherein Miss Swanwick acknowledges her obligation to more recent contributions to the knowledge of Greek mythology, and especially to those of Professor Max Müller, the Rev. G. W. Cox, and Professor Newman. The translations are thoroughly sound and good, and may well rank with the translations of the same author by Professor Plumptre.

The number of the translations of Horace could not easily be summed up, but if it had been asked—which is the best literal prose rendering of Horace? the answer would be easy: There is not any good one. Such an answer is, however, no longer true. The translation by Messrs. Lonsdale and Lee¹⁴ has taken away this one reproach, and renders it possible for students to possess a clear, faithful, and graceful translation of the works of Horace. We have gone through this translation with some degree of care, and we can unhesitatingly pronounce in its favour. We shall give our readers one specimen of the translation as a justification of our commendation. It shall be the well-known ode—

“*O fons Bandusiæ splendidior vitro.*”

“Spring of Bandusiæ, more clear than glass, worthy of pleasant wine, and flowers withal, tomorrow shalt thou be presented with a kid, whose brow that heaves with budding horns designs both love and battles. In vain! for to honour thee he shall with crimson blood dye thy cold streams, he, the offspring of the playful herd.

¹³ “The Dramas of *Æschylus*.” Translated by Anna Swanwick. Bell and Baldy. Two vols.

¹⁴ “The Works of Horace, rendered into English Prose, with Introductions, Running Analysis, Notes, and an Index.” By J. Lonsdale, M.A., and S. Lee, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

"The blazing dogstar's scorching season knows not what it is to light on thee; thou to oxen wariest with the ploughshare, and to the wandering herd dost afford a delicious coolness.

"Thou also shalt become one of the ennobled fountains, when I sing of the ilex tree set upon the hollow crags, from whence thy babbling brooks dance down."

The running analysis materially increases the usefulness of the book, and the notes, if short, are to the point. The index though it is not equal to the index of the old Delphin Horace is good, and is especially full in its proper names. We cordially recommend the book, whose merits we have understated.

The series of "Ancient Classics for Modern Readers," has added another volume to its subjects which by no means falls below the high standard that Mr. Lucas Collins maintains. The Tacitus¹⁵ of this series is thoroughly good and trustworthy. The writer has a pictorial pen and follows the historian through his various works with discrimination and ability. His notice of the "Annals" is just and interesting, and serves to bring before the reader the salient point of each imperial character mentioned by Tacitus. The "Dialogue on the Orators," which has not always been considered the work of Tacitus, and has indeed been ascribed to Quintilian, or the younger Pliny, is discussed in a separate chapter. Mr. Donne believes it to be an early work of Tacitus, and attributes the difference of style to the youthful age of the writer. He does not, however, treat the subject in a perfunctory manner, and the chapter on this less known work will prove useful to many who are familiar with the History and Annals. The chapter upon the man himself is not the least interesting in the book, and the subtle comparison of the historian to Dante is striking and true.

There is no doubt that Dr. Buckheim hit upon the correct theory of the duty of an editor of modern classics when he set before himself as a model the care and accuracy which have been expended upon ancient classics. And students of modern literature are indebted to the promoters of the Clarendon Press series for the encouragement they have given to works so carefully edited as those by Dr. Buckheim.¹⁶ In the two earlier volumes, the Egmont of Goethe, and the Wilhelm Tell of Schiller, have appeared some time.

The excellence of the introductory essays, the critical analysis, and the commentary which accompanied the text, won for the earlier volumes a wide and appreciative approbation. It was even thought possible that with books so well edited German might be substituted for Greek in an educational curriculum, on what is called the modern principle. Whatever principle, however, of education be adopted, there can be no doubt that thoroughness must be the basis of all learning, and thoroughness combined with literary excellence forms the chief characteristic of the series to which a third volume, the

¹⁵ "Tacitus." By William Bodham Donne. In the Series of "Ancient Classics for Modern Readers." William Blackwood and Sons.

¹⁶ "German Classics—Lessing, Goethe, Schiller." Edited, with English Notes, &c. By C. A. Buchheim, Professor in King's College, London. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press.

*Minna von Barnhelm*¹⁷ by Lessing, has now been added. The present volume is equal in merit to its predecessors. The life of Lessing, which has been prefixed, is good, and very judiciously has been made more comprehensive than that of Goethe and Schiller in the former volumes, inasmuch as the Life and Writings of Lessing are far less known in this country than those of the two former poets. Upon this point Dr. Buchheim makes a well-deserved protest against the indifference displayed by Englishmen towards the critical writings of a man whom Macaulay with truth entitled the "first critic in Europe;" he points out that this indifference is not without a tinge of ingratitude, as Lessing was the first to direct attention on the Continent in general, and in Germany in particular, to the excellence of English literature, and, above all, to the genius of Shakspeare. Moreover, he asserts, and we agree with him, that Lessing's way of thinking is one peculiarly congenial to the English mind. The critical analysis of the present play is full and remarkable for its literary insight. It concludes with the words of Stahr, which, if they be correct, as we presume they are, renders it impossible for us to overestimate the value of the play—"Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* ist das erste deutsche National-lustspiel, und wenn wir ehrlich sein wollen, ist es auch bis heute das einzige geblieben." The commentary deals with the difficulties of language and matter, and is useful alike to the student and the scholar.

The "*Outlines of German Literature*"¹⁸ by Messrs. Gostwick and Harrison, is a good example of conscientious work in a direction which is now more and more frequently followed. Even thirty years ago, Mr. Carlyle (to whom the present volume is dedicated) saw signs of a hopeful interest in things German, and could write, "Germany is no longer to any person that vacant land of gray vapour and chimeras which it was to most Englishmen not many years ago." What was said then is true now to a greater extent: the public schools, the universities, and the Civil Service have recognised the importance of the study of the German language and literature, and a growing want has been met by the publication of this very complete and useful manual. Such works upon this subject as have previously appeared in England have to a great degree proceeded upon the assumption that a review of poetical literature with some notes upon the biographies of distinguished poets formed a history of the national literature. This was a failing in Mr. Metcalfe's history, the one perhaps best known to English students. The present volume includes, though necessarily briefly, the history of German literature as the exponent of theology and philosophy. The treatment of theology is very fair, the writers have allowed all the polemic theologians—Catholics, Mystics, Lutherans, Pietists, and Rationalists—to speak for themselves. In the greater portion of the book we can praise unreservedly the due proportion of attention which has been given to each writer. A

¹⁷ "*Minna Von Barnhelm.*" Edited by C. A. Buchheim. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press.

¹⁸ "*Outlines of German Literature.*" By J. Gostwick and R. Harrison. Williams and Norgate.

German historian of his own literature has generally some favourite author, who is depicted in such colossal proportions that he dwarfs all those who stand near him. Indeed, we have already pointed this out in our notices of the German *Literaturgeschichte*. If our present writers sin at all against the laws of proportion, it is in admitting the crowd of recent and living authors, whose names throng their later pages. We will only add that the specimen translations from various writers which form one feature of the book are good, and occasionally very good.

We have already dealt at some length with Mr. Van Laun's translation of H. Taine's "History of English Literature,"¹⁹ and the commendation which we bestowed upon the first edition we do not feel called upon to withhold from the second. The book has evidently been extremely popular, and there is much to learn from it. The translation work is well done, and in this second edition it has been revised throughout and compared with the original. The new edition is also more handsomely and appropriately got up.

The borderland between England and Scotland has long been the home of ballad and story. A sort of charm and fascination hung round the rough life of the borderer; the excitement of feud and raid kept up a kind of wild warlike poetry, and was full of those incidents of romance which are rarer in more peaceful districts. Such legends as were still to be gathered, have now been collected by Mr. White, and thrown into lays.²⁰ We must confess that we differ from Mr. White in the estimate which he forms of the value of the different portions of his book. We do not care at all for his lays, we even think his book would be better without them. We do not deny that they have a certain lilt and gallop which recall something of the old ballad measure; but they are not very good *of their kind*. The notes to them are. The editor apologizes for the length of these notes, and admits that they are discursive. Such an apology was unnecessary, the notes are excellent and scholarly, and were evidently written with laborious care. We would take as an example both of the fault and excellence, the lay of the "Luck of Edenhall," and the notes thereupon. Nothing can be less true to the ballad spirit than the verses, or more pleasant antiquarian gossip than the notes which are connected with them. We would suggest to the editor that these notes be thrown into another form, and the verses published separately for those who will read them.

We are much indebted to Mrs. Clerk for her elegant translations from the Arabic.²¹ She has, indeed, both earned our gratitude by her translations of these stories, some of which are very graceful, and by the scholarly notes with which she accompanies them, and which

¹⁹ "History of English Literature" By H. A. Taine. Translated by H. Van Laun. Vol. i. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

²⁰ "Lays and Legends of the English Lake Country." By John Pagen White, F.R.C.S. London: John Russell Smith.

²¹ "Ilâm-en-nâs." Historical Tales and Anecdotes of the Time of the Early Khalifas. Translated from the Arabic, and Annotated by Mrs. Godfrey Clerk. London: Henry S. King.

are not the least interesting part of the book. We wish we had space to quote some of the stories. We will, however, quote one anecdote which has a truly Eastern colouring :—

“How Ibn-Harîmah was saved from punishment.”

“Ibn Harîmah went into the presence of el-Mansûr, and offered him congratulations. And el-Mansûr said to him, ‘Ask of me thy desire.’ So he replied, ‘That thou shouldst write to thy vicegerent at el-Medînah that should he find me drunk he is not to punish me.’”

“‘There is no means of escaping that,’ said el-Mansûr.

“‘I have no other wish,’ said Ibn-Harîmah.

“So el-Mansur commanded his scribe, ‘Write to my vicegerent at el Medînah: If the son of Harîmah is brought to thee drunk, flog him with eighty strokes, but flog him by whom he is brought with a hundred strokes.’

“And the guard found him drunk; but they said, ‘Who would buy eighty with a hundred?’ So they passed on and left him.”

Some of the tales in this volume have already been translated in the notes to an edition of Mr. Lane’s “*Thousand and One Nights*.” The details, however, vary; and Mrs. Clerk has very rightly not been deterred from publishing her own version. The modesty with which Mrs. Clerk speaks of her own portion of the work adds, if possible, to the grace of the volume. She says:—“I beg that if any charm be found in these tales, it may be ascribed to the fascination of the Arabic language; and that all defects may be attributed, not to want of will, but to want of power in the Translator.” Mrs. Clerk shows how even in the more rugged paths of literature a lady may both lead the way, and illuminate it by the light of a feminine presence.

Mr. Boulton has sent us a small pamphlet upon the “Angles, Jutes, and Saxons,”²² in which he enunciates his views upon the early history of South Britain. Whether these views are correct or not we will not pretend to decide. But as Mr. Boulton’s arguments are in many cases based upon philological considerations, we candidly admit that his philological remarks do not prejudice us in his favour. Where we can test him he is unscrupulous, and in several cases wrong. Thus he derives the word “Welsh” from “wyl,” a *well*, and the termination *ish*, and makes the word “Wyl-isc” or “Welsh” to mean an aboriginal people. This is convenient, but is Mr. Boulton aware that the Germans speak of Italy as “Walschland,” and that the Teutonic prefix “Wal” means “foreign,” as in the word “Walnut?” He adopts without hesitation Zeus’s derivation of the word Kymry, though he has learnt it only from Mr. Pearson’s quotation, and he neglects the other derivations of the word. He says that *Brito* is derived from *bri*, bill, and *to* a man, a derivation quite at variance with the Celtic system of compound words. He derives (p. 15) Albion, from the Celtic *Alb* the height, and *ion*, which he calls “a mere terminal,” though we should like to know where he gets the Celtic word *alb* from? He derives (p. 18) the Welsh name for an Englishman, *Sais* from the *sack* or baggy trousers which he wore, but he admits that “at first this

²² “The Angles, Jutes, and Saxons.” By J. Boulton, F.R.I.R.A. Liverpool: T. Brakell.

may be thought ludicrous." We assure him that after thinking this over a great many times, our opinion is unchanged. This is what we call "unscrupulous derivation." He says that Anglesea was called *Ynys Tywyll*, which would involve two grammatical blunders, such as he alone would be likely to make; and he says that the common name Llanfihangel is derived from some monstrous word which he writes *lan-fia-h-an-geil*, the fact being that "Llan" means a "plot of ground," or *τέμερος*, and Mihangel (or Fihangel in composition) is the Welsh name of Michael; the whole being equivalent to St. Michael's. We are therefore not disposed to investigate further the ethnological theories which are based upon linguistic argument of the unsubstantial nature referred to above.

We trust that no reader will be led away by the title of Dr. Dyer's book²³ into the fancy that we have here any ponderous tome or substantial volume. It is a pamphlet of some 32 pp. which Dr. Dyer has sent us. The spirit, however, which animates it is one worthy of all the binder's art. The language is big, and is directed against Professor Seeley, with whom Dr. Dyer has a long-standing quarrel on behalf of Livy, and it claims to have set Livy once more right in the eyes of the world. But we cannot pretend to commend the Doctor's style. When he says that Professor Seeley seems to regard Livy as a perfect idiot (p. 6); that Livy did not write for modern professors (p. 7); that in the Professor's view Livy was either an ignoramus or a cheat (p. 13); that so-and-so would have been "a tremendous chuck!" (p. 29), he illustrates the fact that even a knowledge of Latin will not excuse the absence of dignified English in a writer who professes to write "for the use of students," and upon a subject which should be treated without passion.

We can only acknowledge the receipt of Potthast's "*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*"²⁴ (Fasciculus I), and of another number of Mr. Black's translation of "*Guizot's History of France*,"²⁵ with the usual good text and bad pictures.

BELLES LETTRES.

HAS Dr. Cumming been playing a hoax upon the world, and been writing a novel under the name of the Rev. James Smith, M.A.? "*The Coming Man*"¹ has a very suspicious look. Its title reminds us of the "*Coming Struggle*" and other similar productions. Its contents, too, bear also a remarkable likeness. Here, for instance, is a curious passage, especially in a novel:—

²³ "*A Plea for Livy.*" With Critical Notes on his First Book. By T. H. Dyer, D.D. London: Bell and Daldy.

²⁴ "*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum.*" Edidit A. Potthast. Berolini.

²⁵ "*The History of France.*" By H. Guizot. Translated by R. Black, M.A. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Searle.

¹ "*The Coming Man.*" By the Rev. James Smith, M.A. London: Strahan and Co. 1873.

"Well, then, the first great epoch mentioned in Scripture is the Flood, 1656 years after Creation. Take that for one time and multiply it by $3\frac{1}{2}$ for the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times.

	"1656	
	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	<hr/>	
	4968	
	828	
	<hr/>	
	5796	
Subtract	4004	Date of Christ's birth.
	<hr/>	
	1792	French Revolution, or Crowing of the Cock.
		'The beginning of the last day or week.'
		(Vol. ii. p. 339.)

Aut Cumming aut Diabolus. The touch about the crowing of the cock can only proceed from the Master at Crown Court. And there are whole pages of this sort of thing, which looks like so much mad mathematics. Then to add to our bewilderment we have a full-page illustration of "The Handwriting on the Wall of England" (vol. ii. 330). Mad mathematics are bad enough, but mad hieroglyphics are worse. Against Henry VIII. stands a little finger, but against Elizabeth stands a thumb, whilst against Lady Jane Grey is the index finger. We doubt if Daniel himself could have interpreted this. He after all only explained handwriting, and not fingers and thumbs. And yet we own to some scepticism as to Dr. Cumming being the author of "The Coming Man." Here is the passage which first aroused our doubts:—

"Edward and Benjamin were now companions, and they frequently visited the public places together. They sometimes took a couple of stalls at the Opera, at which Benjamin's chief satisfaction seemed to be derived from the ballet. His thoughts were always of heaven when the ballet-girls were stepping out and dancing before his eyes."—Vol. i. p. 179, 180.

We are quite sure that if Dr. Cumming had written the book, Benjamin's thoughts on seeing the ballet would have been about another place.

Of late years a class of novelists has arisen, who aim only at depicting society. Dukes, marquisses, and earls occur as plentifully in their pages as blackberries on the hedges at the present season. And the writers generally give us to understand that they themselves associate with nobody under a baronet. As we have often remarked in these pages we are no judges of such exalted personages. Like Shakspeare's clown "we have never supped with Jove," and we have no wish to do so, if Jove be what he is represented by the Guy Livingstone school. We cannot be always expecting a new Thackeray to rise up amongst us and to photograph society. Not every one can bend his bow. The author, however, of "A True Reformer" bids fair, if he will but do himself justice, to fill a void, which since Thackeray's death has been more and more felt, in the ranks of

* "A True Reformer." London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1873.

novelists. Mr. Trollope is generally held to be the painter of modern society. But his greatest admirers, we think, will allow that his later novels have become not merely thin in their subject matter, but even tame and prosy in style. The author of "*A True Reformer*" knows his ground quite as accurately as Mr. Trollope. He introduces us to what for a better name we may call the upper-middle and the lower-upper class of life. We make the acquaintance indeed of the Premier and various high government officials, but then it is only by their speeches and their politics. As a concession to human weakness the author throws us in a handful of lords. He even goes so far as to give us two dukes, but one of them is an Irish duke, and as for the English duke he does not know any of the people of Leatherby even by sight, and treats them as if they were so many blackbeetles. But the author's strength lies in depicting persons with incomes of two or three thousand a year. Not only does he depict this class with all Mr. Trollope's accuracy, but he far excels him in two great qualifications of a novelist,—humour and power of analysis. His humour consists not merely in setting the common events of life in a new and unexpected light, but in a strong satiric power, which gives force and dignity to his sentiments and expressions. The keenness of his analysis of character, of the motives and crossing interests from which all human actions spring, the small vanities and weaknesses and jealousies which beset every one of us, may be best seen in his portrait of the hero himself. "*A True Reformer*," however, is hardly likely to make the mark which it should do. The reason is obvious. The *True Reformer* in this novel, we need hardly say, is an army-reformer. Very few novel readers take much interest in army-reform. Still fewer possess the knowledge requisite to understand the particular reforms which the author proposes. We do not mean to say that this portion of the novel is dull. Nothing can be more unlike a Blue Book. The author makes even figures interesting, and German evolutions and tactics quite easy to even the civilian mind. But reform, and especially army-reform, is not popular with the average Mudie subscriber. We repeat, therefore, that we should not be surprised if the novel does not attract the attention which its many excellences merit. The heroine Eva, or Mrs. West, is particularly well drawn. We are most carefully led up to the great scene between her and her husband, by little incidental touches, which reveal the thorough childishness and simplicity of her character. "My dear," she exclaims, "I knew nothing about Tories or Radicals in those days, and I don't know much more about them now; but I wish Charlie could be an M.P. without going into Parliament." (Vol. i. p. 29.) And again on the night, when her husband makes his great Reform speech in the House, she cries out—"But where is the account of it? I must read it before I go to bed." (Vol. ii. p. 6.) Her husband is obliged to explain to her that the debates of that night would not appear till the morning's papers came out, and that this was considered rather a feat of quickness. So, too, we are allowed to see the utter childlike simplicity and guilelessness of her character by the way in which she keeps her accounts, manages her household affairs, governs

her servants, and especially by the manner in which she fills up all her cheques to the bearer for the precise sum of twenty pounds. So also when Eva hears that her husband has retired from the service, she exclaims, "Do you mean to say, Charlie, that you are never going to wear any uniform again?" (Vol. ii. p. 33.) By a number of fine and delicate touches of this kind Eva's guileless nature is thoroughly revealed to us. We never for a moment believe in her guilt with Captain Strickland. Here is the passage in which her husband sees them at the ball—"Passion, bold and triumphant, was written in his face, as he bore her round in his arms; her eyes were bent downwards, but for a moment she raised them, and meeting his glance, there seemed in her gentle, and, as I thought, coquettish smile, a glance of perfect understanding." (Vol. iii. p. 262.) Even at this critical moment we were fully convinced of her innocence, an innocence which is afterwards triumphantly proved. But if the character of Eva is well drawn, that of Captain Strickland is also equally well sketched. There are very few novelists who could in so small a space fill in a picture like the following with so much knowledge of detail and yet with so few strokes. Here is a history of many lives such as Strickland's, compressed into a few paragraphs:—

"Heir to a fine estate and one of the oldest names in the county, he had gone up to Christ Church with a great reputation for ability, and was expected to take a distinguished degree, but getting into a scrape, only avoided expulsion by taking his name off the books, and exchanging an academical career for a commission in the Guards. Then followed a bout of horse-racing, when after very nearly winning the Derby twice, and losing heavily much oftener, he retired from the turf, and his father paid his debts. . . . Of about middle height, with dark hair and eyes, a face smooth shaven save for a pointed black moustache, and a general look of determination, which his antecedents so far belied, Tom Strickland was a very noticeable man anywhere. A good rider, who did not care much for hunting; almost as skilful with the pencil as a second-rate artist; with a touch on the pianoforte that a professional might have envied; fond of society, and yet always appearing to be bored by it; with no apparent hobbies to spend money on, and yet seemingly always at the wrong end of a liberal allowance,—Tom Strickland gave one the impression of a man of ability, which he had never turned to any useful purpose, and who, without any stigma of dishonour, had the faculty of getting into scrapes."—Vol. ii. pp. 277, 278, 279.

Now nearly every county can show a good many Tom Stricklands. Most people have encountered them, generally to their cost. But it is one thing to describe such a person, and another to make him a living character. This is what the author of "*A True Reformer*" does, and we do not know a better test of a novelist's power than to be able to describe such a character, who is always treading on the dubious borderland between virtue and vice. Captain Strickland is a triumph of art. But the charm of the book consists in the way in which the author, as we have already intimated, describes average society. Not only are the county families of Yeucestershire, but all the local magnates of Leatherby, hit off with a few brilliant strokes. Every page is full of good things. There is no padding, none of that roundabout style of writing which requires a page to describe a

look, and then does not describe it. Leatherby would be an intolerable place in the hands of an ordinary novelist. There society consisted of "Miss Barbour, the two Misses Provost, the three Misses Smith, Mrs. and the Misses Forwards, and Mrs. Crane, the only one of the party in possession of a husband, and he was in India." For its knowledge of foreign politics Leatherby was dependent on "Miss Jones, the French governess—'Mademoiselle' as she was called—who having been English governess for a season at a *pension* in Paris was regarded throughout Leatherby as an infallible authority on French politics, and the only person qualified to see through the real designs of the Commune." The scenery round Leatherby was hardly attractive. There was, however, one celebrated view from a hill which everybody went to see "because Deedes, R.A., said it reminded him of the 'Trossacks.'" Nor did architecture flourish at Leatherby. There was only one tumbledown church, but which, as Miss Barton used to constantly observe to all strangers, "is very much admired as something quite Gothic." Now, given such a set of people as the Leatherby people, and such a town as Leatherby, it is not hard for any one to see the difficulties which a novelist has to encounter. But the author of "A True Reformer" has mastered them by precisely the same means as Miss Austen did,—easy touches of humour and graceful wit. But whether the author is dealing with Leatherby and the Leatherby people, or with the House of Commons or the Horse Guards, the same felicitous satire is observable. Here, for instance, is the newly elected M.P.'s account of his duties as director of "The Agricultural and Commercial Assurance Company :—

"Our proceedings at the Board of the Company appeared to consist mainly in sitting round a long table while the applicants for policies presented themselves in turn before us. Each applicant took a seat by the chairman for a couple of minutes, who put a few jocular questions to him, after which the insurer made his bow and retired, and the proposal papers, with our medical officer's opinion, were passed round for opinion. This system of requiring personal interviews, I found, was considered the strong point of the Agricultural and Commercial; for whereas in other companies a man could take out a policy after being seen merely by the secretary and medical officer, no one could insure with us without first appearing before the whole board. This, as our prospectus pointed out, afforded a peculiar guarantee to the shareholders for the soundness of the business done; and clearly a machinery of this sort was admirably adapted for detecting bad lives which might impose on our doctor."—Vol. i. pp. 266, 267.

Of course Miss Austen's satire never flies so high as this. But in one very important gift, the author of "A True Reformer" far surpasses Miss Austen—power of describing nature. To Miss Austen, the fields, and brooks, and skies, and woods, and rivers, are all a perfect blank. She evidently has never felt, as Wordsworth says, "the ravishment of spring." But the author of "A True Reformer" has evidently a keen eye for the beauties of nature. Whenever he has the opportunity he gives us a bit of country scenery; and there is this peculiarity about his descriptions of scenery, that by a stroke of humour he recalls us to the condition of the people who are living in the thatched broken-down cottages which delight us by their

beggarly picturesqueness. Thus in an admirable chapter in the first volume, "Local Politics," where, after describing a true bit of quiet English scenery—a river flowing through meadows dotted with noble elms in all their full splendour of summer foliage, and a little stream hurrying down to it, crossed by a bridge, under which flashes a solitary kingfisher—the author suddenly turns round and adds, "the surroundings were suggestive of that happy state of life where pheasants are abundant, and wages stand at nine shillings a week." And now after all this criticism, the question again is, whether "A True Reformer" is likely to be popular? Once more we say, "No." The author has unfortunately handicapped himself with the question of army reform. This is a fatal mistake. The author evidently understands the subject, and should have treated it in an essay. Had a woman written the present novel, she would have put her True Reformer in Eva's house-keeper's room, servants' hall, and kitchen. Here is scope for a novelist. But no person, except a soldier by profession, can be expected to go through the details of army reform in a novel. This is the rock on which the writer has ruined a most excellent tale. Further, another question suggests itself; will the author ever take rank as a great novelist? We fear not. He is evidently like his own creation, the hero of the present story, too ambitious. He requires something more solid than the precarious rewards of a novel writer. The writer does not disclose his name, and though it is not hard to guess, we shall imitate his reticence. The only criticism which we have to make with regard to the novel, as a novel, is, that it is a mistake we think to kill off Eva. Eva is not the kind of character which can bear the strain and weight of martyrdom. Death of this kind should be reserved only for characters of a different and a higher type. We like, and are pleased with Eva, and to kill her is an unnecessary piece of cruelty. In parting with "A True Reformer" let us say that it is a long time since we have read so good a novel, as a novel of manners. This of course is not the highest work for the novelist. But it is very seldom that we meet with a novelist who both thoroughly understands the daily habits and ways and general tone of the characters whom he wishes to describe, and also possesses the power of describing them. Lastly, a pleasant, manly, honourable tone breathes throughout the book, which is perfectly refreshing after the pictures of fashionable life to which we are generally treated. This is, as novels go now, very great praise, and we intend it as such. We have to thank the author of "A True Reformer" for more than one reform.

Class novels, or, if we may use the expression, professional novels, are on the increase. We have, for instance, the hunting novel of the Soapy Sponge type; we have the racing novel, and the military novel. The simple meaning is, that there are a class of writers who, knowing nothing about men and women, and nature and human nature, write three volumes of the merest "shop." Your hunting novelist, knowing nothing of mankind outside the hunting field, fills up his tale not with human nature but sporting nature. Scarlet coats take the place of character, and the "strain" of hounds supplies that of analysis. The custom

has one advantage: the writers are each thoroughly well up in their own department. We must pay Captain Griffiths³ the compliment of supposing that he really does understand "officers and gentlemen." "Soldiers Painted by One of Themselves," might be the title of his work. The disclosures of the horse-play, the vulgar jokes amongst the officers of a crack regiment, which have come to light during the Tichborne trial, were generally supposed to be quite exceptional, but Captain Griffiths' pages treat vulgar practical jokes as a matter of course. According to him, the Ballybanagher barracks are the scene of what we can only call an offensive "judge and jury club," in which we should have imagined that no person with the feelings of a gentleman would have taken part. We believe that his picture of such orgies will deeply pain all those who both love and respect their profession. We perceive that Captain Griffiths has given notice that he has reserved all rights of publication; we are, however, thankful to think that there is no chance of such a silly chapter as "The Custom of War in Like Cases" being translated into German, and our officers thus held up to ridicule throughout Prussia as a set of senseless boobies. In other respects the book comes up to the average novels of its class.

Ladies' novels may be broadly divided into two sorts—the "do-me-good," or the utterly insipid; and the highly-spiced, or sensational. The highly spiced is capable of many subdivisions. There is, for instance, the highly-spiced luscious Ouida type, and the highly-spiced sensational Braddon pattern. "Hesba Stretton's" new novel⁴ belongs partly to the "do-me-good" and partly to the sensational class. The insipidity, in a great measure, arises from the subject-matter. "Hesba Stretton" has set herself to accomplish a task which nothing but the highest genius could achieve; she has, too, entered the lists against one with whom encounter was fatal. She has, in fact, attempted to describe life in a dull country Midland town, and instead of illuminating its dulness by her wit and humour, the dulness has in some chapters spread itself over her pages. She has further endeavoured, what is the most difficult thing in art, to paint a number of utterly commonplace though doubtless very worthy people. To make the dull routine of ordinary life, especially of the English artisan and tradesmen class, in the slightest degree interesting, would indeed be the art of arts, for it would be making something out of nothing. To give, therefore, interest to her story, "Hesba Stretton" has had recourse to sensation; it is, however, very mild, after the high-pressure kind to which we have been used. No one need be afraid. But there are redeeming points in "Hester Morley's Promise," which lift it out of the class of ordinary Mudie novels. If "Hesba Stretton" in this tale shows but little wit or humour, she at all events shows much pathos, and much tender womanly feeling. Further, she displays in

³ "The Queen's Shilling." A Soldier's Story. By Captain Arthur Griffiths, Author of "Peccavi; or, Geoffrey Singleton's Mistake." London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

⁴ "Hester Morley's Promise." By Hesba Stretton, Author of "The Doctor's Dilemma," &c. &c. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

many passages, as in the description of Aston Court, a true love for nature, she paints autumn especially with peculiar felicity and power. We think, however, that she is happiest with her female characters: the old French woman is particularly well done. But above all we must give the highest praise to the picture of the old bookseller in his workshop. "Hesba Stretton" evidently knows a great deal about provincial booksellers and their ways, and she evidently sympathizes with "silver" types and morocco bindings; but we hope that in her next volumes, "Hesba Stretton" will choose a subject which shall interest us from the art—and "Hesba Stretton" undoubtedly possesses much real art—with which each individual character is drawn; she will then not need to rely upon sensation. She can when she pleases write both with quiet grace and true womanly dignity, and does not require any false aid. We trust, therefore, that she will do her really great talents justice.

Mr. Mortimer Collins has written a novel, which he appropriately calls "*Miranda: A Midsummer Madness*."⁵ Mr. Mortimer Collins has further placed on his title-page two quotations from Shakspeare; one from *Twelfth Night*, "Why, this is very midsummer madness;" and another from *Hamlet*, "Though this be madness, yet there's method in't." We hardly think that it was necessary for Mr. Mortimer Collins to inform the world that he has gone methodically mad; on the other hand, we do not think that it was necessary for some of our contemporaries to use the severe language which they have done on Mr. Mortimer Collins's last production. In our opinion, literary idiots ought to be spared by critics. They are, as a rule, very harmless; and when we consider how all the higher pleasures of intellectual life are for ever closed to these poor creatures, it is our duty to be not only considerate but even humane.

"Miss Dorothy's Charge"⁶ is a pleasant, readable story, written, we should imagine, by an American. We should also have imagined, had we not seen an intimation to the contrary, that it was a first production. It has the faults of a first tale. The writer does not yet possess sufficient self-restraint; he is too anxious to display his learning and to air his knowledge. On the other hand, he possesses what so few novelists ever attain—real dramatic power. There are several chapters, especially in the last volume, which are full of genuine passion. The story of Hetty, who was destined, as she herself says, either to be an actress or a duchess, is told with real pathos. The passage about her appearing on the stage as a supernumerary, and by an accident causing the anger of the leading actress, would seem to be drawn from life. What follows, her being turned out from her lodgings, picked up insensible in the street and carried to a hospital, and afterwards finding scantily-paid employment in stitching theatrical dresses, is also, we

⁵ "*Miranda: a Midsummer Madness*." By Mortimer Collins. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

⁶ "*Miss Dorothy's Charge*." A Novel. By Frank Lee Benedict, Author of "*My Daughter Elinor*," "*Miss Van Koortland*," &c. &c. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle. 1873.

fear, in many particulars too true. As for Hetty's subsequent career, we must refer the reader to the novel itself.

"Against the Stream" takes its title, we suppose, from the fact, that as the author or, perhaps, rather authoress, reminds us, all reform is against the stream. The particular reform about which the writer appears to be interested is the abolition of slavery. And one great point of the book is to show how far this reform was effected by the Evangelical party. Now, a most interesting work might be written on this subject. But then it would involve a great deal of labour and time. And the author has even in the composition of the present novel spent a great deal of labour and time. He has not succeeded, because success is hardly possible. Mrs. Beecher Stowe's anti-slavery novels were a decided success, because they appealed to the popular feeling of the day, and referred to circumstances and persons in whom everybody was interested. But the very names of the leaders of the Evangelical party, and of their opponents in the High Church party, and of the great dealers in the "Black Bullock Trade," as slave-dealing was called, are quite forgotten by the average novel-reader. To the philanthropist and the student few periods in our history are so intensely interesting. We quite agree with the author when he calls his story "the story of an Heroic Age in England." We hope he may summon up courage to treat the subject as worthy of the dignity of history, and so earn for himself the reputation which he so thoroughly deserves, but which will certainly not be gained by putting his facts into the form of a novel.

Mr. Garrett's tales, as a rule, take rather too much the form of a tract. Still they are always readable, and are sure to attract a large class of readers. His present tale⁸ is no exception. Here and there we find some good things. "The cow was never brought home by the man pulling its head, and the woman its tail," says Mrs. Harvey after a quarrel with her husband; and again—"The Devil's best lies are made of half truths." Her thanking God by, "My God, thou hast saved me from myself," reminds us of one of the best of Spanish proverbs.

Reforms are of many kinds. We know an estimable and enthusiastic young curate who is under the impression that he can reform the whole of England by the institution of parish cricket clubs. Still more remarkable is the idea which certain novelists entertain, that they can reform the world by their stories. Thus the author of "Lauterdale,"⁹ whose story is principally occupied with colliers, forge-men, and iron-works, dedicates his work "To masters and men in England, in the hope of creating a better feeling between them." Now, as a rule, as far as our own observation goes, iron-masters are about the last people in all England, with the exception of their men,

⁷ "Against the Stream." By the Author of "The Schonberg-Cotta Family." London: Strahan and Co. 1873.

⁸ "Crooked Places." A Family Chronicle. By the Author of "Premiums Paid to Experience," &c. &c. London: Strahan and Co. 1873.

⁹ "Lauterdale." A Story of Two Generations. London: Strahan and Co. 1873.

to read three-volume novels. But even if both they and their men studied novels for six hours a day, we do not think that "Lauterdale" would do them the slightest service. The author's sympathies are on the right side. But he has not the slightest idea of enlisting those of the reader. Nothing can be more repulsive than the first two chapters of "Lauterdale." We would gladly have laid the book aside, but a sense of duty and the interest we felt in the subject determined us to proceed. The writer has no sense of art. Nor do we feel certain that he always treads firm ground. Thus, in the passages where we can test him, such as in the scenes of Oxford undergraduate life, he is monstrously absurd. If he knows Oxford, and he may do, we can simply say that his account of Robert Field is very perplexing. He is certainly more at home amongst colliers and forgers. This is his description of the "Black Country" some thirty years since:—"The majority of the colliers were ignorant and brutal. The workpeople of both sexes, in the potteries and brickyards, were almost degraded to the level of beasts, and their children were worse savages than those of the Sandwich Islands." Are they much better now?

As usual, a number of thin octavos, containing what their authors are pleased to call poetry, crowd our table. Some of them, we perceive, are very bitter against their natural enemy the critic. They are, however, perfectly safe as far as we are concerned.

"Nil est deterius latrone nudo:
Nil securius est malo poetâ."

We gladly welcome a new volume by the author of "St. Abe."¹⁰ "St. Abe" was really a remarkable production. It was thoroughly original from every point of view. The author was no imitator. And "White Rose and Red" is also no imitation. The hackneyed criticism in England now no longer holds good, that American poetry is merely an echo. Such poets as Walt Whitman and Joaquim Miller give the most positive contradiction to any such assertion. Their poetry is perfectly indigenous. It is racy of the soil. As to its quality and its value many and very opposite opinions will of course be held. Speaking roughly, the charge to which this new school is most open is want of polish. And although the author of "St. Abe" is not an American, his poetry has a wonderful likeness to that of the new American school. We the countrymen of Tennyson, Swinburne, Morris, and Rossetti, whose lines are so fastidiously correct, not unnaturally resent the wilder music of the Backwoods. It remains, however, to be seen whether this simplicity and wildness are defects, and whether the new American school of poetry may not win its ultimate triumph, not in spite of them, but by and through them. The great characteristic of "White Rose and Red" is the author's passionate love of Nature. He is no town poet. He loves the Backwoods. Here, for instance, is a Bird Chorus:—

"Chickadee! chickadee!
Green leaves on every tree!
Over field, over foam,
All the birds are coming home.

¹⁰ "White Rose and Red." A Love Story. By the Author of "Saint Abe." London: Strahan and Co. 1873.

Honk ! Honk ! sailing low,
 Cried the gray goose long ago.
 Weet ! weet ! in the light
 Flutes the phoebe-bird so bright.
 Chewink, veery, thrush o' the wood,
 Silver trebles raise together :
 All around their dainty food
 Ripens with the ripening weather.
 Hear, O hear !
 In the great elm by the mere
 Whip-poor-will is crying clear."—pp. 110, 111.

Such a bird chorus has not been heard in literature since the days of the famous chorus in "The Birds" of Aristophanes. But we feel by no means sure that the author's descriptions of Nature will be appreciated in English drawing-rooms. His poetry is utterly unlike anything to which we have been accustomed. He is the first poet, too, who has really done winter justice, and seen and felt its beauties. The Canto entitled "The Great Snow" is one of the finest and most original in the poem :—

"'Twas the year of the Great Snow.
 First the East began to blow
 Chill and shrill for many days,
 On the wild wet woodland ways.
 Then the North, with crimson cheeks,
 Blew upon the pond for weeks,
 Chill'd the water thro' and thro',
 'Till the first thin ice-crust grew
 Blue and filmy."—p. 141.

Thus the poet introduces us to one of the most vivid scenes—a snowstorm in the Backwoods—which we have ever read. What Thoreau has so worthily done for us in prose in "Walden," the author of "White Rose and Red" has also equally well done for us in poetry. Each has opened up for us a new world of beauty.

As we have on former occasions praised Mr. Warren¹¹ in no stinted measure, we may now venture to pay him the higher compliment of criticism. Mr. Warren, we need not say, is one of the few of our younger poets who has a future before him. If the present volume does not quite come up to the expectations which we had formed, it is because those expectations were so high. Up to a certain mark Mr. Warren fulfils all the promise which he held forth. But past that mark he does not at present go. What that mark is we shall hope to make clear. The music of his verse is sweeter, his love for nature is keener, whilst his knowledge of her beauties is greater. We may exemplify this by the following short poem :—

"A SKETCH AT EVENING.

"The whip cracks on the plough-team's flank,
 The thresher's flail beats duller ;
 The round of day has warmed a bank
 Of cloud to primrose colour.

¹¹ "Searching the Net." A Book of Verses. By John Leicester Warren, Author of "Philoctetes." London : Strahan and Co. 1873.

"The dairy-girls cry home the kine,
 The kine in answer lowing ;
 And rough-haired louts with sleepy shonts
 Keep crows whence seed is growing.
 "The creaking wain, brushed thro' the lane,
 Hangs straws on hedges narrow ;
 And smoothly cleaves the soughing plough,
 And harsher grinds the harrow.
 "Comes, from the road-side inn caught up,
 A brawl of crowded laughter,
 Thro' falling brooks and cawing rooks
 And a fiddle scrambling after."—pp. 128, 129.

The first impression which, reading this poem produces on the mind is—"What a wonderful photograph!" and the first and second, and all subsequent readings confirm this impression. Nor can we be too thankful to a poet who will carefully reproduce for us such a scene, which will soon pass away in England. For the day is fast coming with hay-making machines, and reaping-machines, and steam-thrashing machines, when neat-handed Phyllis will no longer lead the way to the tanned haycock, nor Thestylis bind the sheaves, and when the flail will be an object of antiquarian interest. Mr. Warren has succeeded, we repeat, in producing a perfect photograph of one of the most beautiful scenes of English pastoral life. A few passing criticisms may be made. "Round of day" is very delicious and classical. Perhaps a "bank of cloud to primrose colour" is hardly quite so true as Tennyson's "daffodil sky." It is the "sky," the gulf of atmosphere between the clouds, which generally, though not always, takes that lovely transparent primrose or daffodil colour. By "crows" in the second stanza, Mr. Warren means rooks, mentioned in the last line but one, which are often most troublesome, especially on new-sown barley, at night-fall. We need not call attention to the truthfulness of the third stanza. This the obtusest reader must perceive. We will merely point out that the lines—

"And smoothly cleaves the soughing plough,
 And harsher grinds the harrow,"

echo the sound far better than the famous lines in *Maud*,

"Low on the sand and loud on the stone,
 The last wheel echoes away."

Every one will agree that Mr. Warren's poem is a thorough photograph ; and to say this is, according to the current criticism of the day, to give the highest praise. But is this the highest praise? Is a photograph to be the poet's chief end? Goethe much more truly says, "Art is Art, precisely because it is not Nature." These photographic pictures of the day are not, if we may use such an expression, steeped in mind. They are not warmed by the colour of the feelings. They are grey and hard. This was not the way that more than a thousand years ago, the greatest poetess of the world treated evening. By one touch, Sappho humanized the whole scene. Hesper for her

brought home all that the morning had dispersed,—the child to the parent. Mr. Warren does not give play enough to his imagination. He is too much fettered. We believe that he possesses imagination and feeling, and passion in no ordinary degree. He now stands very high in the front row of the second class of poets. We trust that in his next work he will assert his true rank.

There yet remains a number of volumes all of which show more or less marks of cultivation, a tenderness of feeling, and a love for nature. Generally speaking, the authors have not yet learnt Pope's "art to blot." Had they been content with half of what they have written, the remainder would have been improved. Thus it would have certainly been better if an "English Yeoman"¹² had omitted such a stanza as the following—

"My fancy now shall throw a gleam of love,
Across the path of your true 'British Yeoman,'
His hard and honest hand, let me unglove,
That it may proudly clasp true-hearted woman."—p. 32.

The rhyme of "yeoman" and "woman," is nearly as hard as the honest hand.

So, too, Mr. Egremont¹³ writes at times with much gracefulness and fancy. But he would have acted wisely to have omitted such a stanza as—

"Queen Aphrodite,
Bless thou this night he
Who watcht her by."—p. 69.

"The British Yeoman" sacrifices rhyme to sense, but Mr. Egremont sacrifices grammar to rhyme, whilst the author of "Hodge Podge"¹⁴ sacrifices grammar to nothing at all, as may be seen by

"Detective went to see,
And shook his head."—p. 105.

In the "Lonely Guiding Star"¹⁵ we find more real poetical feeling and power than in the three preceding volumes. Still we do not think that the book will make any mark. Mr. Alexander's own circle of friends will doubtless welcome his poems; but the general public will we fear be utterly indifferent to their merits. For our own part we prefer the miscellaneous pieces. Some of the sonnets are marked by both thought and beauty of language.

Of a still higher strain are Mr. Acton's "Etchings in Verse,"¹⁶ and

¹² "The Epic of a Day." By An English Yeoman. London: Templeman. 1873.

¹³ "Poems and Songs." By Godfrey Egremont. London: Provost and Co. 1873.

¹⁴ "Hodge Podge." A Rhyme. London: Williams and Norgate. 1873.

¹⁵ "The Lonely Guiding Star." A Legend of the Pyrenean Mountains. And Other Poems, Miscellaneous and Dramatic. By William D. S. Alexander. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Searle. 1873.

¹⁶ "Etchings in Verse." By Philip Acton. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1873.

yet we do not think that even they will acquire any popularity. Even Tennyson did not acquire his popularity by one work. Browning's name was for years unknown to a large majority of cultivated persons. Mr. Acton will probably be so disgusted with the reception of his present work, and the apathy of reviewers, that he will forsake the Muses; and yet if Mr. Acton is a young man, he certainly has the stuff in him which might secure a reputation. We can simply say that his poetry gives far more promise than ninety-nine out of a hundred volumes that come before us. He possesses, too, a thoroughly classical spirit. Should he determine to devote his life to poetry, and the Muses require the devotion of a life, we shall look forward to his next poem with real interest.

"The King's Stratagem, or the Pearl of Poland,"¹⁷ is a play more suited for the study than the stage. And here let us call attention to a reprint of the finest closet-play of modern days, "Oulita, the Serf."¹⁸ We should advise the author of the "King's Stratagem," before he writes another play, to carefully study Sir Arthur Helps's tragedy, and see how much thought and knowledge of human nature are required, before anything like success can be attained.

Everybody who has paid any attention to the prices of old books, is aware of the enormous sums which ballads and chap-books are now fetching at book sales. The most recent example was the price which the collection of ballads, and the twopenny and threepenny dialect books, brought at Sir Frederick Madden's sale; nor do we think that the prices were exorbitant. For a long time past such books had only been collected for collecting's sake. We are now beginning to wake up to the fact, that these chap-books contain a history of our country, which is in its way quite as important as any other. America, too, has entered into competition with us, and we may expect the prices still to rise. We are not at all, therefore, surprised to receive from America a sort of monogram on Scottish Chap-Books.¹⁹ Mr. Fraser is a specialist, and his book is written for specialists, and only those who have made a life-long study of the subject are competent to decide on the merits of his work. To this knowledge we can make no pretensions. We can, however, say that Mr. Fraser has contrived in a very small space to give an immense amount of information on the subject, and that his quotations on Highland superstitions, witchcraft, burning of witches, church discipline, charms, and the cutty-stool, are excessively interesting. Of course the great danger in all such works, is that of degenerating into mere trivialities; Mr. Fraser has avoided this great mistake. Collectors of Scottish chap-books will find in his pages valuable assistance, whilst the historian will here meet with information, especially on social topics, which he is not likely to find anywhere else.

¹⁷ "The King's Stratagem; or, The Pearl of Poland. A Tragedy in Five Acts." By the Author of "Records of the Heart," &c. London: Triebner and Co. 1873.

¹⁸ "Oulita, the Serf." A Tragedy. By the Author of "Friends in Council." London: Strahan and Co. 1873.

¹⁹ "Scottish Chap-Books." By John Fraser. Part I. New York: Henry L. Hinton. 1873.

Mr. Schütz Wilson's "*Studies and Romances*,"²⁰ is a very difficult book to review. Mr. Wilson deals with a great many very different, and we may also add elaborate subjects, and he is, as the saying runs, good all along the line. Perhaps the best paper is the first:—"Shakspeare in Blackfriars," or "The First Performance of Hamlet." It blends in a very happy way romance and fact. Nobody but a student of Elizabethan literature and Elizabethan politics, could have written so charming a sketch. The principal characters of the day are set forth with great spirit and historic truth. "The Loves of Goethe" deals with a subject on which there will always be a fierce controversy. Mr. Wilson makes no excuses for Goethe. His comments on Goethe's shameless abandonment of Frederika are thoroughly just. Nothing can palliate Goethe's conduct. Mr. Wilson when speaking of Frederika's subsequent life and her refusal of Lenz hardly does justice to the famous saying of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Her answer to the Duke of Somerset when he proposed for her hand was—"If you were the Emperor of the World, I would not permit you to succeed in that heart which has been devoted to John, Duke of Marlborough." We turn to Mr. Wilson's account of Christiane Vulpius, whom, as the world knows, Goethe married. We think that Mr. Wilson in his description of her has rightly hit the characteristics which fascinated Goethe and does fascinate men of a poetic nature—"She was sensuous and sensual, had a good temper, a sweet temperament, and high animal spirits; was pleasure-loving in the highest degree, was lively, natural, fond and frank" (p. 61). Probably Anne Hathaway seemed such a woman to Shakspeare. Again we think that Mr. Wilson has very happily described the bond of sympathy which linked the poet with an uneducated, uncultivated woman.—"He reposed upon her soft, gay, animal nature. . . . There was no strain in the intercourse with a creature so docile, so full of enjoyment of all life through bright sensuous instinct" (p. 61). And again, "She was not exacting, and never troubled him. He could go without restraint into all society. . . . He always found her cheerful, caressing, full of gaiety" (p. 62). But the disenchantment came, as it was sure to come. The vulgar nature in due time broke forth. Those who live in the kingdom of sense shall perish in it. We cannot pretend to pity Goethe. Frederika was at last avenged. We shall not moralize upon the subject. Every one, whose nature is not thoroughly unhealthy, will draw but one conclusion. The remaining papers in Mr. Wilson's collection all deserve a word of praise. We would particularly mention "An Exalted Horn" and "Two Sprigs of Edelweiss" as good specimens of descriptive writing. In "Between Moor and Man" will be found some shrewd remarks on society and lively sketches of character. "The Record of a Vanished Life" leads us to suppose that Mr. Wilson might write a really fine novel.

American literature has certainly its vagaries and humours. For a long time past American novelists and the lighter class of essayists

²⁰ "*Studies and Romances*." By H. Schütz Wilson, Author of "*The Voyage of the Lady*," &c. &c. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

have been blaming us where we did not deserve blame. Now they have suddenly turned round, and are praising us where we do not deserve praise. But the most curious part of the matter is what American authors find to praise in England. They have lately made a discovery, and set up the English lodging-house keeper as the model woman. They cannot find words to express their admiration of the comfort, order, cleanliness, cheapness, quietness, cheerfulness, and especially the cookery in an English lodging-house. We fancy that Miss Alcott is a good deal to blame for all this misplaced laudation. It was she who first blew the trumpet of praise with no uncertain note. But we have now before us a writer²¹ who far exceeds Miss Alcott in the glowing terms of her praise. H. H. even localizes this model Englishwoman, the lodging-house keeper. Of all parts of London H. H. finds her in Bloomsbury (pp. 138—143). We do not wish to speak disrespectfully of Bloomsbury. Bloomsbury is, we know, the stronghold of well-to-do middle-class Philistinism. In this favoured part of London, according to H. H., "in spite of London smoke and grime, Mrs. ——'s floors and windows were clean; the grate shone every morning like mirrors" (p. 140). As far as our experience goes, the mirrors, as H. H. magniloquently calls a chimney-piece glass, always look about as black and as dingy as the grates. But not only do the lodging-house grates shine, but the lodging-house cook is always smiling. "There never was such a cheerful place. "Each morning the smiling cook came up." Even when she receives orders, smiles illumine her face. As for the lodging-house housemaids, H. H. can hardly find terms to express her admiration for their many virtues. "Oh," she exclaims, "the pleasant voices and gentle fashions of behaviour of those housemaids!" All this, and what follows about "The quiet respectfulness of behaviour and faithful interest in work of English servants," comes upon us like a perfect revelation. We certainly know something of both lodging-houses and housemaids; and our great dread at the present moment, as we happen to be in lodgings, is lest the housemaid, in her "faithful interest in work," should utilize the present manuscript and light the kitchen fire with it. H. H., however, is evidently an optimist, and the pleasant spirit of optimism pervades her essays. A person who can be happy in an English lodging-house will certainly be happy anywhere. We can strongly recommend "Bits of Talk," as a pleasant, genial, gossiping book, which may be safely given to all good little boys and girls.

We are excessively glad to see Mr. Pearson's handsome reprint of Dekker's plays,²² and we congratulate him on the way in which he has performed his task as editor. Few of our Elizabethan dramatists are so well worth studying as the author of "The Honest Whore." In one direction he, most of all his contemporaries, approaches Shakspeare, in his delineations of suffering, and in his praise of mercy. Even in

²¹ "Bits of Talk about Home Matters." By H. H., Author of "Verses" and "Bits of Travel." London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle. 1873.

²² "The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker." First Collected. With Illustrative Notes and a Memoir of the Author, in Two Volumes. London: John Pearson. 1873.

his prose works we find him ever taking the side of the weak and the oppressed. "Be merciful," he says, in his "*Villanies Discovered*" [1616]; "clemency in the eye of a judge, sits not more sweetly than pity in the eye of a creditor." (Sig. k. 3.) But although he is a great advocate for mercy, yet he can see, with Shakspeare, the cruelty of mercy. In many respects his thoughts and reflections constantly remind us of Shakspeare's tone and cast of mind. It is worth noticing, too, that in some of his prose works he makes direct reference both to *Hamlet* and the *Merchant of Venice*. Of the present edition we need now only say, that Mr. Pearson has prefixed a most interesting memoir of Dekker's life, and that, at the end of each volume, he has given a few notes, explanatory of all the difficult passages. He has rightly preserved the archaic spelling, and even the punctuation. No one who possesses the slightest love for our Elizabethan literature, will neglect to add this valuable reprint to his library. We have now only to express a hope, that as Mr. Pearson has collected all Dekker's plays, he will now collect all Dekker's pamphlets, which are still more valuable, as illustrating the social condition of the time. We know few books which are both so entertaining, and also throw so much light on contemporary customs and manners, as "*The Villanies Discovered*." Gifford long ago pointed out that the true social history of Elizabeth's reign might be compiled from Dekker's pamphlets, and if Mr. Pearson will only reprint them, he will be adding another real boon to all students of English literature, and making a most important contribution to the materials for writing the history of Shakspeare's day.

We have also to thank Mr. Pearson for a reprint of Brome's *Dramatic Works*.²³ We see that in certain quarters Mr. Pearson has incurred the censure of his critics for reprinting both Brome and Aphra Behn. We are of a totally different opinion. The persons who buy Mr. Pearson's reprints are not the frequenters of Holywell Street. It is as absurd to blame Mr. Pearson for reprinting such works as to blame a medical publisher for printing works on anatomy. One set of books is required as much by the scholar, as the other by the surgeon. We think Mr. Pearson would have conferred a greater boon if he had added a few notes. Brome uses a good many archaic words, and some of his allusions require explanation. This reprint, however, will, like that of Dekker, be most serviceable.

²³ "*The Dramatic Works of Richard Brome.*" Containing Fifteen Comedies. Now first Collected in Three Volumes. London: John Pearson. 1873.

ART.

DR. BENNDORF'S volume on the Metopes found on the site of the temples of Selinus is a work of merit.¹ It is the product of real knowledge put into clearly intelligible form, without whim or pretension. But it is not a work which will find many readers in England, and could hardly have been produced here. In the field of classic philology our universities do little enough, but the field of classic archæology they absolutely ignore, so that we have neither a trained public to appreciate nor trained workers to prosecute such inquiries. The reliefs which are the subject of the present book are preserved in the Museum of Palermo, and should have a peculiar interest for us. The colossal ruins of the buried city from which they come had often been noted by travellers, but it was reserved for two young Englishmen, named Harris and Angell, to commence, in 1822, excavations, which were at once fruitful of result. No less than five metopes, or rather portions of metopes, were unearthed. Every effort was made by the English consul to obtain these for the British Museum, but the Neapolitan government turned a deaf ear to his representations, placed the sculptures then obtained in the Museum of Palermo, and forbade the young men from attempting to uncover anything further. Exhausted by his exertions, Harris succumbed at the age of twenty-three to a brief attack of fever, but Angell, though prevented from digging, continued his efforts to complete an architectural survey of the site. Nearly ten years elapsed before the ruins were again disturbed. In 1831 the work was recommenced at the cost of two Sicilian noblemen, and was productive of considerable results, but the undertaking was abandoned at the end of five months, to be no more resumed until the inauguration of the Kingdom of Italy gave fresh power and spring to the national energies. Since 1865 a continuous series of important investigations has been carried on under the superintendence of Professor Cavellari. The site of the city has been accurately surveyed and mapped, and the position of the Acropolis and of the six temples, whose ruins have given to us so many remarkable examples of archaic art, has been definitely ascertained. Every history of Greek art begins with a mention of the metopes of Selinus, but Dr. Benndorf justly claims for the present work the credit of being the first attempt at anything like a searching inquiry into the place and position in which they were found, with reference to developing their full historical signification. He has carefully prepared himself for the execution of his task, and has made two visits to Palermo and to Selinus. At Selinus he had the good fortune to fall in with Signor Cavellari, who was about to commence further excavations, and from whom he obtained much suggestive information and full particulars as to the more recent

¹ "Die Metopen von Selinunt mit Untersuchungen ueber die Geschichte, die Topographie, und die Tempel von Selinunt." Veroeffentlicht von Otto Benndorf. Berlin: Guttentag (D. Collin). 1873.

discoveries, all of which are embodied in the text. The opening chapter contains the historical introduction, and then Dr. Benndorf proceeds to deal with each metope separately. The lithographic illustrations which accompany the text in every instance are excellent, though somewhat inferior in delicacy to the photographic originals. The sections on the metopes are concluded by an ably written paper on their stylistic value, which the author is perhaps too careful to assure us that he does not overrate. Even some of the earlier examples, we will not say the Medusa, but the four horses of the quadriga, are elevated by the simple directness of the intention into something like dignity; and of the later, those from the temple of Hera are characterized by much harmony and beauty of line. The volume is completed by a notice of the coins of Selinus, written by Imhoff Bluhmer, who is, we hear, about to vindicate his claim to authority as a numismatist by some more considerable work, and by plans and maps which will be found of great service to the reader.

The Catalogue of the Greek Coins (Italy),² which is the first volume of the Catalogue of the whole collection of the British Museum, would seem at first sight to give the lie to the assertion that classic archæology has no votaries in England. The British Museum does indeed train year by year a few students in those subjects which our classical seminaries so strangely and obstinately neglect; the British Museum now and again brings forth such a book as this, the author of which must look abroad for appreciation and encouragement. The series of the coins of ancient Italy which exists in the Museum is the largest out of Naples, and for rare specimens and general fineness of condition the best anywhere. The rare ingots of the æsgrave class, and the beautiful specimens of the coinage of the cities of Magna Græcia, are unequalled even by the Italian collections. The aim of the present catalogue is to give all necessary information, and no speculation. All gold and silver coins, and all copper coins of known denominations, are weighed, and all coins are measured. The metrical system has not, unfortunately, been adopted; but this defect has been remedied by giving comparative tables of weights and measures. The descriptions have been drawn up with the utmost care and caution, so that the information in every case may be as sound and final as possible, and the very full indexes which have been added will render the work easily available to archæologists. The illustrations have been chosen with the object of representing all types not already published in the plates of Carelli and Marchi and Tessieri, a wider selection having been deemed too costly. It is precisely in the variety of types of divinities which it offers, and in the many ways that a single idea, such as that of agonistic success, is put, that the work will be found specially valuable to archæologists. The coins of Kroton, when worked out, will be found to afford a most valuable commentary on the mode in which the city commemorated its triumph at the great contest. But until this enormous work is completed, it will not be possible to see

² "A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum." Italy. London: Woodfall and Kinder. 1873.

the full value of the inferences which may be drawn from the thousands of instances where a single type occurs. The historical interest of the subject has still to be worked out. For which purpose a careful study of the Etruscan and other purely Italian and Greek coinages of Italy must be made, as well as of the types and symbols indicating the influence of the two Epirotic kings, and the gradual spread of Rome. For palæography there is but little new material, but it is most satisfactory to find all the rare inscriptions printed in facsimile. It is possible that art may gain most by facsimiles such as these, for the care with which the chronological order has been maintained in the arrangement of the coins will lead to more discriminating study, and may result in our obtaining valuable cross-lights which may clear up vexed questions of time and place in other branches of archæology. The special characteristics of the art of the finest Italian coins may be gathered from the illustrations, which should lead the student to the study of the originals. As a class, coins are among the most authentic monuments of Greek art, and in some instances, like this of the Græco-Italian, they are almost the only means we have of ascertaining the character and quality of a particular school. For this invaluable contribution to numismatic literature, we have to thank the labour and learning of Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, who signs the preface, in which he handsomely acknowledges the assistance he has derived from Mr. Head, Mr. Gardner, and in choice of the illustrations, from Mr. Vaux.

Mr. Longman's "*History of the Three Cathedrals Dedicated to St. Paul in London*," is an excellent readable book. The title may, at a first glance, be somewhat mystifying to the reader who is not already acquainted with the varied past of our great national temple. But from the first chapter he will learn how, before the building of the present church, two cathedrals dedicated to St. Paul, each rising, phoenix-like, from the ashes of its predecessor, have stood on its site. Of the first, destroyed by fire in the reign of William the Conqueror (1087 or 1088), no record remains. The next building was begun by Maurice, Bishop of London, in the very ruins of its predecessor. At this point, properly speaking, Mr. Longman's labours begin. The second cathedral, begun by Bishop Maurice, and afterwards progressing slowly through many various vicissitudes of addition and alteration, remained standing until burnt down by the Great Fire of 1666. What this building was in its days of early splendour we do not know, and Hollar's prints of it, executed just before its destruction, cannot be relied on as giving a perfectly accurate picture of what it was then. Hollar, it is true, saw Old St. Paul's, but scarcely any two of his plates agree together, and their many evident inaccuracies have been carefully examined and tested by Mr. Longman in his attempt to reconstruct the building for us with exactness in the state in which it

³ "*A History of the Three Cathedrals Dedicated to St. Paul in London, with Reference chiefly to their Structure and Architecture, and the Sources whence the Necessary Funds were Derived.*" By William Longman, F.S.A. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1873.

probably appeared in the middle of the sixteenth century, before it was partially Italianized. In this task the author has been ably aided by Mr. E. B. Ferrey, whose valuable restorations form a most useful and interesting illustration of the text in the earlier portions of Mr. Longman's book. Mr. Ferrey gives (p. 39) a list of some of the discrepancies and errors which occur in Hollar's plates to Dugdale's *Old St. Paul's*. The two which involve the most important consequences are treated of at length at p. 30; we get from them, in fact, confirmation of the reduced estimate of the length of the building, and the suggestion (for the evidence does not, as it stands, appear quite conclusive) that in all probability the height of the choir was greater than that of the nave. The first half of Mr. Longman's volume closes with an entertaining chapter, in which he has gathered together much out-of-the-way matter concerning the social history of the church, under the head of "Curious Customs and Incidents connected with Old St. Paul's." One of the most remarkable circumstances to which Mr. Longman calls attention, is the extraordinary desecration to which the cathedral was subjected during the latter half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. During the reign of King James it was the fashion for gentry, lords, and commons to meet in St. Paul's by eleven, and there to walk and talk business and news. It was also the resort of lawyers, who met their clients there. At last, in 1554, things grew to such scandal that the Lord Mayor issued a proclamation for the preventing of profanation and abuses offered to St. Paul's. The chief interest of the book must, however, undoubtedly attach to that portion which deals with the history of the present structure, and which contains copies of Sir Christopher Wren's original drawings, published by the permission of the Warden and Fellows of All Souls' College, Oxford, in whose library they are now preserved. The text and illustrations provide us with ample material for forming an independent judgment on the merits of the successive designs produced by Wren. If we compare the last design, the design approved by Charles II. and his advisers, with the earlier drawings, which were condemned by them, we shall be able to gauge the quality of the connoisseurship which hampered the efforts of the great architect. We shall be able to appreciate the despairing ingenuity which gave these fine judges what they liked on paper, and then betrayed the King into the concession that he might have "liberty in the prosecution of his work to make some variations, rather ornamental than essential, as from time to time he should see proper, and to leave the whole to his management." This concession Wren, in the course of the work, twisted to serve the needs of his purpose. He read "essential" for "ornamental," if not as often as he chose, at least as often as he dared. With all its defects and weakness St. Paul's, as it now stands, was a gigantic triumph. It is evident, from the pages of the present work, that Wren had a hard battle to fight. The career of Schluter, in Berlin, his genius, his desperate struggles, brief victory, and utter fall, are paralleled in London in the life of Sir Christopher Wren. Incessant struggles, incessantly thwarted, terminate in dismissal and death. The four concluding chapters of his book Mr. Longman devotes to a description of the edifice in its present

state, to general criticisms, and to the questions of its adornment, and its future. For the purpose of internal decoration the employment of mosaic and marble are, we think, wisely suggested, but the material is after all but of slight moment compared with the weighty consideration of who is to employ it. The form of marble incrustation introduced by Baron de Triqueti is indeed admirably adapted to flat or even curved surfaces, but the venerable artist has neither the vigour nor the thorough academical training which would justify us in entrusting to him a work which would make such disproportionate demands on his failing forces. On this point, as throughout, Mr. Longman writes with true interest and zeal, he has thoroughly imbued himself with his subject before beginning to write, and in this respect his work might be read for instruction by book compilers, such as Mr. Henry Morley or Mr. Hepworth Dixon. Mr. Longman does not stop to make phrases, he writes with true literary instinct carefully and clearly of what he really knows.

The good sense, spirit, and temper which Mr. Jackson has put into his volume on "*Modern Gothic Architecture*"⁴ deserve all praise. His practical criticisms are marked by moderation and discretion, and he shows a cultivated appreciation of the historical and æsthetic values of all the great styles. The general tone of remark will perhaps be best estimated by a quotation, which we take at p. 109.

"It is evident," says Mr. Jackson, "that the changes by which Gothic is to be developed into a living art will consist, first, in the gradual removal of archaisms which clash with modern habits; and, secondly, by the incorporation into it of modern ideas, and the utilization of modern discoveries and improvements. We must therefore be prepared to quit old example exactly at those points where the ways of modern and ancient society diverge. . . . We have before us not only the art of the Middle Ages, but that of nearly all other times, and this consideration should suggest to us the advisability, nay, more, the necessity of a judicious eclecticism in our work."

As far as this goes, it is excellent, but we are forced to dissent from Mr. Jackson when he asserts at p. 111 that the merit of Renaissance architecture consists in the wonderful naturalism which the masters of the school attained in their decoration. The merit of Renaissance architecture consisted in the genius with which Renaissance architects adapted the forms of classic architecture to meet the requirements of their day, and in the fine sense of harmony and proportion which some of their best men displayed in their buildings. But again, in the sixth chapter, this question of naturalism versus conventionalism re-occurs, and it seems to us that Mr. Jackson does not handle it with complete command. When he instances a casual person turning from a mass of conventional carving to fix with admiration on a bit of natural foliage, we think that it is hardly safe to infer therefrom the superiority of the bit of natural foliage to the mass of conventional carving. All representation is by symbol. The class of facts we see are the class of facts we look for, and the class

⁴ "*Modern Gothic Architecture.*" By T. G. Jackson, Architect, Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

of facts we look for vary in precise ratio with the cultivation of the intellect, the acuteness of the senses, and the amount of training which in each instance the æsthetic perceptions have undergone. The commonest facts about a bit of foliage are those appreciated alike by the untrained, whether workman or public. If the same bit of foliage be made to yield for us its noblest lines, its most essential structure, its scientific facts, the symbols in which these would be embodied would form, in truth, a "subjectively natural-esque" representation; but it would be, in all probability, a representation recognised as natural by but few.

"Aus des æsthetischen Padagogik," is the title of six lectures delivered by Bruno Meyer at Berlin to the *Verein für Familien und Völkerziehung* in November, 1869. Their publication has been delayed up to the present moment partly on account of the war, partly because the author's time was filled by other pressing duties. The opening lecture treats of the proper place and great importance of Æsthetic as a means of education, and as an object of teaching. The subject of the second is language and literature. The third treats of music. The fourth of gymnastics and dancing. The fifth deals with the works of formative art, with the industrial arts, and with their practical study. The sixth closes with suggestions as to the mode in which those engaged in education may practically profit from the criticisms which have gone before. It will be seen from the above that the work in question is of a purely popular character. Nevertheless, it contains much that is worthy of attention, especially in the way of practical remark. For instance, in the chapter on "künstlerische Lebensformen" (p. 104) occurs a suggestive criticism on modern gymnastic teaching. "It is not sufficient," says Herr Meyer, "that the action should be correct, and surely made; this must not be the sole object of athletic instruction; before all things we must remember that each action should be so carried out as to produce in the spectator a sense of beauty." Perhaps no more striking evidence could be adduced of our insensibility at the present time to the value of cultivating the æsthetic perceptions, than the fact that a sentiment such as this which should be a mere truism comes to us with all the force of novelty. In the concluding chapter, the author points out that the teacher should endeavour to influence these perceptions in the days of earliest childhood, and he makes a point (p. 159) when he says, that nothing is so fitted to bring into harmonious activity impulse and fancy, through which are invariably carried off the first energies of a human being, as Æsthetic. The fruitful fancy of a child affords at fitly proportioned stages of instruction taken in conjunction with his bringing up, a most valuable point of contact for educational science. It affords then, just as serviceable a means by which the childish mind can be drawn and led, as later it would (being filled with unreal dreams) prove but a hindrance to action. Joy in the truly beautiful, a joy of which the child is capable, would give to the fancy a certain direction and would give it content, which might

⁵ "Aus der æsthetischen Pädagogik." Sechs Vorträge von Bruno Meyer. Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel. 1873.

serve later as the foundation for further, and sound development. It is, says Herr Meyer, inconceivable how this capacity of the childish mind has been so long overlooked, and misunderstood.

The Rev. Mr. Clay's little volume on "The Virgin Mary and the Traditions of Painters"⁶ is written rather with a religious than an artistic purpose. He wishes to show what may be learnt from works of art or, more strictly speaking, from paintings, concerning the ideas which have been held with respect to the Virgin Mary by the Christian people in different ages of the Church. Mr. Clay asserts that the highest excellence in painting can only be attained by a combination in equal parts of technical perfection and sound doctrine. If we must have one without the other, then it is best to let the technical perfection go, for faults against the laws of painting mislead the heart of no one; faults against sound doctrine corrupt the faith and mislead the heart. The Virgin Mary affords, says Mr. Clay, the most flagrant example of the mischief done by wickedly disposed artists who painted for the good of their party, he has, therefore, selected as the subject of the present book those works in which the Romish doctrines concerning the Virgin have been expressed and promoted. He commences the inquiry from primitive times, and, passing through the Middle Ages, concludes with the picture doctrine concerning the Virgin in the Italian schools of the last four or five centuries. As regards either archæology or criticism, the volume is beneath notice.

The numbers of the *Picture Gallery*,⁷ published by Messrs. Sampson Low, Marston and Co., from March to September, are as excellent as their predecessors. The photograph from Amettler's engraving of Velasquez' "Water-Seller of Seville" is interesting, as it brings the public acquainted with a little known but characteristic work of the great master. In the June number the photograph from Hodge's beautiful mezzotint after Sir Joshua's noble portrait of Mrs. Williams Hope is also worthy of special notice.

We do not think quite so favourably of "My Lady's Cabinet,"⁸ another enterprise of a similar nature to the "Picture Gallery," by the same publishers. The size of the photographs is too small, they resemble "scraps." The value of the selection, too, is not quite so high. Many *morceaux* with which "My Lady's Album" made us familiar in our childhood have now found their way into her "Cabinet." Chalon, Howard, and Newton reappear, and we are able to compare them, sometimes favourably, with their successors.

Were Mr. Thomas Damant Eaton, late President of the Norwich Choral Society, now living, it is more than doubtful whether we should

⁶ "The Virgin Mary and the Traditions of Painters." By the Rev. G. J. Clay, M.A., British Chaplain at Messina. London: J. T. Hayes. 1873.

⁷ "The Picture Gallery." Nos. from March to September, inclusive. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Seale. 1873.

⁸ "My Lady's Cabinet." Nos. from March to September, inclusive. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Seale. 1873.

have to pass judgment upon "Musical Criticism and Biography."² Mr. Eaton was one of the many ardent musical amateurs who have conferred distinction upon the capital of East Anglia, and he occupied a high position among local critics in connexion with the *Norfolk News*, being also an occasional contributor to the *Musical Standard*, and other journals of more than provincial influence and circulation. The book before us consists of selections from Mr. Eaton's already published writings, together with a few articles left by him in MS. From one point of view, it undoubtedly commands our sympathy. The monument which filial pity dedicates to a father's memory must, as such, be looked upon with respect, and no one will fail to appreciate the motive that led Mr. Eaton's sons to give his writings to the world in a collected form. Apart from motive, the publication is a questionable one. Current musical criticism—or, for that matter, current criticism of any kind—will not, as a rule, bear reproduction. It is generally written under pressure, and often under the influence of excitement, which gives false colour, and leads to undue force either of praise or blame. Newspaper articles, if reprinted at all, should receive the careful supervision of their author, who, in nine cases out of ten, would read them with surprise, if not with disbelief in their identity. Mr. Eaton's collected writings have not had the advantage of being reconsidered and retouched; but, in any case, we fail to see how their value could justify publication. That they express the opinions of an intelligent man upon a variety of trite subjects, is true; but Mr. Eaton, as a critic, was too superficial for his thoughts, however carefully expressed, to have much weight. The distinguishing characteristic of the book, and its greatest weakness at the same time, arises from the fact that the author lived and worked in a provincial town. Within a world so limited as the musical world of Norwich, the small appeared great, and the critic could not resist a temptation to represent men and things as being in reality what they appeared by comparison with immediate surroundings. Moreover, the exigences of provincial journalism had to be considered; and those exigences, in matters musical, are not favourable to the development of a writer's widest sympathies and most catholic tastes. Hence we find the volume under notice permeated with that which may be termed localism. Its heroes are men of whom the great world knows little, and a good deal of its matter belongs to the veriest elements of musical information. Take, for example, the two "colloquies of the dead" with which the book opens. The first excites interest, because when such well-known English musicians as Arne, Jackson of Exeter, and Shield engage in conversation we may expect to be instructed. They all talk very much alike, however, and the fact is obvious that we are receiving Mr. Eaton's own ideas through a medium at once unnecessary and clumsily used. The second colloquy, which deals in superficial style with church music, has not even the interest of familiar names. Dr. Beckwith, the Rev. W. Jones,

² "Musical Criticism and Biography, from the published and unpublished Writings of Thomas Damant Eaton, late President of the Norwich Choral Society." Selected and Edited by his Sons. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1872.

and Dr. Chard were very respectable men in their way, but to the general public they are so little known that it is a matter of perfect indifference with what opinions they may be credited. In view of the triennial musical festival at Norwich, it seems to have been Mr. Eaton's very laudable plan to publish an analytical description of the chief works chosen for performance. That he did good service to art by this means we entertain no doubt at all, especially as, twenty years ago, musical knowledge was very far behind what it is at present. We fail to see, however, what useful purpose can be served by the re-publication of his remarks upon the *Creation*, the "Hallelujah" chorus; *Israel in Egypt*, and *Judas Maccabeus*. Originally intended for provincial readers, who were assumed to know nothing about the subject, these articles are not only slight from a musical point of view, but are written in an *ad captandum* style which can have no charm for serious readers. Here is a passage in proof:—"Haydn has accompanied the first introduction of the word *female* with a *discord*. His own marriage was certainly unlucky, but did he mean to insinuate * * *? Even if he did, he has made ample amends in the song that follows, so we trust most ladies will forgive him." Such flippancy as this may have extorted a laugh from the readers of the *Norfolk News*, but it is out of place in a book obviously meant for the student's library. We have further to urge that Mr. Eaton's analyses, with all their assumption of musical lore, are sometimes misleading. Take, for example, his article on *Israel in Egypt*, which leaves the uninformed reader to assume that Handel wrote every note of the giant oratorio. Mr. Eaton points out how Handel used again the materials of his early *Magnificat*, but no mention is made of the fact that a part of the "Hailstone" chorus, "And believed the Lord," "He spake the Word," and the pastoral episode in "But as for His people," were taken bodily from a *Serenata* by Alessandro Stradella. Furthermore, when we find Mr. Eaton praising Handel for such an adaptation of music to words as is presented in "They loathed to drink," we can hardly believe him to have known that the music first appeared as a fugue for the harpsichord, and had no reference to any words whatever. It is such things as these which make us regret, for the sake of Mr. Eaton's memory, the reprinting of articles he never could have intended for more than passing use. Over some short "extracts" on a variety of subjects we shall pass very briefly, though much might be said with reference to the opinions they express. When, for instance, Mr. Eaton calls Spohr "the finest and most original writer that has appeared since Beethoven," when he speaks of Rossini pandering to the taste of the vulgar; when he terms much of the music in *St. Paul* "essentially heavy," calls the choruses in the *Lobgesang* "dry;" says that sacred music was not Mendelssohn's *forte*, and characterizes Mr. H. H. Pierson as "the greatest of living composers," it is obvious that there is much room for reply, but *cui bono*? Nobody will be led astray by such utterances. Decidedly the most interesting part of the book is a series of letters, originally contributed to the *Musical Standard*, on the "Decline of Music." Mr. Eaton was essentially a *laudator temporis acti*, and, in his view, modern tastes and practices were fast sending the art "to the dogs." Assum-

ing this as a fact, he enters at length into reasons, but as we altogether dispute the assumption, the reasons have for us no vital importance. They are, nevertheless, ably put from the writer's standpoint, and hit with smartness and force many a blot upon the musical page of our own time. To do this, however, is one thing, and to show that music is declining is quite another. We must add that the letters contain not a few statements marked by characteristic rashness. Here is one:—

“The newspaper notices of a new opera harmonize admirably with the interests of the music-sellers. Let there be two or three *ad captandum* songs, and the ‘critics’ will not be sparing of their praise, or slow to prophecy that ‘these delightful airs’ will soon become ‘the charm of the domestic circle.’ These sly hints are quoted by the music sellers; the ‘delightful airs’ are bought by the simple-minded public, and the newspapers reap a golden harvest in the shape of advertisements.”

It need hardly be said that when a man advances statements so ludicrously false in the course of a serious argument, the only damage done is to himself. The biographical part of the volume will possibly interest Norwich men, inasmuch as it is concerned with Norwich men alone. Mr. George Perry, some time conductor of the Sacred Harmonic Society, Mr. Taylor, the late Gresham Professor of Music, and another Mr. Taylor, of purely local fame—these are Mr. Eaton's heroes, and the fact, occurring in a book meant to circulate in the great world, is a phenomenon of localism. Few will read the biographies with any interest in their subjects; but here and there Mr. Eaton permits his strangely distorted view of things to appear in a manner sufficiently striking. Thus when referring to Professor Taylor's musical criticisms in the *Spectator*—criticisms which advocated the truth that “The Profession ought to be for the Art, as well as the Art for the Profession,” Mr. Eaton goes on to say:

“Fatal mistake! Immediately the sky began to lower. He was not the man to be openly attacked, but his influence might be secretly undermined. Without exactly knowing why, he must have felt a chill and blight around him. The press, which had set up Spohr as an idol, now began to damn that illustrious composer with faint praise. The innocent public, who swallow music as they swallow medicine (*because it is prescribed for them*) without understanding how one or the other is *composed*, began to find out that the compositions which they had once admired, or at least affected to admire, were ‘really somewhat dull.’”

If this passage mean anything at all, it means that Spohr was written down because Mr. Taylor's criticisms were not agreeable to the profession. Could the force of absurdity farther go? or could a more significant revelation be made of the state of mind in which Mr. Eaton approached a subject which, because feeling is so largely mixed up with it, demands a cool head and a logical brain? To sum up with regard to the entire book, it is matter for regret that the sons of Mr. Eaton did not take counsel with some friend competent to give an opinion before dragging their father from the obscurity of musty journals into the “fierce light” that beats upon a pretentious book. As it is they have given notoriety to his name without thereby making it more honourable.

The Rev. John Troutbeck, M.A., and the Rev. Reginald F. Dale,

M.A., Mus. Bac., both of them masters in Westminster School, are the authors of a new "Music Primer,"¹⁰ which has received the revision and approval of no less an authority than the Rev. Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley, Bart., the Oxford Professor of Music. Amid the multitude of similar works, it seems scarcely possible to produce one which shall have an independent *raison d'être*, yet even a casual inspection of the little book before us serves to show that the authors have succeeded in doing so. Within its limits, the manual is singularly complete. Its introductory chapter, for example, contains a brief dissertation on sound, and the construction of the scale, which epitomizes, in the clearest fashion, all the facts to which Helmholtz, Selby, and others have devoted many pages. The chapter on notation is enriched with a variety of useful information respecting the musical signs formerly in use, and the names by which modern notes are known in France and Germany, while it would be impossible to exceed the clearness and, within certain limits, the exhaustiveness of the remarks upon pitch, intervals, rhythm, and the various signs of expression, style, &c. The authors wisely observe the rule of showing the necessity for a thing before presenting the thing itself, and wherever an illustration in music type can be of service, it is never wanting. On the whole, this little guide to the threshold of music may be heartily commended as at once truthful, intelligible, and complete.

¹⁰ "A Music Primer for Schools." By Rev. John Troutbeck, M.A., Minor Canon of Westminster, and Music Master in Westminster School, and Rev. Reginald F. Dale, M.A., B. Mus., Assistant Master in Westminster School. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1873.

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